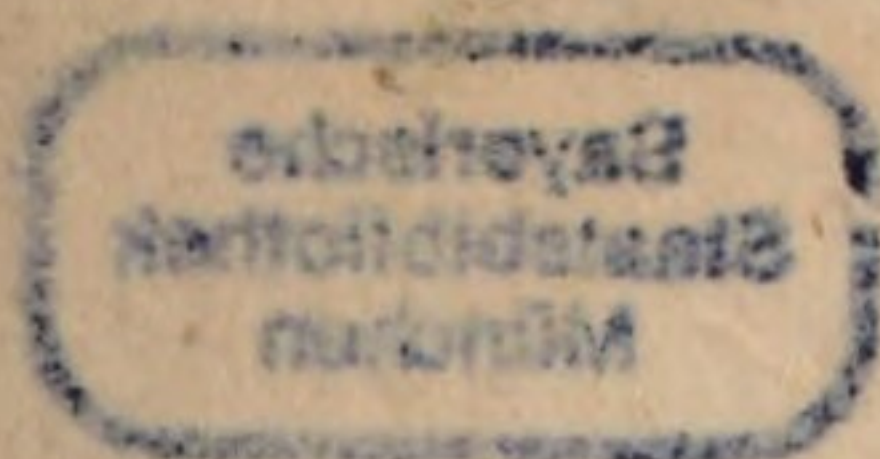


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WILLIAM SHAKSPEARE,
IN EIGHT VOLUMES.



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THE
PLAYS
OF
WILLIAM SHAKSPEARE,

ACCURATELY PRINTED FROM
THE TEXT OF MR. STEEVENS'S LAST EDITION,

WITH
A SELECTION OF THE MOST IMPORTANT NOTES.

IN EIGHT VOLUMES.

VOLUME V.

CONTAINING
KING HENRY VI. PART I.
..... PART II.
..... PART III.
KING RICHARD III.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR T. LONGMAN, B. LAW, C. DILLY, J. JOHNSON,
G. G. AND J. ROBINSON, R. BALDWIN, H. L. GARDNER,
J. SEWELL, W. RICHARDSON, J. NICHOLS, F. AND C. RIVINGTON,
T. PAYNE, JUN. R. FAULDER, W. LOWNDES, B. AND J. WHITE,
G. AND T. WILKIE, J. AND J. TAYLOR, J. SCATCHERD,
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AND SON, J. BARKER, J. EDWARDS, D. OGILVY AND SON,
J. CUTHELL, J. NUNN, J. ANDERSON, J. LACKINGTON AND CO.
T. KAY, J. DEIGHTON, W. MILLER, VERNOR AND HOOD, CADELL
AND DAVIES, MURRAY AND HIGHLEY, AND LEE AND HURST.

1797.

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KING HENRY VI.

PART I.

*** The historical transactions contained in this play, take in the compass of above thirty years. I must observe, however, that our author, in the three parts of *Henry VI.* has not been very precise to the date and disposition of his facts; but shuffled them, backwards and forwards, out of time. For instance; the lord Talbot is kill'd at the end of the fourth act of this play, who in reality did not fall till the 13th of July, 1453: and *The Second Part of Henry VI.* opens with the marriage of the king, which was solemnized eight years before Talbot's death, in the year 1445. Again, in the second part, dame Elenor Cobham is introduced to insult Queen Margaret; though her penance and banishment for sorcery happened three years before that princess came over to England. I could point out many other transgressions against history, as far as the order of time is concerned. Indeed, though there are several master-strokes in these three plays, which incontestibly betray the workmanship of Shakspeare; yet I am almost doubtful, whether they were entirely of his writing. And unless they were wrote by him very early, I should rather imagine them to have been brought to him as a director of the stage; and so have received some finishing beauties at his hand. An accurate observer will easily see, the diction of them is more obsolete, and the numbers more mean and prosaic, than in the generality of his genuine compositions. THEOBALD.

HAVING given my opinion very fully relative to these plays at the end of the third part of *King Henry VI.* it is here only necessary to apprize the reader what my hypothesis is, that he may be the better enabled, as he proceeds, to judge concerning its probability. Like many others, I was long struck with the many evident *Shakspearianisms* in these plays, which appeared to me to carry such decisive weight, that I could scarcely bring myself to examine with attention any of the arguments that have been urged against his being the author of them. I am now surprised, (and my readers perhaps may say the same thing of themselves,) that I should never have adverted to a very striking circumstance which distinguishes this *first* part from the other parts of *King Henry VI.* This circumstance is, that none of these Shakspearian passages are to be found here, though several are scattered through the two other parts. I am therefore decisively of opinion that *this* play was not written by Shakspeare. The reasons on which that opinion is founded, are stated at large in the Dissertation above referred to. But I would here request the reader to attend particularly to the versification of this piece, (of which almost every line has a pause at the end,) which is so different from that of Shakspeare's undoubted plays, and of the greater part of the two succeeding pieces as *altered* by him, and so exactly corresponds with that of the tragedies written by others before and about the time of his first commencing author, that this alone might decide the question, without taking into the account the numerous classical allusions which are found in this first part. The reader will be enabled to judge how far this argument deserves attention, from the several extracts from those ancient pieces which he will find in the Essay on this subject.

With respect to the *second* and *third* parts of *King Henry VI.* or, as they were originally called, *The Contention of the two famous Houses of Yorke and Lancaster*, they stand, in my apprehension, on a very different ground

ground from that of this first part, or, as I believe it was anciently called, *The Play of King Henry VI.—The Contention, &c.* printed in two parts, in quarto, 1600, was, I conceive, the production of some playwright who preceded, or was contemporary with, Shakspeare; and out of that piece he formed the two plays which are now denominated the *Second* and *Third* Parts of *King Henry VI.*; as, out of the old plays of *King John* and *The Taming of a Shrew*, he formed two other plays with the same titles. For the reasons on which this opinion is formed, I must again refer to my Essay on this subject.

This old play of *King Henry VI.* now before us, or as our author's editors have called it, the *first* part of *King Henry VI.* I suppose, to have been written in 1589, or before. See *An Attempt to Ascertain the Order of Shakspeare's Plays*, Vol. I. The disposition of facts in these three plays, not always corresponding with the dates, which Mr. Theobald mentions, and the want of uniformity and consistency in the series of events exhibited, may perhaps be in some measure accounted for by the hypothesis now stated. As to our author's having accepted these pieces as a *Director* of the stage, he had, I fear, no pretension to such a situation at so early a period. MALONE.

The chief argument on which the first paragraph of the foregoing note depends, is not, in my opinion, conclusive. This historical play might have been one of our author's earliest dramatic efforts; and almost every young poet begins his career by imitation. Shakspeare, therefore, till he felt his own strength, perhaps servilely conformed to the style and manner of his predecessors. STEEVENS.

PERSONS REPRESENTED.

King Henry *the Sixth*.

Duke of Gloster, uncle to the king, and Protector.

Duke of Bedford, uncle to the king, and Regent of France.

Thomas Beaufort, *Duke of Exeter, great uncle to the king.*

Henry Beaufort, *great uncle to the king, Bishop of Winchester, and afterwards Cardinal.*

John Beaufort, *Earl of Somerset; afterwards, Duke.*

Richard Plantagenet, *eldest son of Richard late Earl of Cambridge; afterwards Duke of York.*

Earl of Warwick. Earl of Salisbury. Earl of Suffolk.

Lord Talbot, afterwards Earl of Shrewsbury;

John Talbot, his son.

Edmund Mortimer, *Earl of March.*

Mortimer's Keeper, and a Lawyer.

Sir John Fastolfe. Sir William Lucy.

Sir William Glanville. Sir Thomas Gargrave.

Mayor of London. Woodville, Lieutenant of the Tower.

Vernon, of the White Rose, or York faction.

Basset, of the Red Rose, or Lancaster faction.

Charles, *Dauphin, and afterwards king of France.*

Reignier, *Duke of Anjou, and titular king of Naples.*

Duke of Burgundy. Duke of Alençon.

Governor of Paris. Bastard of Orleans.

Master-Gunner of Orleans, and his son.

General of the French forces in Bourdeaux.

A French Sergeant. A Porter.

An old Shepherd, father to Joan la Pucelle.

Margaret, *daughter to Reignier; afterwards married to King Henry.*

Countess of Auvergne.

Joan la Pucelle, *commonly called, Joan of Arc.*

Fiends appearing to La Pucelle, Lords, Warders of the Tower, Heralds, Officers, Soldiers, Messengers, and several Attendants both on the English and French.

SCENE, *partly in England, and partly in France.*

FIRST PART OF
KING HENRY VI.

ACT I. SCENE I.

Westminster Abbey.

Dead march. Corpse of King Henry the Fifth discovered, lying in state; attended on by the Dukes of BEDFORD, GLOSTER, and EXETER; the Earl of WARWICK;² the Bishop of Winchester, Herald, &c.

Bed. Hung be the heavens with black,³ yield day to night!

Comets, importing change of times and states,
Brandish your crystal tresses + in the sky;
And with them scourge the bad revolting stars,
That have consented⁵ unto Henry's death!

B 3.

Henry

² The *Earl of Warwick* who makes his appearance in the first scene of this play is *Richard Beauchamp*, who is a character in *King Henry V.* The Earl who appears in the subsequent part of it, is *Richard Nevil*, son to the *Earl of Salisbury*, who became possessed of the title in right of his wife, *Anne*, sister of *Henry Beauchamp Duke of Warwick*, on the death of *Anne* his only child in 1449. *Richard*, the father of this *Henry*, was appointed governor to the king, on the demise of *Thomas Beaufort, Duke of Exeter*, and died in 1439. There is no reason to think that the author meant to confound the two characters. RITSON.

³ Alluding to our ancient stage-practice when a tragedy was to be expected. STEEVENS.

⁴ *Crystal* is an epithet repeatedly bestowed on comets by our ancient writers. STEEVENS.

⁵ *That have consented—*] If this expression means no more than that the stars gave a bare consent, or agreed to let King Henry die, it does no great honour to its author. I believe to consent, in this instance, means to act in concert. *Concentus*, Lat. *Consented*, or as it should be spelt, *concented*, means,

Henry the fifth, too famous to live long!

England ne'er lost a king of so much worth.

Glo. England ne'er had a king, until this time.

Virtue he had, deserving to command:

His brandish'd sword did blind men with his beams;

His arms spread wider than a dragon's wings;

His sparkling eyes replete with wrathful fire,

More dazzled and drove back his enemies,

Than mid-day sun, fierce bent against their faces.

What should I say? his deeds exceed all speech:

He ne'er lift up his hand, but conquered.

Exe. We mourn in black; Why mourn we not in blood?

Henry is dead, and never shall revive:

Upon a wooden coffin we attend;

And death's dishonourable victory

We with our stately presence glorify,

Like captives bound to a triumphant car.

What? shall we curse the planets of mishap,

That plotted thus our glory's overthrow?

Or shall we think the subtle-witted French

Conjurers, and forcerers, that, afraid of him,

By magick verses have contrived his end?

Win.

means, have thrown themselves into a malignant configuration, to promote the death of Henry. Spenser, in more than one instance, spells this word as it appears in the text of Shakspeare; as does Ben Jonson, in his *Epithalamion on Mr. Weston*. STEEVENS.

Steevens is right in his explanation of the word *consented*.

The word appears to be used in the same sense in the fifth scene of this act, where Talbot says to his troops:

“You all *consented* unto Salisbury's death,

“For none would strike a stroke in his revenge.” M. MASON.

Consent, in all the books of the age of Elizabeth, and long afterwards, is the usual spelling of the word *concept*. In other places I have adopted the modern and more proper spelling; but, in the present instance, I apprehend, the word was used in its ordinary sense. In the second act, Talbot, reproaching the soldiery, uses the same expression, certainly without any idea of a *malignant configuration*:

“You all *consented* unto Salisbury's death.” MALONE.

6 There was a notion prevalent a long time, that life might be taken away by metrical charms. As superstition grew weaker, these charms were imagined only to have power on irrational animals. In our author's time it was supposed that the Irish could kill rats by a song. JOHNSON.

KING HENRY VI.

7

Win. He was a king blest'd of the King of kings.
Unto the French the dreadful judgement day
So dreadful will not be, as was his fight.
The battles of the Lord of hosts he fought :
The church's prayers made him so prosperous.

Glo. The church! where is it? Had not churchmen
pray'd,
His thread of life had not so soon decay'd :
None do you like but an effeminate prince,
Whom, like a schoolboy, you may over-awe.

Win. Gloster, whate'er we like, thou art protector ;
And lookest to command the prince, and realm,
Thy wife is proud ; she holdeth thee in awe,
More than God, or religious churchmen, may.

Glo. Name not religion, for thou lov'st the flesh ;
And ne'er throughout the year to church thou go'st,
Except it be to pray against thy foes.

Bed. Cease, cease these jars, and rest your minds in peace!
Let's to the altar :—Heralds, wait on us :—
Instead of gold, we'll offer up our arms ;
Since arms avail not, now that Henry's dead.—
Posterity, await for wretched years,
When at their mothers' moist eyes babes shall suck ;
Our isle be made a nourish of salt tears,⁷
And none but women left to wail the dead.—
Henry the fifth ! thy ghost I invoke ;

B 4

Prosper

⁷ Mr. Pope—*marish*. All the old copies read, *a nourish* : and considering it is said in the line immediately preceding, that babes shall suck at their mothers' moist eyes, it seems very probable that our author wrote, *a nourice*, i. e. that the whole isle should be one common nurse, or nourisher, of tears : and those be the nourishment of its miserable issue. THEOBALD.

Was there ever such nonsense ! But he did not know that *marish* is an old word for marsh or fen ; and therefore very judiciously thus corrected by Mr. Pope. WARBURTON.

We should certainly read—*marish*. So, in *The Spanish Tragedy* :

“ Made mountains *marsh*, with spring-tides of my tears.”

RITSON.

I have been informed, that what we call at present a *stew*, in which fish, are preserved alive, was anciently called a *nourish*. *Nourice*, however, Fr. a nurse, was anciently spelt many different ways, among which *nourish* was one. STEEVENS.

8 FIRST PART OF

Prosper this realm, keep it from civil broils!
Combat with adverse planets in the heavens!
A far more glorious star thy soul will make,
Than Julius Cæsar, or bright ⁸——

Enter a Messenger.

Mess. My honourable lords, health to you all!
Sad tidings bring I to you out of France,
Of loss, of slaughter, and discomfiture:
Guienne, Champagne, Rheims, Orleans,⁹
Paris, Guyfors, Poitiers, are all quite lost.

Bed. What say'st thou, man, before dead Henry's corse?
Speak softly; or the loss of those great towns
Will make him burst his lead, and rise from death.

Glo. Is Paris lost? is Rouen yielded up?
If Henry were recall'd to life again,
These news would cause him once more yield the ghost.

Exe. How were they lost? what treachery was us'd?

Mess. No treachery; but want of men and money.
Among the soldiers this is muttered,—

That

⁸ I can't guess the occasion of the hemistich and imperfect sense in this place; 'tis not impossible it might have been filled up with—*Francis Drake*, though that were a terrible anachronism (as bad as Hector's quoting Aristotle in *Trilus and Cressida*); yet perhaps at the time that brave Englishman was in his glory, to an English-hearted audience, and pronounced by some favourite actor, the thing might be popular, though not judicious; and, therefore, by some critic in favour of the author afterwards struck out. But this is a mere slight conjecture. POPE.

To confute the slight conjecture of Pope, a whole page of vehement opposition is annexed to this passage by Theobald. Sir Thomas Hanmer has stopped at *Cæsar*—perhaps more judiciously. It might, however, have been written,—or bright *Berenice*. JOHNSON.

Pope's conjecture is confirmed by this peculiar circumstance, that two blazing stars (the *Julium sidus*) are part of the arms of the *Drake* family. It is well known that families and arms were much more attended to in Shakspeare's time, than they are at this day. M. MASON.

This blank undoubtedly arose from the transcriber's or compositor's not being able to make out the name. So, in a subsequent passage the word *Nero* was omitted for the same reason. MALONE.

⁹ This verse might be completed by the insertion of *Rouen* among the places lost, as Gloucester in his next speech infers that it had been mentioned with the rest. STEEVENS.

That here you maintain several factions ;
And, whilst a field should be despatch'd and fought,
You are disputing of your generals.

One would have ling'ring wars, with little cost ;

Another would fly swift, but wanteth wings ;

A third man thinks, without expence at all,

By guileful fair words peace may be obtain'd.

Awake, awake, English nobility !

Let not sloth dim your honours, new-begot :

Cropp'd are the flower-de-luces in your arms ;

Of England's coat one half is cut away.

Exe. Were our tears wanting to this funeral,
These tidings would call forth her flowing tides.²

Bed. Me they concern ; regent I am of France :—

Give me my steeled coat, I'll fight for France.—

Away with these disgraceful wailing robes !

Wounds I will lead the French, instead of eyes,

To weep their intermissive miseries.³

Enter another Messenger.

2. *Mess.* Lords, view these letters, full of bad mischance,
France is revolted from the English quite ;

Except some petty towns of no import :

The Dauphin Charles is crowned king in Rheims ;

The bastard of Orleans with him is join'd ;

Reignier, duke of Anjou, doth take his part ;

The duke of Alençon flieth to his side.

Exe. The Dauphin crowned king ! all fly to him !

O, whither shall we fly from this reproach ?

Glo. We will not fly, but to our enemies' throats :—

Bedford, if thou be slack, I'll fight it out.

Bed. Gloster, why doubt'st thou of my forwardness ?

An army have I muster'd in my thoughts,

Wherewith already France is over-run.

² i. e. England's flowing tides. MALONE.

³ i. e. their miseries, which have had a short intermission from Henry the Fifth's death to my coming amongst them. WARBURTON.

Enter a third Messenger.

3. *Mess.* My gracious lords,—to add to your laments,
Wherewith you now bedew king Henry's hearse,—
I must inform you of a dismal fight,
Betwixt the stout lord Talbot and the French.

Win. What! wherein Talbot overcame? is't so?

3. *Mess.* O, no; wherein lord Talbot was o'erthrown:
The circumstance I'll tell you more at large.
The tenth of August last, this dreadful lord,
Retiring from the siege of Orleans,
Having full scarce six thousand in his troop,⁴
By three and twenty thousand of the French
Was round encompassed and fet upon:
No leisure had he to enrank his men;
He wanted pikes to set before his archers;
Instead whereof, sharp stakes, pluck'd out of hedges,
They pitched in the ground confusedly,
To keep the horsemen off from breaking in.
More than three hours the fight continued;
Where valiant Talbot, above human thought,
Enacted wonders with his sword and lance.
Hundreds he sent to hell, and none durst stand him;
Here, there, and every where, enrag'd he slew:
The French exclaim'd, The devil was in arms;
All the whole army stood agaz'd on him:
His soldiers, spying his undaunted spirit,
A Talbot! a Talbot! cried out amain,
And rush'd into the bowels of the battle.
Here had the conquest fully been seal'd up,
If sir John Fastolfe⁵ had not play'd the coward;

He

⁴ The modern editors read,—*scarce full*, but, I think, unnecessarily.
So, in *The Tempest*:

“ — Prospero, master of a *full* poor cell.” STEEVENS.

⁵ Mr. Pope has taken notice, “That Falstaff is here introduced again, who was dead in *Henry V.* The occasion whereof is, that this play was written before *King Henry IV.* or *King Henry V.*” But it is the historical Sir John Fastolfe (for so he was called by both our Chroniclers) that is here mentioned; who was a lieutenant general, deputy regent to the duke

He being in the vaward, (plac'd behind,⁶
 With purpose to relieve and follow them,)
 Cowardly fled, not having struck one stroke.
 Hence grew the general wreck and massacre;
 Enclosed were they with their enemies:
 A base Walloon, to win the Dauphin's grace,
 Thrust Talbot with a spear into the back;
 Whom all France, with their chief assembled strength,
 Durst not presume to look once in the face.

Bed. Is Talbot slain? then I will slay myself,
 For living idly here, in pomp and ease,
 Whilst such a worthy leader wanting aid,
 Unto his dastard foe-men is betray'd.

3. *Mess.* O no, he lives; but is took prisoner,
 And lord Scales with him, and lord Hungerford;
 Most of the rest slaughter'd, or took, likewise.

Bed. His ransom there is none but I shall pay:
 I'll hale the Dauphin headlong from his throne,
 His crown shall be the ransom of my friend;
 Four of their lords I'll change for one of ours.—
 Farewell, my masters; to my task will I;
 Bonfires in France forthwith I am to make,
 To keep our great saint George's feast withal:

B 6

Ten

duke of Bedford in Normandy, and knight of the garter; and not the comick character afterwards introduced by our author, and which was a creature merely of his own brain. Nor when he named him *Falstaff* do I believe he had any intention of throwing a slur on the memory of this renowned old warrior. THEOBALD.

Mr. Theobald might have seen his notion contradicted in the very line he quotes from. *Fastolfe*, whether truly or not, is said by Hall and Holinshed to have been degraded for cowardice. Dr. Heylin, in his *Saint George for England*, tells us, that "he was afterwards, upon good reason by him alledged in his defence, restored to his honour."—"This Sir *John Falstaff*," continues he, "was without doubt, a valiant and wise captain, notwithstanding the stage hath made merry with him." FARMER.

For an account of this Sir John Fastolfe, see the fifth volume of the *Biographia Britannica*. NICHOLS.

⁶ Some of the editors seem to have considered this as a contradiction in terms, and have proposed to read—the *rearward*,—but without necessity. Some part of the van must have been behind the foremost line of it. We often say the *back front* of a house. STEEVENS.

Ten thousand soldiers with me I will take,
Whose bloody deeds shall make all Europe quake.

3. *Meff.* So you had need; for Orleans is besieg'd;
The English army is grown weak and faint:
The earl of Salisbury craveth supply
And hardly keeps his men from mutiny,
Since they, so few, watch such a multitude.

Exe. Remember, lords, your oaths to Henry sworn;
Either to quell the Dauphin utterly,
Or bring him in obedience to your yoke.

Bed. I do remember it; and here take leave,
To go about my preparation.

[*Exit.*

Glo. I'll to the Tower with all the haste I can,
To view the artillery and munition;
And then I will proclaim young Henry king;

[*Exit.*

Exe. To Eltham will I, where the young king is,
Being ordain'd his special governor;
And for his safety there I'll best devise.

[*Exit.*

Win. Each hath his place and function to attend:
I am left out; for me nothing remains,
But long I will not be Jack-out-of-office;
The king from Eltham I intend to send,
And sit at chiefest stern of public weal.⁷ [*Exit. Scene closes.*

⁷ The king was not at this time so much in the power of the Cardinal, that he could send him where he pleased. I have therefore no doubt but that there is an error in this passage, and that it should be read thus:

*The king from Eltham I intend to steal,
And sit at chiefest stern of publick weal.*

This slight alteration preserves the sense, and the rhyme also, with which many scenes in this play conclude. The king's person, as appears from the speech immediately preceding this of Winchester, was under the care of the Duke of Exeter, not of the Cardinal:

“*Exe.* To Eltham will I, where the young king is,
“Being ordain'd his special governor.” M. MASON.

The second charge in the *Articles of Accusation* preferred by the Duke of Gloster against the Bishop, (Hall's *Chron.* Henry VI. f. 12, b.) countenances this conjecture. MALONE.

The disagreeable clash of the words—*intend* and *send*, seems indeed to confirm the propriety of Mr. M. Mason's emendation. STEEVENS.

SCENE II.

France. *Before Orleans.*

Enter CHARLES, with his forces; ALENÇON, REIGNIER, and Others.

Char. Mars his true moving, even as in the heavens,
So in the earth, to this day is not known;
Late, did he shine upon the English side;
Now we are victors, upon us he smiles.
What towns of any moment, but we have;
At pleasure here we lie, near Orleans;
Otherw hiles, the famish'd English, like pale ghosts,
Faintly besiege us one hour in a month.

Alen. They want their porridge, and their fat bull-beeves?
Either they must be dieted, like mules,
And have their provender ty'd to their mouths,
Or piteous they will look like drowned mice.

Reig. Let's raise the siege; Why live we idly here?
Talbot is taken, whom we wont to fear:
Remaineth none, but mad-brain'd Salisbury;
And he may well in fretting spend his gall,
Nor men, nor money, hath he to make war.

Char. Sound, found alarum; we will rush on them.
Now for the honour of the forlorn French:—
Him I forgive my death, that killeth me,
When he sees me go back one-foot, or fly.

[*Exeunt.*]

Alarums; Excursions; afterwards a Retreat.

Re-enter CHARLES, ALENÇON, REIGNIER, and Others.

Char. Who ever saw the like? what men have I?—
Dogs! cowards! dastards!—I would ne'er have fled,
But that they left me 'midst my enemies.

Reig. Salisbury is a desperate homicide:
He fighteth as one weary of his life.

The

The other lords, like lions wanting food,
Do rush upon us as their hungry prey.⁸

Aler. Froisard, a countryman of ours, records,
England all Olivers and Rowlands bred,⁹
During the time Edward the third did reign.
More truly now may this be verified;
For none but Sampsons, and Goliaffes,
It sendeth forth to skirmish. One to ten!
Lean raw-bon'd rascals! who would e'er suppose
They had such courage and audacity?

Char. Let's leave this town: for they are hair-brain'd
flaves,

And hunger will enforce them to be more eager:²
Of old I know them; rather with their teeth
The walls they'll tear down, than forsake the siege.

Reig. I think, by some odd gimmals³ or device,
Their arms are fet, like clocks,⁴ still to strike on;
Else ne'er could they hold out so, as they do.

By

⁸ I believe it should be read:

“—as their hungred prey.” JOHNSON.

I adhere to the old reading, which appears to signify—the prey for
which they are hungry. STEEVENS.

⁹ These were two of the most famous in the list of Charlemagne's twelve
peers; and their exploits are rendered so ridiculously and equally extra-
vagant by the old romancers, that from thence arose that saying amongst
our plain and sensible ancestors, of giving one a Rowland for his Oliver, to
signify the matching one incredible lye with another. WARBURTON.

Rather, to oppose one hero to another, i. e. to give a person as good a one
as he brings. STEEVENS.

² The preposition *to* should be omitted, as injurious to the measure, and
unnecessary in the old elliptical mode of writing. STEEVENS.

³ A *gimmal* is a piece of jointed work, where one piece moves within
another, whence it is taken at large for an engine. It is now by the vulgar
called a *gimcrack*. JOHNSON.

In the inventory of the jewels, &c. belonging to Salisbury cathedral,
taken in 1536, 28 Henry VIII. is, “A faire chest with *gimmals* and key.”

STEEVENS.

⁴ Perhaps the author was thinking of the clocks in which figures in the
shape of men struck the hours. Of these there were many in his time.

MALONE.

To go like *clockwork*, is still a phrase in common use, to express a regular
and constant motion. STEEVENS.

By my consent, we'll e'en let them alone.

Alen. Be it so.

Enter the Bastard of Orleans.

Bast. Where's the prince Dauphin? I have news for him.

Char. Bastard of Orleans,⁵ thrice welcome to us.

Bast. Methinks, your looks are sad, your cheer appall'd;⁶
Hath the late overthrow wrought this offence?
Be not dismay'd, for succour is at hand:
A holy maid hither with me I bring,
Which by a vision sent to her from heaven,
Ordained is to raise this tedious siege,
And drive the English forth the bounds of France.
The spirit of deep prophecy she hath,
Exceeding the nine sibyls of old Rome;⁷
What's past, and what's to come, she can descry.
Speak, shall I call her in? Believe my words,⁸

For

⁵ That this in former times was not a term of reproach, see Bishop Hurd's *Letters on Chivalry and Romance*, in the third volume of his *Dialogues*, p. 233, who observing on circumstances of agreement between the heroic and Gothick manners, says that "Bastardy was in credit with both." One of William the Conqueror's charters begins, "*Ego Gulielmus cognomento Bastardus.*" And in the reign of Edward I. John Earl Warren and Surry being called before the King's Justices to show by what title he held his lands, *produxit in medium gladium antiquum evaginatum—et ait, Ecce Domini mei, ecce warrantum meum! Antecessores mei cum Willō Bastardo, venientes conquesti sunt terras suas, &c.* Dugd. Orig. Jurid. p. 13. Dugd. Bar. of Engl. Vol. I. Blount 9.

"Le Bastarde de Savoy," is inscribed over the head of one of the figures in a curious picture of the Battle of Pavia, in the Ashmolean Museum. In Fenn's *Paston Letters*, Vol. III. p. 72-3, in the articles of impeachment against the Duke of Suffolk, we read of the "Erle of Danis, bastard of Orlyauce——." VAILLANT.

⁶ *Cheer* is jollity, gaiety. M. MASON.

Cheer, rather signifies—countenance. STEEVENS.

⁷ There were no nine sibyls of Rome; but he confounds things, and mistakes this for the nine books of Sibylline oracles, brought to one of the Tarquins. WARBURTON.

⁸ —Believe my words,] It should be read:

—Believe her words. JOHNSON.

I perceive no need of change. The Bastard calls upon the Dauphin to believe the extraordinary account he has just given of the prophetic spirit and prowess of the Maid of Orleans. MALONE.

For they are certain and infallible.

Char. Go, call her in : [*Exit Bastard.*] But, first, to try her skill,

Reignier, stand thou as Dauphin in my place ;

Question her proudly, let thy looks be stern ;——

By this means shall we sound what skill she hath. [*Retires.*]

Enter LA PUCELLE, Bastard of Orleans, and Others.

Reig. Fair maid, is't thou wilt do these wond'rous feats ?

Puc. Reignier, is't thou that thinkest to beguile me ?——

Where is the Dauphin ?——come, come from behind ;

I know thee well, though never seen before.

Be not amaz'd, there's nothing hid from me :

In private will I talk with thee apart ;——

Stand back, you lords, and give us leave awhile.

Reig. She takes upon her bravely at first dash.

Puc. Dauphin, I am by birth a shepherd's daughter,

My wit untrain'd in any kind of art.

Heaven, and our Lady gracious, hath it pleas'd

To shine on my contemptible estate :

Lo, whilst I waited on my tender lambs,

And to sun's parching heat display'd my cheeks,

God's mother deigned to appear to me ;

And, in a vision full of majesty,

Will'd me to leave my base vocation,

And free my country from calamity :

Her aid she promis'd, and assur'd success :

In complete glory she reveal'd herself ;

And, whereas I was black and swart before,

With those clear rays which she infus'd on me,

That beauty am I bless'd with, which you see.

Ask me what question thou canst possible,

And I will answer unpremeditated :

My courage try by combat, if thou dar'st,

And thou shalt find that I exceed my sex.

Resolve on this : ⁹ Thou shalt be fortunate,

If thou receive me for thy warlike mate.

Char.

⁹ i. e. be firmly persuaded of it. STEEVENS.

Char. Thou hast astonish'd me with thy high terms ;
Only this proof I'll of thy valour make,—
In single combat thou shalt buckle with me ;
And, if thou vanquishest, thy words are true ;
Otherwise, I renounce all confidence.

Puc. I am prepar'd ; here is my keen-edg'd sword,
Deck'd with five flower-de-luces on each side ;
The which, at Touraine, in saint Katharine's church-yard,
Out of a deal of old iron I chose forth.

Char. Then come o'God's name, I fear no woman.

Puc. And, while I live, I'll ne'er fly from a man.

[*They fight.*]

Char. Stay, stay thy hands ; thou art an Amazon,
And fightest with the sword of Deborah.

Puc. Christ's mother helps me, else I were too weak.

Char. Whoe'er helps thee, 'tis thou that must help me :
Impatiently I burn with thy desire ;
My heart and hands thou hast at once subdu'd.
Excellent Pucelle, if thy name be so,
Let me thy servant, and not sovereign, be ;
'Tis the French Dauphin³ sueth to thee thus.

Puc. I must not yield to any rites of love,
For my profession's sacred from above :
When I have chased all thy foes from hence,
Then will I think upon a recompense.

Char. Mean time, look gracious on thy prostrate thrall.

Reig. My lord, methinks, is very long in talk.

Alen. Doubtless, he thrives this woman to her smock ;
Else ne'er could he so long protract his speech.

Reig.

² Old copy—*five* ; but we should read, according to Holinshed,—*five* flower-de-luces.—“ —in a secret place there among old iron, appointed she hir sword to be sought out and brought her, that with *five* floure-de-luces was graven on both sides,” &c. STEEVENS.

The same mistake having happened in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, and in other places, I have not hesitated to reform the text, according to Mr. Steevens's suggestion. In the MSS. of the age of Queen Elizabeth, *u* and *n* are undistinguishable. MALONE.

³ The Dauphin in the preceding play is *John*, the elder brother of the present speaker. He died in 1416, the year after the battle of Agincourt.

RITSON.

Reig. Shall we disturb him, since he keeps no mean?

Alen. He may mean more than we poor men do know :
These women are shrewd tempters with their tongues.

Reig. My lord, where are you? what devise you on?
Shall we give over Orleans, or no?

Puc. Why, no, I say, distrustful recreants!
Fight till the last gasp; I will be your guard.

Char. What she says, I'll confirm; we'll fight it out.

Puc. Assign'd am I to be the English scourge.
This night the siege assuredly I'll raise :
Expect saint Martin's summer,⁴ halcyon days,
Since I have entered into these wars.

Glory is like a circle in the water,
Which never ceaseth to enlarge itself,
Till, by broad spreading, it disperse to nought.
With Henry's death, the English circle ends;
Dispersed are the glories it included.
Now am I like that proud insulting ship,
Which Cæsar and his fortune bare at once.⁵

Char. Was Mahomet inspired with a dove?⁶
Thou with an eagle art inspired then.
Helen, the mother of great Constantine,
Nor yet saint Philip's daughter,⁷ were like thee.
Bright star of Venus, fall'n down on the earth,
How may I reverently worship thee enough?

Alen.

⁴ *Expect saint Martin's summer,*] That is, expect prosperity after misfortune, like fair weather at Martlemas, after winter has begun.

JOHNSON.

⁵ This alludes to a passage in Plutarch's *Life of Julius Cæsar*, thus translated by Sir T. North: "Cæsar hearing that, straight discovered himselfe unto the maister of the pynnafe, who at the first was amazed when he saw him; but Cæsar, &c. said unto him, Good fellow, be of good cheere, &c. and fear not, for thou hast Cæsar and bis fortune with thee."

STEEVENS.

⁶ *Mahomet* had a dove, "which he used to feed with wheat out of his ear; which dove, when it was hungry, lighted on *Mahomet's* shoulder, and thrust its bill in to find its breakfast; *Mahomet* perswading the rude and simple Arabians, that it was the Holy Ghost that gave him advice." See Sir Walter Raleigh's *History of the World*, Book I. Part I. ch. vi. *Life of Mahomet*, by Dr Prideaux. GREY.

⁷ Meaning the four daughters of Philip mentioned in the *Acts*.

HANMER.

KING HENRY VI.

19

Alen. Leave off delays, and let us raise the siege.

Reig. Woman, do what thou canst to save our honours ;
Drive them from Orleans, and be immortaliz'd.

Char. Presently we'll try : — Come, let's away about it :
No prophet will I trust, if she prove false. [Exeunt.

SCENE III.

London. Hill before the Tower.

Enter, at the Gates, the Duke of GLOSTER, with his Serving-
men in blue coats.

Glo. I am come to survey the Tower this day ;
Since Henry's death, I fear, there is conveyance.⁸ —
Where be these warders, that they wait not here ?

Open the gates ; it is Gloster that calls. [Servants knock.

1. *Ward.* [Within.] Who is there that knocks so im-
periously ?

1. *Serv.* It is the noble duke of Gloster.

2. *Ward.* [Within.] Whoe'er he be, you may not be
let in.

1. *Serv.* Villains, answer you so the lord protector ?

1. *Ward.* [Within.] The Lord protect him ! so we
answer him :

We do no otherwise than we are will'd.

Glo. Who willed you ? or whose will stands, but mine ?
There's no protector of the realm, but I. —
Break up the gates,⁹ I'll be your warrantize :
Shall I be flouted thus by dunghill grooms ?

⁸ Conveyance means theft. HANMER.

⁹ I suppose to break up the gate is to force up the portcullis, as by the
application of petards to blow up the gates themselves. STEEVENS.

To break up in Shakspeare's age was the same as to break open. Thus
in our translation of the Bible : " They have broken up, and have passed
through the gate." Micah, ii. 13. So again, in St. Matthew, xxiv. 43 :
" He would have watched, and would not have suffered his house to be
broken up." WHALLEY.

Servants

Servants *rust* at the Tower gates. Enter, to the gates,
WOODVILLE, the Lieutenant.

Wood. [*Within.*] What noise is this? what traitors have
we here?

Glo. Lieutenant, is it you whose voice I hear?
Open the gates; here's Gloster that would enter.

Wood. [*Within.*] Have patience, noble duke; I may
not open;

The cardinal of Winchester forbids:

From him I have express commandement,

That thou, nor none of thine, shall be let in.

Glo. Faint-hearted Woodville, prizest him 'fore me?
Arrogant Winchester? that haughty prelate,
Whom Henry, our late sovereign ne'er could brook?
Thou art no friend to God, or to the king:
Open the gates, or I'll shut thee out shortly.

1. Serv. Open the gates unto the lord protector;
Or we'll burst them open, if that you come not quickly.

Enter WINCHESTER, attended by a train of Servants in *tarwony*
*coats.*²

Win. How now, ambitious Humphry? what means this?³

Glo. Piel'd priest,⁴ dost thou command me to be shut out?

Win.

² It appears from the following passage in a comedy called, *A Maiden-head well Lost*, 1634, that a *tarwony coat* was the dress of a *summoner*, i. e. an apparitor; an officer whose business it was to summon offenders to an ecclesiastical court:

“Tho I was never a *tarwony-coat*, I have play'd the *summoner's* part.”

These are the proper attendants therefore on the Bishop of Winchester.

Tarwony was likewise a colour worn for mourning, as well as *black*; and was therefore the suitable and sober habit of any person employed in an ecclesiastical court. STEEVENS.

³ The first folio has it—*umpheir*. The traces of the letters, and the word being printed in *Italicks*, convince me, that the duke's christian name lurk'd under this corruption. THEOBALD.

⁴ Alluding to his shaven crown. POPE.

In Weever's *Funeral Monuments*, p. 364, Robert Baldocke, bishop of London

Win. I do, thou most usurping proditor,
And not protector of the king or realm.

Glo. Stand back, thou manifest conspirator;
Thou, that contriv'dst to murder our dead lord;
Thou, that giv'st whores indulgences to sin:⁵
I'll canvass thee in thy broad cardinal's hat,⁶
If thou proceed in this thy insolence.

Win. Nay, stand thou back, I will not budge a foot;
This be Damascus, be thou cursed Cain,⁷
To slay thy brother Abel, if thou wilt.

Glo. I will not slay thee, but I'll drive thee back:
Thy scarlet robes, as a child's bearing-cloth

I'll

London, is called a *peel'd* priest, *pile* clerk, seemingly in allusion to his
shaven crown alone. So, *bald-head* was a term of scorn and mockery.

TOLLET.

The old copy has—*piel'd* priest. *Piel'd* and *pil'd* were only the old
spelling of *peel'd*. MALONE.

⁵ The public stews were formerly under the district of the bishop of
Winchester. POPE.

There is now extant an old manuscript (formerly the office-book of
the court-leet held under the jurisdiction of the bishop of Winchester in
Southwark) in which are mentioned the several fees arising from the
brothel-houses allowed to be kept in the bishop's manor, with the customs
and regulations of them. One of the articles is,

“*De his, qui custodiunt mulieres habentes nefandam infirmitatem.*”

“*Item.* That no stewholder keep any woman within his house, that
hath any sickness of brenning, but that she be put out upon pain of mak-
ing a fyne unto the lord of C shillings.” UPTON.

⁶ This means, I believe—I'll tumble thee into thy great bat, and shake
thee, as bran and meal are shaken in a sieve.

To *canvas* was anciently used for to *sift*. STEEVENS.

Probably from the materials of which the bottom of a *sieve* is made.
Perhaps, however, in the passage before us *Gloster* means, that he will toss
the cardinal in a sheet, even while he was invested with the peculiar badge
of his ecclesiastical dignity.—Coarse sheets were formerly termed *canvass*
sheets. MALONE.

⁷ About four miles from Damascus is a high hill, reported to be the
same on which Cain slew his brother Abel. Maundiel's *Travels*, p. 131.

POPE.

Sir John Maundeville says, “And in that place where *Damascus* was
founded, *Kaym* sloughe *Abel* his brother.” Maundeville's *Travels*, edit.
1725, p. 148. REED.

“*Damascus* is as moche to saye as shedyng of blood. For there *Chaym*
slowe *Abell*, and hydde in the sonde.” *Polychronicon*, fo. xii. RITSON.

I'll use, to carry thee out of this place.

Win. Do what thou dar'st ; I beard thee to thy face.

Glo. What ? am I dar'd, and bearded to my face ?—
 Draw, men, for all this privileged place ;
 Blue-coats to tawny-coats. Priest, beware your beard ;
 [*Gloster and his men attack the Bishop.*]

I mean to tug it, and to cuff you soundly :
 Under my feet I stamp thy cardinal's hat ;
 In spite of pope, or dignities of church,
 Here by the cheeks I'll drag thee up and down.

Win. Gloster, thou'lt answer this before the pope.

Glo. Winchester goose,⁸ I cry—a rope ! a rope !—
 Now beat them hence, Why do you let them stay ?—
 Thee I'll chase hence, thou wolfe in sheep's array.—
 Out, tawny coats !—out, scarlet hypocrite !

Here a great tumult. In the midst of it, Enter the Mayor of London,⁹ and Officers.

May. Fie, lords ! that you, being supreme magistrates,
 Thus contumeliously should break the peace !

Glo. Peace, mayor ; thou know'st little of my wrongs :
 Here's Beaufort, that regards nor God nor king,
 Hath here distrain'd the Tower to his use.

Win. Here's Gloster too, a foe to citizens ;
 One that still motions war, and never peace,
 O'ercharging your free purses with large fines ;
 That seeks to overthrow religion,
 Because he is protector of the realm ;
 And would have armour here out of the Tower,
 To crown himself king, and suppress the prince.

Glo. I will not answer thee with words, but blows.

[*Here they skirmish again.*]

May. Nought rests for me in this tumultuous strife,
 But to make open proclamation :—
 Come, officer ; as loud as e'er thou canst.

OFF.

⁸ A strumpet, or the consequences of her love, was a Winchester goose.

JOHNSON.

⁹ I learn from Mr. Pennant's LONDON, that this Mayor was John Coventry, an opulent mercer, from whom is descended the present Earl of Coventry. STEEVENS.

OFF. *All manner of men, assembled here in arms this day, against God's peace and the king's, we charge and command you, in his highness' name, to repair to your several dwelling-places; and not to wear, handle, or use, any sword, weapon, or dagger, henceforward, upon pain of death.*

Glo. Cardinal, I'll be no breaker of the law:
But we shall meet, and break our minds at large.

Win. Gloster, we'll meet; to thy dear cost, be sure:
Thy heart-blood I will have for this day's work.

May. I'll call for clubs, if you will not away:²—
This cardinal is more haughty than the devil.

Glo. Mayor, farewell: thou dost but what thou may'st.

Win. Abominable Gloster! guard thy head;
For I intend to have it, ere long. [Exeunt.

May. See the coast clear'd, and then we will depart.—
Good God! that nobles should such stomachs³ bear!
I myself fight not once in forty years.⁴ [Exeunt.

SCENE

² This was an outcry for assistance, on any riot or quarrel in the streets. It hath been explained before. WHALLEY.

So, in *King Henry VIII*: “—— and hit that woman, who cried out, clubs!” STEEVENS.

That is, for peace-officers armed with clubs or staves. In affrays, it was customary in this author's time to call out *clubs, clubs!* MALONE.

³ *Stomach* is pride, a haughty spirit of resentment. STEEVENS.

⁴ The mayor of London was not brought in to be laugh'd at, as is plain by his manner of interfering in the quarrel; where he all along preserves a sufficient dignity. In the line preceding these, he directs his officer, to whom without doubt these two lines should be given. They suit his character, and are very expressive of the pacific temper of the city guards.

WARBURTON.

I see no reason for this change. The Mayor speaks first as a magistrate, and afterwards as a citizen. JOHNSON.

Notwithstanding Warburton's note in support of the dignity of the Mayor, Shakspeare certainly meant to represent him as a poor, well-meaning, simple man, for that is the character he invariably gives to his Mayors. The Mayor of London, in *Richard III.* is just of the same stamp. And so is the Mayor of York, in the Third Part of this play, where he refuses to admit Edward as king, but lets him into the city as Duke of York. on which Gloster says——

“A wise stout captain! and persuaded soon.

“*Hast.* The good old man would fain that all were well.”

Such are all Shakspeare's Mayors. M. MASON.

SCENE IV.

France. Before Orleans.

Enter, on the walls, the Master-Gunner and his Son.

M. Gun. Sirrah, thou know'st how Orleans is besieg'd ;
And how the English have the suburbs won.

Son. Father, I know ; and oft have shot at t hem
Howe'er, unfortunate, I miss'd my aim.

M. Gun. But now thou shalt not. Be thou rul'd by me :
Chief master-gunner am I of this town ;
Something I must do, to procure me grace.
The prince's espials⁵ have informed me,
How the English, in the suburbs close intrench'd,
Wont, through a secret grate of iron bars
In yonder tower, to overpeer the city ;⁶
And thence discover, how, with most advantage,
They may vex us, with shot, or with assault.

To intercept this inconvenience,
A piece of ordnance 'gainst it I have plac'd ;
And fully even these three days have I watch'd,
If I could see them. Now, boy, do thou watch,
For I can stay no longer.
If thou spy'st any, run and bring me word ;
And thou shalt find me at the governor's. [Exit.

Son. Father, I warrant you ; take you no care ;
I'll never trouble you, if I may spy them.

Enter

⁵ *Espials* are spies. STEEVENS.

The word is often used by Hall and Holinshed. MALONE.

⁶ Old copy—*went*. See the notes that follow Dr. Johnson's.

STEEVENS.

That is, the English *went* not *through* a secret grate, but *went* to overpeer the city *through* a secret grate which is in yonder tower. I did not know till of late that this passage had been thought difficult. JOHNSON.

I believe, instead of *went*, we should read—*wont*, the third person plural of the old verb *wont*. *The English—wont*, that is, are accustomed—to overpeer the city. The word is used very frequently by Spenser, and several times by Milton. TYRWHITT.

The emendation proposed by Mr. Tyrwhitt, is fully supported by the passage in Hall's *Chronicle*, on which this speech is formed. MALONE.

Enter, in an upper chamber of a Tower, the Lords SALISBURY and TALBOT,⁷ Sir WILLIAM GLANSDALE, Sir THOMAS GARGRAVE, and Others.

Sal. Talbot, my life, my joy, again return'd !
How wert thou handled, being prisoner ?
Or by what means got'st thou to be releas'd ?
Discourse, I pr'ythee, on this turret's top.

Tal. The duke of Bedford had a prisoner,
Called—the brave lord Ponton de Santrailles ;
For him I was exchange'd and ransomed.
But with a baser man of arms by far,
Once, in contempt, they would have barter'd me :
Which I, disdain'd, scorn'd : and craved death
Rather than I would be so pil'd esteem'd.⁸
In fine, redeem'd I was as I desir'd.
But, O ! the treacherous Fastolfe wounds my heart !
Whom with my bare fists I would execute,
If I now had him brought into my power.

Sal. Yet tell'st thou not, how thou wert entertain'd.

Tal. With scoffs, and scorns, and contumelious taunts.
In open market-place produc'd they me,
To be a publick spectacle to all ;
Here, said they, is the terror of the French,

⁷ Though the three parts of *King Henry VI.* are deservedly numbered among the feeblest performances of Shakspeare, this first of them appears to have been received with the greatest applause. So, in *Pierce Penniless's Supplication to the Devil*, by Nash, 1592 : How would it have joyed brave Talbot (the terror of the French,) to thinke that after he had lien two hundred years in his tombe, he should triumph againe on the stage, and have his bones new embalmed with the teares of ten thousand spectators at least (at severall times,) who in the tragedian that represents his person, imagine they behold him fresh bleeding ? STEEVENS.

⁸ Thus the old copy. Some of the modern editors read, but without authority—*so vile-esteem'd.*—*So pill'd* may mean—*so pillag'd, so stripp'd of honours* ; but I suspect a corruption, which Mr. M. Mason would remedy, by reading either *vile* or *ill-esteem'd*.

It is possible, however, that Shakspeare might have written—*Philistin'd* ; i. e. treated as contumeliously as Sampson was by the *Philistines*.—Both Sampson and Talbot had been prisoners, and were alike insulted by their captors. STEEVENS.

The scare-crow that affrights our children so.⁹
 Then broke I from the officers that led me ;
 And with my nails digg'd stones out of the ground,
 To hurl at the beholders of my shame.
 My grisly countenance made others fly ;
 None durst come near, for fear of sudden death.
 In iron walls they deem'd me not secure ;
 So great fear of my name 'mongst them was spread,
 That they suppos'd, I could rend bars of steel,
 And spurn in pieces posts of adamant :
 Wherefore a guard of chosen shot I had,
 That walk'd about me every minute-while ;
 And if I did but stir out of my bed,
 Ready they were to shoot me to the heart.

Sal. I grieve to hear what torments you endur'd ;
 But we will be reveng'd sufficiently.
 Now it is supper-time in Orleans :
 Here, through this grate, I can count every one,
 And view the Frenchmen how they fortify ;
 Let us look in, the sight will much delight thee. —
 Sir Thomas Gargrave, and sir William Glansdale,
 Let me have your exprefs opinions,
 Where is best place to make our battery next.

Gar. I think, at the north gate : for there stand lords.

Glan. And I, here, at the bulwark of the bridge.

Tal. For aught I see, this city must be famish'd,
 Or with light skirmishes enfeebled.

[*Shot from the town.* SALISBURY and Sir THOMAS
 GARGRAVE fall.]

Sal. O Lord, have mercy on us, wretched sinners !

Gar. O Lord, have mercy on me, woful man !

Tal.

⁹ From Hall's *Chronicle*: " This man [Talbot] was to the French people a very scourge and a daily terror, insomuch that as his person was fearful, and terrible to his adversaries present, so his name and fame was spiteful and dreadful to the common people absent; insomuch that women in France to feare their yong children, would crye, the Talbot commeth, the Talbot commeth." The same thing is said of King Richard I. when he was in the Holy Land See Camden's *Remaines*, 4to. 1614, p. 267.

Tal. What chance is this, that suddenly hath cross'd
us?—

Speak, Salisbury; at least, if thou canst speak;
How far'st thou, mirror of all martial men?
One of thy eyes, and thy cheek's side struck off!²—
Accursed tower! accursed fatal hand,
That hath contriv'd this woful tragedy!
In thirteen battles Salisbury o'ercame;
Henry the fifth he first train'd to the wars:
Whilst any trump did sound, or drum struck up,
His sword did ne'er leave striking in the field.—
Yet liv'st thou, Salisbury? though thy speech doth fail,
One eye thou hast to look to heaven for grace?
The sun with one eye vieweth all the world.—
Heaven, be thou gracious to none alive,
If Salisbury wants mercy at thy hands!—
Bear hence his body, I will help to bury it.—
Sir Thomas Gargrave, hast thou any life?
Speak unto Talbot; nay, look up to him.
Salisbury, cheer thy spirit with this comfort;
Thou shalt not die, whiles ———
He beckons with his hand, and smiles on me;
As who should say, *When I am dead and gone,*
Remember to avenge me on the French.—
Plantagenet, I will; and Nero-like,
Play on the lute, beholding the towns burn:
Wretched shall France be only in my name.

[Thunder heard; afterwards an alarm.

What stir is this? What tumult's in the heavens?
Whence cometh this alarm, and the noise?

Enter a Messenger.

Mess. My lord, my lord, the French have gather'd head—
The Dauphin, with one Joan la Pucelle join'd,—

C 2

A holy

² Camden says in his *Remaines*, that the French scarce knew the use of great ordnance, till the siege of Mans in 1425, when a breach was made in the walls of that town by the English, under the conduct of this earl of Salisbury; and that he was the first English gentleman that was slain by a cannon-ball. MALONE.

A holy prophetess, new risen up,—
Is come with a great power to raise the siege.

[SALISBURY groans.]

Tal. Hear, hear, how dying Salisbury doth groan!
It irks his heart, he cannot be reveng'd. —
Frenchmen, I'll be a Salisbury to you : —
Pucelle or puzzel, dolphin or dogfish,³
Your hearts I'll stamp out with my horse's heels,
And make a quagmire of your mingled brains. —
Convey me Salisbury into his tent,
And then we'll try what these dastard Frenchmen dare.

[Exeunt, bearing out the bodies.]

SCENE V.

The same. Before one of the gates.

Alarum. Skirmishings. TALBOT pursueth the Dauphin, and driveth him in : then enter JOAN LA PUCELLE, driving Englishmen before her. Then enter TALBOT.

Tal. Where is my strength, my valour, and my force ?
Our English troops retire, I cannot stay them :
A woman, clad in armour, chafeth them.

Enter LA PUCELLE.

Here, here she comes : — I'll have a bout with thee ;
Devil, or devil's dam, I'll conjure thee :
Blood will I draw on thee,⁴ thou art a witch,
And straightway give thy soul to him thou serv'st.

Puc. Come, come, 'tis only I that must disgrace thee.

[They fight.]

Tal. Heavens, can you suffer hell so to prevail ?
My breast I'll burst with straining of my courage,
And from my shoulders crack my arms asunder,

But

³ *Puffel* means a dirty wench or a drab, from *puzza*, i. e. malus factor, says Minshew. TOLLET.

⁴ The superstition of those times taught that he that could draw the witch's blood, was free from her power. JOHNSON.

But I will chastise this high-minded strumpet.

Puc. Talbot, farewell; thy hour is not yet come:
I must go victual Orleans forthwith.
O'ertake me, if thou canst; I scorn thy strength.
Go, go, cheer up thy hunger-starved men;
Help Salisbury to make his testament:
This day is ours, as many more shall be.

[*PUCELLE enters the town, with Soldiers.*

Tal. My thoughts are whirled like a potter's wheel;⁵
I know not where I am, nor what I do:
A witch, by fear, not force, like Hannibal,⁶
Drives back our troops, and conquers as she lists:
So bees with smoke, and doves with noisome stench,
Are from their hives, and houses, driven away.
They call'd us, for our fierceness, English dogs;
Now, like to whelps, we crying run away. [*A short alarum.*
Hark, countrymen! either renew the fight,
Or tear the lions out of England's coat;
Renounce your foil, give sheep in lions' stead:
Sheep run not half so timorous from the wolf,
Or horse, or oxen, from the leopard,
As you fly from your oft-subdued slaves.

[*Alarum. Another skirmish.*

It will not be:—Retire into your trenches:
You all consented unto Salisbury's death,
For none would strike a stroke in his revenge.—
Pucelle is enter'd into Orleans,
In spite of us, or aught that we could do.
O, would I were to die with Salisbury!
The shame hereof will make me hide my head.

[*Alarum. Retreat. Exeunt TALBOT and his forces, &c.*

⁵ This idea might have been caught from Psalm lxxxiii. 13: "—Make them like unto a wheel, and as the stubble before the wind." STEEVENS.

⁶ See Hannibal's stratagem to escape by fixing bundles of lighted twigs on the horns of oxen, recorded in *Livy*, Lib. XXII. c. xvi.

HOLT WHITE.

SCENE VI.

The same.

Enter, on the walls, PUCELLE, CHARLES, REIGNIER, ALENÇON, and soldiers.

Puc. Advance our waving colours on the walls ;
Rescu'd is Orleans from the English wolves : —
Thus Joan la Pucelle hath perform'd her word.

Char. Divinest creature, bright Astræa's daughter,
How shall I honour thee for this success ?
'Thy promises are like Adonis' gardens,⁷

That

⁷ It may not be impertinent to take notice of a dispute between four critics, of very different orders, upon this very important point of the gardens of Adonis. Milton had said :

“ Spot more delicious than those gardens feign'd,
“ Or of reviv'd Adonis, or — ”

which Dr. Bentley pronounces spurious ; for that the κῆποι Ἀδωνιδος, the gardens of Adonis, so frequently mentioned by Greek writers, Plato, Plutarch, &c. were nothing but portable earthen pots, with some lettuce or fennel growing in them. On his yearly festival every woman carried one of them for Adonis's worship ; because Venus had once laid him in a lettuce bed. The next day they were thrown away, &c. To this Dr. Pearce replies, That this account of the gardens of Adonis is right, and yet Milton may be defended for what he says of them : for why (says he) did the Grecians on Adonis' festival carry these small gardens about in honour of him ? It was, because they had a tradition, that, when he was alive, he delighted in gardens, and had a magnificent one : for proof of this we have Pliny's words, xix. 4. “ Antiquitas nihil prius, mirata est quàm Hesperidum hortos, ac regum Adonidis & Alcinoi.” One would now think the question well decided : but Mr. Theobald comes, and will needs be Dr. Bentley's second. A learned and reverend gentleman (says he) having attempted to impeach Dr. Bentley of error, for maintaining that there never was existent any magnificent or spacious gardens of Adonis, an opinion in which it has been my fortune to second the doctor, I thought myself concerned, in some part, to weigh those authorities alledged by the objector, &c. The reader sees that Mr. Theobald mistakes the very question in dispute between these two truly learned men, which was not whether Adonis' gardens were ever existent, but whether there was a tradition of any celebrated gardens cultivated by Adonis. For this would sufficiently justify Milton's mention of them, together with the gardens of Alcinous, confessed by the poet himself to be fabulous. But hear their own words. There was no such garden (says Dr. Bentley) ever existent, or even feign'd. He adds the latter

That one day bloom'd, and fruitful were the next.—
 France, triumph in thy glorious prophetess!—
 Recover'd is the town of Orleans:
 More blessed hap did ne'er befall our state.

Reig. Why ring not out the bells throughout the town?
 Dauphin, command the citizens make bonfires,
 And feast and banquet in the open streets,
 To celebrate the joy that God hath given us.

Alen. All France will be replete with mirth and joy,
 When they shall hear how we have play'd the men.

Char. 'Tis Joan, not we, by whom the day is won;
 For which, I will divide my crown with her:
 And all the priests and friars in my realm
 Shall, in procession, sing her endless praise.
 A statelier pyramis to her I'll rear,
 Than Rhodope's,^s or Memphis', ever was:

C 4

In

latter part, as knowing that that would justify the poet; and it is on that assertion only that his adversary Dr. Pearce joins issue with him. *Why* (says he) *did they carry the small earthen gardens?* *It was because they had a tradition, that when alive he delighted in gardens.* Mr. Theobald, therefore, mistaking the question, it is no wonder that all he says, in his long note at the end of his fourth volume, is nothing to the purpose; it being to shew that Dr. Pearce's quotations from Pliny and others, do not prove the real *existence* of the gardens. After these, comes the Oxford editor; and he pronounces in favour of Dr. Bentley against Dr. Pearce, in these words, *The gardens of Adonis were never represented under any local description.* But whether this was said at hazard, or to contradict Dr. Pearce, or to rectify Mr. Theobald's mistake of the question, it is so obscurely expressed, that one can hardly determine. **WARBURTON.**

^s *Rhodope* was a famous strumpet, who acquired great riches by her trade. The least but most finished of the Egyptian pyramids (says Pliny, in the 36th book of his *Natural History*, ch. xii.) was built by her. She is said afterwards to have married Psammetichus, king of Egypt. Dr. Johnson thinks that the Dauphin means to call *Joan of Arc* a strumpet, all the while he is making this loud praise of her. **STEEVENS.**

The brother of Sappho, was in love with *Rhodope*, and purchased her freedom (for she was a slave in the same house with *Æsop* the fabulist) at a great price. *Rhodope* was of Thrace, not of Memphis. Memphis, a city of Egypt, was celebrated for its pyramids. **MALONE.**

The question, I apprehend, is not where *Rhodope* was born, but where she obtained celebrity. Her Thracian birth-place would not have rescued her from oblivion. **STEEVENS.**

The

In memory of her, when she is dead,
 Her ashes, in an urn more precious
 Than the rich-jewel'd coffer of Darius,⁹
 Transported shall be at high festivals
 Before the kings and queens of France.
 No longer on saint Dennis will we cry,
 But Joan la Pucelle shall be France's saint.
 Come in ; and let us banquet royally,
 After this golden day of victory. [Flourish. Exeunt.

ACT II. SCENE I.

The same.

Enter to the gates, a French Sergeant, and two Sentinels.

Serg. Sirs, take your places, and be vigilant :
 If any noise, or soldier, you perceive,

Near

The emendation proposed by Mr. Steevens must be adopted. The meaning is—not that Rhodope herself was of Memphis, but—that her *pyramis* was there. I will rear to her, says the Dauphin, a pyramid more stately than that of Memphis, which was called Rhodope's. Pliny says the pyramids were six miles from that city ; and that “the fairest and most commended for workmanship was built at the cost and charges of one *Rhodope*, a verie strumpet.” RITSON.

⁹ When Alexander the Great took the city of Gaza, the metropolis of Syria, amidst the other spoils and wealth of Darius treasured up there, he found an exceeding rich and beautiful little chest or casket, and asked those about him what they thought fittest to be laid up in it. When they had severally delivered their opinions, he told them, he esteemed nothing so worthy to be preserved in it as *Homer's Iliad*. Vide *Plutarchum in Vita Alexandri Magni*. THEOBALD.

The very words of the text are found in Puttenham's *Arte of English Poesie*, 1589 : “In what price the noble poems of Homer were holden with Alexander the Great, insomuch as everie night they were layd under his pillow, and by day were carried in the rich jewel cofer of Darius, lately before vanquished by him in battaile.” MALONE.

I believe, we should read, with Puttenham, “jewel coffer,” and not, as in the text, “jewel'd coffer.” The *jewel-coffer* of Darius was, I suppose, the cabinet in which he kept his gems.

To a *jewelled* coffer (i. e. a coffer ornamented with jewels) the epithet *rich* would have been superfluous. STEEVENS.

Near to the walls, by some apparent sign,
Let us have knowledge at the court of guard.

1. *Sent.* Sergeant, you shall. [*Exit Sergeant.*] Thus
are poor servitors
(When others sleep upon their quiet beds,)
Constrain'd to watch in darknes, rain, and cold.

*Enter TALBOT, BEDFORD, BURGUNDY, and Forces, with
scaling ladders; their drums beating a dead march.*

Tal. Lord regent,—and redoubted Burgundy,—
By whose approach, the regions of Artois,
Walloon, and Picardy, are friends to us,—
This happy night the Frenchmen are secure,
Having all day carous'd and banqueted :
Embrace we then this opportunity ;
As fitting best to quittance their deceit,
Contriv'd by art, and baleful forcery.

Bed. Coward of France !—how much he wrongs his
fame,
Despairing of his own arm's fortitude,
To join with witches, and the help of hell.

Bur. Traitors have never other company.—
But what's that Pucelle, whom they term so pure ?

Tal. A maid, they say.

Bed. A maid ! and be so martial !

Bur. Pray God, she prove not masculine ere long ;
If underneath the standard of the French,
She carry armour, as she hath begun.

Tal. Well, let them practise and converse with spirits :
God is our fortress ; in whose conquering name,
Let us resolve to scale their flinty bulwarks.

Bed. Ascend, brave Talbot ; we will follow thee.

Tal. Not all together : better far, I guess,
That we do make our entrance several ways ;
That, if it chance the one of us do fail,
The other yet may rise against their force.

Bed. Agreed ; I'll to yon corner.

Bur.

And I this,

C 5

Tal.

Tal. And here will Talbot mount, or make his grave—
Now, Salisbury! for thee, and for the right
Of English Henry, shall this night appear
How much in duty I am bound to both.

*[The English scale the walls, crying St. George! a
Talbot! and all enter by the town.]*

Sent. *[Within.]* Arm, arm! the enemy doth make
assault!

*The French leap over the walls in their shirts. Enter, several
ways, BASTARD, ALENÇON, REIGNIER, half ready,
and half unready.*

Alen. How now, my lords? what, all unready so? ²

Bast. Unready? ay, and glad we 'scap'd so well.

Reig. 'Twas time, I trow, to wake, and leave our beds,
Hearing alarms at our chamber doors.

Alen. Of all exploits, since first I follow'd arms,
Ne'er heard I of a warlike enterprize
More venturous, or desperate than this.

Bast. I think, this Talbot is a fiend of hell.

Reig. If not of hell, the heavens, sure, favour him.

Alen. Here cometh Charles; I marvel, how he sped,

Enter CHARLES and LA PUCELLE.

Bast. Tut! holy Joan was his defensive guard.

Char. Is this thy cunning, thou deceitful dame?

Didst thou at first, to flatter us withal,

Make us partakers of a little gain,

That now our loss might be ten times so much?

Puc. Wherefore is Charles impatient with his friend?

At all times will you have my power alike?

Sleeping, or waking, must I still prevail,

Or will you blame and lay the fault on me?—

Improvident soldiers! had your watch been good,

This

² *Unready* was the current word in those times for *undress'd*.

This sudden mischief never could have fall'n,

Char. Duke of Alençon, this was your default ;
That, being captain of the watch to-night,
Did look no better to that weighty charge.

Alen. Had all your quarters been as safely kept,
As that whereof I had the government,
We had not been thus shamefully surpriz'd.

Bast. Mine was secure.

Reig. And so was mine, my lord.

Char. And, for myself, most part of all this night,
Within her quarter, and mine own precinct,
I was employ'd in passing to and fro,
About relieving of the sentinels :

Then how, or which way, should they first break in ?

Puc. Question, my lords, no further of the case,
How, or which way ; 'tis sure they found some place
But weakly guarded where the breach was made.

And now there rests no other shift but this, —

To gather our soldiers, scatter'd and dispers'd,

And lay new platforms³ to endamage them.

Alarum. Enter an English Soldier crying, a Talbot ! a Talbot !⁴

They fly, leaving their clothes behind.

Sold. I'll be so bold to take what they have left.

The cry of Talbot serves me for a sword ;

C 6

For

³ i. e. plans, schemes. STEEVENS.

⁴ Enter an English Soldier crying, a Talbot ! a Talbot !] And afterwards :

“ The cry of *Talbot* serves me for a sword.”

Here a popular tradition, exclusive of any chronicle-evidence, was in Shakspeare's mind. Edward Kerke, the old commentator on Spenser's *Pastorals*, first published in 1579, observes in his notes on *June*, that Lord Talbot's “ noblenesse bred such a terrour in the hearts of the French, that oftentimes greate armies were defaied and put to flight, at the only bearing of his name : insomuch that the French women, to affray their children, would tell them, that the TALBOT cometh.” See also sc. iii.

T. WARTON.

It is more probable that the writer of this play should have taken this circumstances

For I have loaden me with many spoils,
Using no other weapon but his name.

[Exit,

SCENE II.

Orleans. *Within the town.*

Enter TALBOT, BEDFORD, BURGUNDY, a Captain, and
Others.

Bed. The day begins to break, and night is fled,
Whose pitchy mantle over-veil'd the earth.
Here found retreat, and cease our hot pursuit.

[Retreat sounded.

Tal. Bring forth the body of old Salisbury;
And here advance it in the market-place,
The middle centre of this cursed town.—
Now have I pay'd my vow unto his soul;
For every drop of blood was drawn from him,
'There hath at least five Frenchmen dy'd to-night.
And, that hereafter ages may behold
What ruin happen'd in revenge of him,
Within their chiefest temple I'll erect
A tomb, wherein his corpse shall be interr'd;
Upon the which, that every one may read,
Shall be engrav'd the sack of Orleans;
The treacherous manner of his mournful death,
And what a terror he had been to France.
But, lords, in all our bloody massacre,
I muse, we met not with the Dauphin's grace;
His new-come champion, virtuous Joan of Arc;
Nor any of his false confederates.

Bed. 'Tis thought, lord Talbot, when the fight began,
Rous'd on the sudden from their drowsy beds,

They

circumstance from the Chronicle which furnished him with his plot, than
from the Comment on Spenser's *Pastorals*. MALONE.

This is one of the floating atoms of intelligence which might have
been orally circulated, and consequently have reached our author through
other channels than those of Spenser's annotator, or our English Chro-
nicler. STEEVENS.

They did, amongst the troops of armed men,
 Leap o'er the walls for refuge in the field.
Bur. Myself (as far as I could well discern,
 For smoke, and dusky vapours of the night,)
 Am sure, I scar'd the Dauphin, and his trull ;
 When arm in arm they both came swiftly running,
 Like to a pair of loving turtle-doves,
 That could not live asunder day or night.
 After that things are set in order here,
 We'll follow them with all the power we have.

Enter a Messenger.

Mess. All hail, my lords ! which of this princely train
 Call ye the warlike Talbot, for his acts
 So much applauded through the realm of France ?

Tal. Here is the Talbot ; Who would speak with him ?

Mess. The virtuous lady, countess of Auvergne,
 With modesty admiring thy renown,
 By me entreats, great lord, thou wouldst vouchsafe
 To visit her poor castle where she lies ;^s
 That she may boast, she hath beheld the man
 Whose glory fills the world with loud report.

Bur. Is it even so ? Nay, then, I see, our wars
 Will turn unto a peaceful comick sport,
 When ladies crave to be encounter'd with.—
 You may not, my lord, despise her gentle suit.

Tal. Ne'er trust me then ; for, when a world of men
 Could not prevail with all their oratory,
 Yet hath a woman's kindness over-rul'd :—
 And therefore tell her, I return great thanks ;
 And in submission will attend on her,—
 Will not your honours bear me company ?

Bed. No, truly ; it is more than manners will :
 And I have heard it said,—Unbidden guests
 Are often welcomest when they are gone.

Tal. Well then, alone, since there's no remedy,
 I mean to prove this lady's courtesy.

Come

^s i. e. where she dwells. MALONE.

Come hither, captain. [*Whispers.*]—You perceive my mind.

Capt. I do, my lord; and mean accordingly. [*Exeunt.*]

SCENE III.

Auvergne. Court of the Castle.

Enter the Countess and her Porter.

Count. Porter, remember what I gave in charge;
And, when you have done so, bring the keys to me.

Port. Madam, I will.

[*Exit.*]

Count. The plot is laid: if all things fall out right,
I shall as famous be by this exploit,
As Scythian Thomyris by Cyrus' death.
Great is the rumour of this dreadful knight,
And his achievements of no less account:
Fain would mine eyes be witnesses with mine ears,
To give their censure⁶ of these rare reports.

Enter Messenger and TALBOT.

Mess. Madam,
According as your ladyship desir'd,
By message crav'd, so is lord Talbot come.

Count. And he is welcome. What! is this the man?

Mess. Madam, it is.

Count. Is this the scourge of France?
Is this the Talbot, so much fear'd abroad,
That with his name the mothers still their babes?
I see, report is fabulous and false:
I thought, I should have seen some Hercules;
A second Hector, for his grim aspect,
And large proportion of his strong-knit limbs.
Alas! this is a child, a filly dwarf:
It cannot be, this weak and writhled⁷ shrimp

Should

⁶ i. e. their opinion. STEEVENS.

⁷ i. e. wrinkled. The word is used by Spenser. Sir Thomas Hanmer reads—*wrizzled*, which has been followed in subsequent editions.

Should strike such terror to his enemies.

Tal. Madam, I have been bold to trouble you :
But, since your ladyship is not at leisure,
I'll sort some other time to visit you.

Count. What means he now ?—Go ask him, whither he goes.

Mess. Stay, my lord Talbot ; for my lady craves
'To know the cause of your abrupt departure.

Tal. Marry, for that she's in a wrong belief,
I go to certify her, Talbot's here.

Re-enter Porter, with keys.

Count. If thou be he, then art thou prisoner.

Tal. Prisoner ! to whom ?

Count. To me, blood-thirsty lord ;
And for that cause I train'd thee to my house.
Long time thy shadow hath been thrall to me,
For in my gallery thy picture hangs :
But now the substance shall endure the like ;
And I will chain these legs and arms of thine,
That hast by tyranny, these many years,
Wasted our country, slain our citizens,
And sent our sons and husbands captive.

Tal. Ha, ha, ha !

Count. Laughest thou, wretch ? thy mirth shall turn to moan.

Tal. I laugh to see your ladyship so fond,
To think that you have aught but Talbot's shadow,
Whereon to practice your severity.

Count. Why, art not thou the man ?

Tal. I am indeed,

Count. Then have I substance too.

Tal. No, no, I am but shadow of myself :
You are deceiv'd, my substance is not here ;
For what you see, is but the smallest part
And least proportion of humanity :
I tell you, madam, were the whole frame here,
It is of such a spacious lofty pitch,
Your roof were not sufficient to contain it.

Count.

Count. This is a riddling merchant for the nonce ;
He will be here, and yet he is not here :
How can these contrarieties agree ?

Tal. That will I show you presently.

*He winds a horn. Drums heard ; then a peal of ordnance.
The gates being forced, enter Soldiers.*

How say you, madam ? are you now persuaded,
That Talbot is but shadow of himself ?
These are his substance, sinews, arms, and strength,
With which he yoketh your rebellious necks ;
Razeth your cities, and subverts your towns,
And in a moment makes them desolate.

Count. Victorious Talbot ! pardon my abuse :
I find, thou art no less than fame hath bruited,⁸
And more than may be gather'd by thy shape.
Let my presumption not provoke thy wrath ;
For I am sorry, that with reverence
I did not entertain thee as thou art.

Tal. Be not dismay'd, fair lady ; nor misconstrue
The mind of Talbot, as you did mistake
The outward composition of his body.
What you have done, hath not offended me :
No other satisfaction do I crave,
But only (with your patience,) that we may
Taste of your wine, and see what cates you have ;
For soldiers' stomachs always serve them well.

Count. With all my heart ; and think me honoured
To feast so great a warrior in my house. [*Exeunt.*]

⁸ To *bruit* is to proclaim with noise, to announce loudly.

SCENE IV.

London. *The Temple Garden.*

*Enter the Earls of SOMERSET, SUFFOLK, and WARWICK;
RICHARD PLANTAGENET, VERNON, and another
Lawyer.*⁹

Plan. Great lords, and gentlemen, what means this
silence ?

Dare no man answer in a case of truth ?

Suf. Within the Temple hall we were too loud ;
The garden here is more convenient.

Plan. Then say at once, If I maintain'd the truth ;
Or, else, was wrangling Somerset in the error ?²

Suf. 'Faith, I have been a truant in the law ;
And never yet could frame my will to it ;
And, therefore, frame the law unto my will.

Som. Judge you, my lord of Warwick, then between us.

War. Between two hawks, which flies the higher pitch,
Between two dogs, which hath the deeper mouth,
Between two blades, which bears the better temper,
Between two horses, which doth bear him best,³
Between two girls, which hath the merriest eye,
I have, perhaps, some shallow spirit of judgement :
But in these nice sharp quilllets of the law,
Good faith, I am no wiser than a daw.

Plan. Tut, tut, here is a mannerly forbearance ;
The truth appears so naked on my side,
'That any purblind eye may find it out.

Som. And on my side it is so well apparell'd,
So clear, so shining, and so evident,
That it will glimmer through a blind man's eye.

Plan.

⁹ Read—a lawyer. This lawyer was probably Roger Newyle, who was afterward hanged. See *W. Wyrcester*, p. 478. RITSON.

² So all the editions. There is apparently a want of opposition between the two questions. I once read,

Or else was wrangling Somerset i'th' right? JOHNSON.

³ i. e. regulate his motions most adroitly. STEEVENS

Plan. Since you are tongue-ty'd, and so loath to speak,
In dumb significants ⁴ proclaim your thoughts :
Let him, that is a trueborn gentleman,
And stands upon the honour of his birth,
If he suppose that I have pleaded truth,
From off this briar pluck a white rose with me. ⁵

Som. Let him that is no coward, nor no flatterer,
But dare maintain the party of the truth,
Pluck a red rose from off this thorn with me.

War. I love no colours ; ⁶ and, without all colour
Of base insinuating flattery,
I pluck this white rose, with Plantagenet.

Suf. I pluck this red rose, with young Somerset ;
And say withal, I think he held the right.

Ver. Stay, lords, and gentlemen ; and pluck no more,
Till you conclude—that he, upon whose side
The fewest roses are cropp'd from the tree,
Shall yield the other in the right opinion.

Som. Good master Vernon, it is well objected ; ⁷
If I have fewest, I subscribe in silence.

Plan. And I.

Ver. Then, for the truth and plainness of the case,

I pluck

⁴ I suspect we should read—*significance*. MALONE.

I believe the old reading is the true one. So, in *Love's Labour's Lost* :
“ Bear this *significant* [i. e. a letter] to the country maid, Jaquenetta.”

STEEVENS.

⁵ This is given as the original of the two badges of the houses of York and Lancaster, whether truly or not, is no great matter. But the proverbial expression of *saying a thing under the rose*, I am persuaded, came from thence. When the nation had ranged itself into two great factions, under the *white* and *red* rose, and were perpetually plotting and counterplotting against one another, then, when a matter of faction was communicated by either party to his friend in the same quarrel, it was natural for him to add, that he *said it under the rose* ; meaning that, as it concerned the faction, it was religiously to be kept secret. WARBURTON.

This is ingenious ! What pity, that it is not learned too ? — The rose (as the fables say) was the symbol of silence, and consecrated by Cupid to Harpocrates, to conceal the lewd pranks of his mother. So common a book as Lloyd's *Dictionary* might have instructed Dr. Warburton in this.

UPTON.

⁶ *Colours* is here used ambiguously for *tints* and *deceits*. JOHNSON.

⁷ Properly thrown in our way, justly proposed. JOHNSON.

I pluck this pale and maiden blossom here,
Giving my verdict on the white rose side.

Som. Prick not your finger as you pluck it off;
Lest, bleeding, you do paint the white rose red,
And fall on my side so against your will.

Ver. If I, my lord, for my opinion bleed,
Opinion shall be surgeon to my hurt,
And keep me on the side where still I am.

Som. Well, well, come on: Who else?

Law. Unless my study and my books be false,
The argument you held, was wrong in you;

[To SOMERSET,

In sign whereof, I pluck a white rose too.

Plan. Now, Somerset, where is your argument?

Som. Here, in my scabbard; meditating that,
Shall die your white rose in a bloody red.

Plan. Mean time, your cheeks do counterfeit our roses;
For pale they look with fear, as witnessing
The truth on our side.

Som. No, Plantagenet,
'Tis not for fear; but anger,—that thy cheeks⁸
Blush for pure shame, to counterfeit our roses;
And yet thy tongue will not confess thy error.

Plan. Hath not thy rose a canker, Somerset?

Som. Hath not thy rose a thorn, Plantagenet?

Plan. Ay, sharp and piercing, to maintain his truth;
Whiles thy consuming canker eats his falsehood.

Som. Well, I'll find friends to wear my bleeding roses,
That shall maintain what I have said is true,
Where false Plantagenet dare not be seen.

Plan. Now, by this maiden blossom in my hand,
I scorn thee and thy fashion,⁹ peevish boy.

Suf.

⁸ i. e. it is not for fear that my cheeks look pale, but for anger; anger produced by this circumstance, namely, that *thy* cheeks blush, &c.

MALONE.

⁹ So the old copies read, and rightly. Mr. Theobald altered it to *faction*, not considering that by *fashion* is meant the badge of the red rose, which Somerset said he and his friends would be distinguished by. But Mr.

Suf. Turn not thy scorns this way, Plantagenet.

Plan. Proud Poole, I will ; and scorn both him and thee.

Suf. I'll turn my part thereof into thy throat.

Som. Away, away, good William De la-Poole !

We grace the yeoman, by conversing with him.

War. Now, by God's will, thou wrong'st him, Somerset ;

His grandfather was Lionel duke of Clarence,²

Third son to the third Edward king of England ;

Spring crestless yeomen³ from so deep a root ?

Plan. He bears him on the place's privilege,⁴

Or durst not, for his craven heart, say thus.

Som. By him that made me, I'll maintain my words

On any plot of ground in Christendom :

Was not thy father, Richard, earl of Cambridge,

For

Mr. Theobald asks, *If faction was not the true reading, why should Suffolk immediately reply,*

Turn not thy scorns this way, Plantagenet.

Why ? because Plantagenet had called Somerset, with whom Suffolk sided, *peevish boy*. WARBURTON.

Mr. Theobald with great probability reads—*faction*. Plantagenet afterward uses the same word :

“ —this pale and angry rose—

“ Will I for ever, and my *faction*, wear.” MALONE.

As *faction* might have been meant to convey the meaning assigned to it by Dr. Warburton, I have left the text as I found it, allowing at the same time the merit of the emendation offered by Mr. Theobald, and countenanced by Mr. Malone. STEVENS.

² The author mistakes. Plantagenet's paternal grandfather was Edmund of Langley, Duke of York. His maternal grandfather was Roger Mortimer, Earl of March, who was the son of Philippa the daughter of Lionel Duke of Clarence. That duke therefore was his maternal great great grandfather. MALONE.

³ i. e. those who have no right to arms. WARBURTON.

⁴ The Temple, being a religious house, was an asylum, a place of exemption, from violence, revenge, and bloodshed. JOHNSON.

It does not appear that the Temple had any peculiar privilege at this time, being then, as it is at present, the residence of law-students. The author might, indeed, imagine it to have derived some such privilege from its former inhabitants, the Knights Templars, or Knights Hospitalers, both religious orders : or blows might have been prohibited by the regulations of the Society : or what is equally probable, he might have neither known nor cared any thing about the matter. RITSON.

For treason executed in our late king's days ? ⁵
 And, by his treason, stand'st not thou attainted,
 Corrupted, and exempt ⁶ from ancient gentry ?
 His trespass yet lives guilty in thy blood ;
 And, till thou be restor'd, thou art a yeoman.

Plan. My father was attached, not attainted ;
 Condemn'd to die for treason, but no traitor ;
 And that I'll prove on better men than Somerset,
 Were growing time once ripen'd to my will.
 For your partaker Poole, ⁷ and you yourself,
 I'll note you in my book of memory,
 To scourge you for this apprehension : ⁸
 Look to it well ; and say you are well warn'd.

Som. Ay, thou shalt find us ready for thee still :
 And know us by these colours, for thy foes ;
 For these my friends, in spite of thee, shall wear.

Plan. And, by my soul, this pale and angry rose,
 As cognizance of my blood-drinking hate, ⁹
 Will I for ever, and my faction, wear ;
 Until it wither with me to my grave,
 Or flourish to the height of my degree.

Suf. Go forward, and be chok'd with thy ambition !
 And so farewell, until I meet thee next.

[*Exit.*

Som. Have with thee, Poole.—Farewell, ambitious
 Richard.

[*Exit.*

Plan.

⁵ This unmetrical line may be somewhat harmonized by adopting a practice common to our author, and reading—*execute*, instead of *executed*. Thus, in *King Henry V.* we have *create* instead of *created*, and *contaminate* instead of *contaminated*. STEEVENS.

⁶ *Exempt*, for *excluded*. WARBURTON.

⁷ *Partaker* in ancient language, signifies *accomplice*. So, in *Psalms* L : “ When thou sawest a thief thou didst consent unto him, and hast been partaker with the adulterers.” STEEVENS.

⁸ Though this word possesses all the copies, I am persuaded it did not come from the author. I have ventured to read—*reprehension* : and *Plantagenet* means, that Somerset had *reprehended* or reproached him with his father the Earl of Cambridge's treason. THEOBALD.

Apprehension, i. e. opinion. WARBURTON.

⁹ A badge is called a *cognisance à cognoscendo*, because by it such persons as do wear it upon their sleeves, their shoulders, or in their hats, are manifestly known whose servants they are. In heraldry the *cognisance* is seated upon the most eminent part of the helmet. TOLLET.

Plan. How I am brav'd, and must perforce endure it!

War. This blot, that they object against your house,
Shall be wip'd out in the next parliament,

Call'd for the truce of Winchester and Gloster :

And, if thou be not then created York,

I will not live to be accounted Warwick.

Mean time, in signal of my love to thee,

Against proud Somerset, and William Poole,

Will I upon thy party wear this rose :

And here I prophecy,—This brawl to-day

Grown to this faction, in the Temple garden,

Shall fend between the red rose and the white,

A thousand souls to death and deadly night.

Plan. Good master Vernon, I am bound to you,

That you on my behalf would pluck a flower.

Ver. In your behalf still will I wear the same.

Law. And so will I.

Plan. Thanks, gentle sir.

Come, let us four to dinner : I dare say,

This quarrel will drink blood another day.

[*Exeunt.*]

SCENE V.

The same. A Room in the Tower.

Enter MORTIMER,² brought in a chair by two Keepers.

Mor. Kind keepers of my weak decaying age,

Let

² Mr. Edwards, in his MS. notes, observes, that Shakspeare has varied from the truth of history, to introduce this scene between Mortimer and Richard Plantagenet. Edmund Mortimer served under Henry V. in 1422, and died unconfined in Ireland in 1424. Holinshed says, that Mortimer was one of the mourners at the funeral of Henry V.

His uncle, Sir John Mortimer, was indeed prisoner in the Tower, and was executed not long before the Earl of March's death, being charged with an attempt to make his escape in order to stir up an insurrection in Wales. STEEVENS.

A Remarker on this note [the author of the next] seems to think that he has totally overturned it, by quoting the following passage from Hall's Chronicle :

Let dying Mortimer here rest himself:—

Even

Chronicle: "During whiche parliament [held in the third year of Henry VI. 1425,] came to London Peter Duke of Quimber,—whiche of the Duke of Exeter, &c. was highly fested —. During whych season Edmond Mortimer, the last Erle of Marche of that name, (whiche long tyme had bene restrayned from hys liberty and finally waxed lame,) disceased without yssue, whose inheritance descended to Lord Richard Plantagenet," &c. as if a circumstance which Hall mentioned to mark the time of Mortimer's death, necessarily explained the place where it happened also. The fact is, that this Edmund Mortimer did *not* die in London, but at Trim in Ireland. He did not however die in confinement (as Sandford has erroneously asserted in his *Genealogical History*. See *King Henry IV.* Part I. Vol. VIII. p. 401, n. 7.); and whether he ever was confined, (except by Owen Glendower) may be doubted, notwithstanding the assertion of Hall. Hardyng, who lived at the time, says he was treated with the greatest kindness and care, both by Henry IV. (to whom he was a ward,) and by his son Henry V. See his *Chronicle*, 1543, fol. 229. He was certainly at liberty in the year 1415, having a few days before King Henry sailed from Southampton, divulged to him in that town the traitorous intentions of his brother-in-law Richard Earl of Cambridge, by which he probably conciliated the friendship of the young king. He at that time received a general pardon from Henry, and was employed by him in a naval enterprize. At the coronation of Queen Katharine he attended and held the sceptre.

Soon after the accession of King Henry VI. he was constituted by the English Regency chief governor of Ireland, an office which he executed by a deputy of his own appointment. In the latter end of the year 1424, he went himself to that country, to protect the great inheritance which he derived from his grandmother Philippa, (daughter to Lionel Duke of Clarence) from the incursions of some Irish chieftains, who were aided by a body of Scottish rovers; but soon after his arrival died of the plague in his castle at Trim, in January 1624-5.

This Edmond Mortimer was, I believe, confounded by the author of this play, and by the old historians, with his kinsman, who was perhaps about thirty years old at his death. Edmond Mortimer at the time of his death could not have been above thirty years old; for supposing that his grandmother Philippa was married at fifteen, in 1376, his father Roger could not have been born till 1377; and if he married at the early age of sixteen, Edmond was born in 1394.

This family had great possessions in Ireland, in consequence of the marriage of Lionel Duke of Clarence with the daughter of the Earl of Ulster, in 1360, and were long connected with that country. Lionel was for some time Viceroy of Ireland, and was created by his father Edward III. Duke of Clarence, in consequence of possessing the honour of Clare; in the county of Thomond. Edmund Mortimer, Earl of March, who married Philippa

Even like a man new haled from the rack,
So fare my limbs with long imprisonment :

And

Philippa the duke's only daughter, succeeded him in the government of Ireland, and died in his office, at St. Dominick's Abbey, near Cork, in December 1381. His son, Roger Mortimer, was twice Vicegerent of Ireland, and was slain at a place called Kenles, in Ossory, in 1398. Edmund his son, the Mortimer of this play, was, as has been already mentioned, Chief Governor of Ireland, in the years 1423, and 1424, and died there in 1425. His nephew and heir, Richard Duke of York, (the Plantagenet of this play) was in 1449 constituted Lord Lieutenant of Ireland for ten years, with extraordinary powers; and his son George Duke of Clarence (who was afterwards murdered in the Tower) was born in the Castle of Dublin, in 1450. This prince filled the same office which so many of his ancestors had possessed, being constituted Chief Governor of Ireland for *life*, by his brother King Edward IV. in the third year of his reign.

Since this note was written, I have more precisely ascertained the age of Edmond Mortimer Earl of March, uncle to the Richard Plantagenet of this play. He was born in December 1392, and consequently was thirty-two years old when he died. His ancestor, Lionel Duke of Clarence, was married to the daughter of the Earl of Ulster, but not in 1360, as I have said, but about the year 1353. He probably did not take his title of *Clarence* from his great Irish possessions, (as I have suggested) but rather from his wife's mother, Elizabeth le Clare, third daughter of Gilbert de Clare Earl of Gloster, and sister to Gilbert de Clare, the last (of that name) Earl of Gloster, who founded Clare Hall in Cambridge.

The error concerning Edmund Mortimer, brother-in-law to Richard Earl of Cambridge, having been "*kept in captivity untill he died*," seems to have arisen from the legend of Richard Plantagenet, duke of Yorke, in *The Mirror for Magistrates*, 1575. MALONE.

It is objected that Shakspeare has varied from the truth of history, to introduce this scene between Mortimer and Richard Plantagenet; as the former served under Henry V. in 1422, and died *unconfined* in Ireland, in 1424. In the third year of Henry the Sixth, 1425, and during the time that Peter Duke of Coimbra was entertained in London, "Edmonde Mortimer (says Hall) the last erle of Marche of that name (*which longe tyme had been restrayned from his liberty*, and fynally waxed lame) disceased without yssue, whose inheritance descended to Lord Richard Plantagenet," &c. Holinshed has the same words; and these authorities, though the fact be otherwise, are sufficient to prove that Shakspeare, or whoever was the author of the play, did not intentionally vary from the truth of history to introduce the present scene. The historian does not, indeed, expressly say that the Earl of March died in the *Tower*; but one cannot reasonably suppose that he meant to relate an event which he knew had happened to a *free man in Ireland*, as happening to a *prisoner* during the time that a particular

And these grey locks, the pursuivants of death,⁴
 Nestor like aged, in an age of care,
 Argue the end of Edmund Mortimer.
 These eyes,—like lamps whose wasting oil is spent,—
 Wax dim, as drawing to their exigent :⁵
 Weak shoulders, overborne with burd'ning grief ;
 And pithless arms,⁶ like to a wither'd vine
 That droops his sapless branches to the ground ;—
 Yet are these feet—whose strengthless stay is numb,
 Unable to support this lump of clay,—

particular person was in *London*. But, wherever he meant to lay the scene of Mortimer's death, it is clear that the author of this play understood him as representing it to have happened in a *London prison* ; an idea, if indeed his words will bear any other construction, a preceding passage may serve to corroborate. “ The erle of March (he has observed) was ever kepte in the courte under such a keper that he could nether doo or attempte any thyng agaynste the kyng wythout his knowledge, and dyed without issue.” I am aware, and could easily show, that some of the most interesting events, not only in the *Chronicles of Hall and Holinshed*, but in the *Histories of Rapin, Hume, and Smollet*, are perfectly fabulous and unfounded, which are nevertheless constantly cited and regarded as incontrovertible facts. But, if modern writers, standing, as it were, upon the shoulders of their predecessors, and possessing innumerable other advantages, are not always to be depended on, what allowances ought we not to make for those who had neither *Rhymer*, nor *Dugdale*, nor *Sandford* to consult, who could have no access to the treasuries of *Cotton* or *Harley*, nor were permitted the inspection of a public record ? If this were the case with the historian, what can be expected from the dramatist ? He naturally took for *fact* what he found in *history*, and is by no means answerable for the misinformation of his authority. RITSON.

³ I know not whether Milton did not take from this hint the lines with which he opens his tragedy. JOHNSON.

Rather from the beginning of the last scene of the third act of the *Phœnissæ* of Euripides. STEEVENS.

⁴ *Pursuivants*. The heralds that, forerunning death, proclaim its approach. JOHNSON.

⁵ *Exigent*, end. JOHNSON.

⁶ *Pith* was used for *marrow*, and figuratively, for *strength*. JOHNSON.
 In the first of these senses it is used in *Othello* :

“ For since these arms of mine had seven years' *pith* —.”

And, figuratively, in *Hamlet* :

“ And enterprizes of great *pith* and moment—”

STEEVENS.

Swift-winged with desire to get a grave,
As witting I no other comfort have.—
But tell me, keeper, will my nephew come ?

1. *Keep.* Richard Plantagenet, my lord, will come :
We sent unto the Temple, to his chamber ;
And answer was return'd, that he will come.

Mor. Enough ; my soul shall then be satisfy'd.—
Poor gentleman ! his wrong doth equal mine.
Since Henry Monmouth first began to reign,
(Before whose glory I was great in arms,)—
This loathsome sequestration have I had ;
And even since then hath Richard been obscur'd,
Depriv'd of honour and inheritance :
But now, the arbitrator of despairs,
Just death, kind umpire of men's miseries,⁷
With sweet enlargement doth dismiss me hence ;
I would, his troubles likewise were expir'd,
That so he might recover what was lost.

Enter RICHARD PLANTAGENET.

1. *Keep.* My lord, your loving nephew now is come.

Mor. Richard Plantagenet, my friend ? Is he come ?

Plan. Ay, noble uncle, thus ignobly us'd,
Your nephew, late-despis'd⁸ Richard, comes.

Mor. Direct mine arms, I may embrace his neck,
And in his bosom spend my latter gasp :
O, tell me, when my lips do touch his cheeks,
That I may kindly give one fainting kiss.—
And now declare, sweet stem from York's great stock,
Why didst thou say—of late thou wert despis'd ?

Plan. First, lean thine aged back against mine arm ;
And, in that ease, I'll tell thee my disease.⁹
This day, in argument upon a case,
Some words there grew 'twixt Somerset and me :
Among which terms, he us'd his lavish tongue,

And

⁷ That is, he that terminates or concludes misery. The expression is harsh and forced. JOHNSON.

⁸ i. e. lately despised. M. MASON.

⁹ Disease seems to be here *uneasiness*, or *discontent*. JOHNSON.

And did upbraid me with my father's death ;
Which obloquy fet bars before my tongue,
Else with the like I had requited him :
Therefore, good uncle,—for my father's sake,
In honour of a true Plantagenet,
And for alliance' sake, — declare the cause
My father, earl of Cambridge, lost his head.

Mor. That cause, fair nephew, that imprison'd me,
And hath detain'd me, all my flow'ring youth,
Within a loathsome dungeon, there to pine,
Was cursed instrument of his disease.

Plan. Discover more at large what cause that was ;
For I am ignorant, and cannot guess.

Mor. I will ; if that my fading breath permit,
And death approach not ere my tale be done,
Henry the fourth, grandfather to this king,
Depos'd his nephew Richard ; ² Edward's son,
The first-begotten, and the lawful heir
Of Edward king, the third of that descent :
During whose reign, the Percies of the north,
Finding his usurpation most unjust,
Endeavour'd my advancement to the throne :
The reason mov'd these warlike lords to this,
Was—for that (young king Richard thus remov'd,
Leaving no heir begotten of his body,)
I was the next by birth and parentage ;
For by my mother I derived am

D 2

From

² ——— his nephew Richard ;] Thus the old copy. Modern editors read—his *cousin*——but without necessity. *Nephew* has sometimes the power of the Latin *nepos*, and is used with great laxity among our ancient English writers. Thus in *Othello*, Iago tells Brabantio—he shall “have his *nephews* (i. e. the children of his own daughter) neigh to him.”

STEEVENS.

It would be surely better to read *cousin*, the meaning which *nephew* ought to have in this place. Mr. Steevens only proves that the word *nephews* is sometimes used for *grand-children*, which is very certain. Both *uncle* and *nephew* might, however, formerly signify *cousin*. See the *Ménagiana*, Vol. II. p. 193. In *The Second Part of the troublesome raigne of K. John*, Prince Henry calls his *cousin* the Bastard, “*uncle*.” RITSON.

I believe the mistake here arose from the author's ignorance ; and that he conceived Richard to be Henry's nephew. MALONE.

From Lionel duke of Clarence, the third son
 To king Edward the third, whereas he,
 From John of Gaunt doth bring his pedigree,
 Being but fourth of that heroick line.
 But mark ; as, in this haughty great attempt,³
 They laboured to plant the rightful heir,
 I lost my liberty, and they their lives.
 Long after this, when Henry the fifth,—
 Succeeding his father Bolingbroke,—did reign,
 Thy father, earl of Cambridge,—then deriv'd
 From famous Edmund Langley, duke of York,—
 Marrying my sister, that thy mother was,
 Again, in pity of my hard distrefs,
 Levied an army ;⁴ weening to redeem,
 And have install'd me in the diadem :
 But, as the rest, so fell that noble earl,
 And was beheaded. Thus the Mortimers,
 In whom the title rested, were suppress'd.

Plan. Of which, my lord, your honour is the last.

Mor. True ; and thou seest, that I no issue have ;
 And that my fainting words do warrant death :
 Thou art my heir ; the rest, I wish thee gather :⁵
 But yet be wary in thy studious care.

Plant. Thy grave admonishments prevail with me :
 But yet, methinks, my father's execution
 Was nothing less than bloody tyranny.

Mor. With silence, nephew, be thou politick ;
 Strong-fixed is the house of Lancaster,
 And, like a mountain, not to be remov'd.
 But now thy uncle is removing hence ;

As

³ *Haughty* is *high*. JOHNSON.
 So, in the fourth act :

“ Valiant and virtuous, full of *haughty* courage.”

STEEVENS.

⁴ Here is again another falsification of history. Cambridge levied no army, but was apprehended at Southampton, the night before Henry sailed from that town for France, on the information of this very Edmund Mortimer, Earl of March. MALONE.

⁵ The sense is,—I acknowledge thee to be my heir ; the consequences which may be collected from thence, I recommend it to thee to draw.

HEATH.

As princes do their courts when they are cloy'd
With long continuance in a settled place.

Plan. O, uncle, 'would some part of my young years
Might but redeem the passage of your age!⁶

Mor. Thou dost then wrong me; as the slaughterer doth,
Which giveth many wounds, when one will kill.

Mourn not, except thou sorrow for my good;

Only, give order for my funeral;

And so farewell; and fair be all thy hopes!⁷

And prosperous be thy life, in peace, and war!

[*Dies.*

Plan. And peace, no war, befall thy parting soul!

In prison hast thou spent a pilgrimage,

And like a hermit overpass'd thy days.—

Well, I will lock his counsel in my breast;

And what I do imagine let that rest.—

Keepers, convey him hence; and I myself

Will see his burial better than his life.—

[*Exeunt* Keepers, bearing out MORTIMER.]

Here dies the dusky torch of Mortimer,

D 3

Chok'd

⁶ This thought has some resemblance to that of the following lines, which are supposed to be addressed by a married lady who died very young, to her husband. The inscription is, I think, in the church of Trent:

“Immatura perî; sed tu diuturnior annos

“Vive meos, conjux optime, vive tuos.” MALONE.

This superstition is very ancient. Some traces of it may be found in the traditions of the Rabbins; it is enlarged upon in the *Alcestes* of Euripides; and such offers ridiculed by *Juvenal*, Sat. XII. *Dion Cassius* in *Vit. Hadrian*, fol. edit. *Hamburgh*, Vol. II. p. 1160, insinuates, “That Hadrian sacrificed his favourite *Antinous* with this design.” See *Reismari Annotat. in loc*: “De nostris annis, tibi Jupiter augeat annos,” said the Romans to Augustus. See *Lister's Journey to Paris*, p. 221.

VAILLANT.

⁷ Mortimer knew Plantagenet's hopes were fair, but that the establishment of the Lancastrian line disappointed them: sure, he would wish, that his nephew's fair hopes might have a fair issue. I am persuaded the poet wrote:

—and fair befall thy hopes! THEOBALD.

This emendation is received by Sir Thomas Hanmer and Dr. Warburton. I do not see how the readings differ in sense. *Fair* is *lucky*, or *prosperous*. So we say, a *fair* wind, and *fair* fortune. JOHNSON.

Theobald's amendment is unnecessary, and proceeded from his confounding Plantagenet's hopes with his pretensions. His *pretensions* were well founded, but his hopes were not. M. MASON.

Chok'd with ambition⁸ of the meaner fort:—
 And, for those wrongs, those bitter injuries,
 Which Somerset hath offer'd to my house,—
 I doubt not, but with honour to redress:
 And therefore haste I to the parliament;
 Either to be restored to my blood,
 Or make my ill⁹ the advantage of my good.

[Exit.]

 ACT III. SCENE I.

The same. The Parliament-House.²

Flourish. Enter King HENRY, EXETER, GLOSTER, WARWICK, SOMERSET, and SUFFOLK; the Bishop of Winchester, RICHARD PLANTAGENET, and Others. GLOSTER offers to put up a bill;³ Winchester snatches it, and tears it.

Win. Com'st thou with deep premeditated lines,
 With written pamphlets studiously devis'd,
 Humphrey of Gloster? if thou canst accuse,
 Or aught intend'st to lay unto my charge,
 Do it without invention suddenly;
 As I with sudden and extemporal speech
 Purpose to answer what thou canst object.

Glo.

⁸ We are to understand the speaker as reflecting on the ill fortune of Mortimer, in being always made a tool of by the Percies of the North in their rebellious intrigues; rather than in asserting his claim to the crown, in support of his own princely ambition. **WARBURTON.**

⁹ My *ill*, is my ill usage. **MALONE.**

² This parliament was held in 1426 at Leicester, though the author of this play has represented it to have been held in London. King Henry was now in the fifth year of his age. In the first parliament which was held at London shortly after his father's death, his mother Queen Katharine brought the young King from Windsor to the metropolis, and sat on the throne of the parliament-house with the infant in her lap. **MALONE.**

³ i. e. articles of accusation, for in this sense the word *bill* was sometimes used. **MALONE.**

Glo. Presumptuous priest! this place commands my patience,

Or thou should'st find thou hast dishonour'd me.

Think not, although in writing I preferr'd

The manner of thy vile outrageous crimes,

That therefore I have forg'd, or am not able

Verbatim to rehearse the method of my pen:

No prelate; such is thy audacious wickedness,

Thy lewd, pestiferous, and dissentious pranks,

As very infants prattle of thy pride.

Thou art a most pernicious usurer;

Froward by nature, enemy to peace;

Lascivious, wanton, more than well beseems

A man of thy profession, and degree;

And for thy treachery, What's more manifest?

In that thou laid'st a trap to take my life,

As well at London bridge, as at the Tower?

Beside, I fear me, if thy thoughts were sifted,

The king, thy sovereign, is not quite exempt

From envious malice of thy swelling heart.

Win. Gloster, I do defy thee.—Lords, vouchsafe
To give me hearing what I shall reply.

If I were covetous, ambitious, or perverse,

As he will have me, How am I so poor?

Or how haps it, I seek not to advance

Or raise myself, but keep my wonted calling?

And for dissention, Who preferreth peace

More than I do,—except I be provok'd?

No, my good lords, it is not that offends;

It is not that, that hath incens'd the duke:

It is, because no one should sway but he;

No one, but he, should be about the king;

And that engenders thunder in his breast,

And makes him roar these accusations forth.

But he shall know, I am as good—

Glo.

As good?

Thou bastard of my grandfather!⁴—

D 4

Win.

⁴ The Bishop of Winchester was an illegitimate son of John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, by Katharine Swynford, whom the duke afterwards married. MALONE.

Win. Ay, lordly fir; For what are you, I pray,
But one imperious in another's throne?

Glo. Am I not the protector, saucy priest?

Win. And am not I a prelate of the church?

Glo. Yes, as an outlaw in a castle keeps,
And useth it to patronage his theft.

Win. Unreverent Gloster!

Glo. Thou art reverent
Touching thy spiritual function, not thy life.

Win. This Rome shall remedy.

War. Roam thither then.⁵

Som. My lord, it were your duty to forbear.

War. Ay, see the bishop be not overborne.

Som. Methinks, my lord should be religious,
And know the office that belongs to such.

War. Methinks, his lordship should be humbler;
It fitteth not a prelate so to plead.

Som. Yes, when his holy state is touch'd so near.

War. State holy, or unhallow'd, what of that?
Is not his grace protector to the king?

Plan. Plantagenet, I see, must hold his tongue;
Lest it be said, *Speak, firrah, when you should;*
Must your bold verdict enter talk with lords?
Else would I have a sling at Winchester. [Aside.

K. Hen. Uncles of Gloster, and of Winchester,
The special watchmen of our English weal;
I would prevail, if prayers might prevail,
To join your hearts in love and amity.
O, what a scandal is it to our crown,
That two such noble peers as ye, should jar!
Believe me, lords, my tender years can tell,
Civil dissention is a viperous worm,
That gnaws the bowels of the commonwealth.—

[A noise within; Down with the tawny coats!
What tumult's this?

War. An uproar, I dare warrant,

Begun

⁵ *Roam* to Rome. To *roam* is supposed to be derived from the cant of vagabonds, who often pretended a pilgrimage to Rome. JOHNSON.

Begun through malice of the bishop's men.

[*A noise again; Stones! Stones!*]

Enter the Mayor of London, attended.

May. O, my good lords,—and virtuous Henry,—
Pity the city of London, pity us!
The bishop and the duke of Gloster's men,
Forbidden late to carry any weapon,
Have fill'd their pockets full of pebble-stones;
And, banding themselves in contráry parts,
Do pelt so fast at one another's pate,
That many have their giddy brains knock'd out:
Our windows are broke down in every street,
And we, for fear, compell'd to shut our shops.

*Enter, skirmishing, the retainers of GLOSTER and Winchester,
with bloody pates.*

K. Hen. We charge you, on allegiance to ourself,
To hold your slaught'ring hands, and keep the peace.
Pray, uncle Gloster, mitigate this strife.

1. *Serv.* Nay, if we be
Forbidden stones, we'll fall to it with our teeth.

2. *Serv.* Do what ye dare, we are as resolute.

[*Skirmish again.*]

Glo. You of my household, leave this peevish broil,
And set this unaccustom'd fight ⁶ aside.

3. *Serv.* My lord, we know your grace to be a man
Just and upright; and, for your royal birth,
Inferior to none, but his majesty:
And, ere that we will suffer such a prince,
So kind a father of the commonweal,
To be disgraced by an inkhorn mate,⁷

D 5

We

⁶ *Unaccustom'd* is unseemly, indecent. JOHNSON.

⁷ *A bookman.* JOHNSON.

It was a term of reproach at the time towards men of learning or men affecting to be learned. George Pettie in his Introduction to Guazzo's *Civil Conversation*, 1586, speaking of those he calls *nice travellers*, says, "if one chance to derive anie word from the Latine, which is insolent to their ears, (as perchance they will take that phrase to be) they forthwith make a jest at it, and tearme it an *Inkborne tearme*." REED.

We, and our wives, and children, all will fight,
And have our bodies slaughter'd by thy foes.

I. Serv. Ay, and the very parings of our nails
Shall pitch a field, when we are dead. [Skirmish again.]

Glo. Stay, stay, I say!

And, if you love me, as you say you do,
Let me persuade you to forbear a while.

K. Hen. O, how this discord doth afflict my soul!—

Can you, my lord of Winchester, behold
My sighs and tears, and will not once relent?
Who should be pitiful, if you be not?

Or who should study to prefer a peace,
If holy churchmen take delight in broils?

War. My lord protector, yeild;—yeild Winchester;—

Except you mean, with obstinate repulse,
To slay your sovereign, and destroy the realm.

You see what mischief, and what murder too,
Hath been enacted through your enmity;
Then be at peace, except ye thirst for blood.

Win. He shall submit, or I will never yield.

Glo. Compassion on the king commands me stoop;
Or, I would see his heart out, ere the priest
Should ever get the privilege of me.

War. Behold, my lord of Winchester, the duke
Hath banish'd moody discontented fury,

As by his smoothed brow, it doth appear:
Why look you still so stern and tragical?

Glo. Here, Winchester, I offer thee my hand.

K. Hen. Fie, uncle Beaufort! I have heard you preach,
That malice was a great and grievous sin:
And will not you maintain the thing you teach,
But prove a chief offender in the same?

War. Sweet king!—the bishop hath a kindly gird.⁸—

For

⁸ i. e. feels an emotion of kind remorse. JOHNSON.

A kindly gird is a gentle or friendly reproof. STEEVENS.

The word *gird* does not here signify *reproof*, as Steevens supposes, but a *twitch*, a *pang*, a *yearning of kindness*. M. MASON.

I wish Mr. M. Mason had produced any example of *gird* used in the sense for which he contends. I cannot supply one for him, or I most readily would. STEEVENS.

For shame, my lord of Winchester! relent;
What, shall a child instruct you what to do?

Win. Well, duke of Gloster, I will yield to thee;
Love for thy love, and hand for hand I give.

Glo. Ay; but, I fear me, with a hollow heart.—
See here, my friends, and loving countrymen;
This token serveth for a flag of truce,
Betwixt ourselves, and all our followers:
So help me God, as I dissemble not!

Win. So help me God, as I intend it not! [*Aside.*

K. Hen. O loving uncle, kind duke of Gloster,
How joyful am I made by this contract!—
Away, my masters! trouble us no more;
But join in friendship, as your lords have done.

1. *Serv.* Content; I'll to the surgeon's.

2. *Serv.* And so will I.

3. *Serv.* And I will see what physick the tavern affords.

[*Exeunt* Servants, Mayor, &c.]

War. Accept this scroll, most gracious sovereign;
Which in the right of Richard Plantagenet
We do exhibit to your majesty.

Glo. Well urg'd, my lord of Warwick;—for, sweet
prince,

An if your grace mark every circumstance,
You have great reason to do Richard right:
Especially, for those occasions
At Eltham-place I told your majesty.

K. Hen. And those occasions, uncle, were of force;
Therefore, my loving lords, our pleasure is,
That Richard be restored to his blood.

War. Let Richard be restored to his blood;
So shall his father's wrongs be recompens'd.

Win. As will the rest, so willeth Winchester.

K. Hen. If Richard will be true, not that alone,
But all the whole inheritance I give,
That doth belong unto the house of York,
From whence you spring by lineal descent.

Plan. Thy humble servant vows obedience,
And humble service, till the point of death.

K. Hen. Stoop then, and set your knee against my foot;

And, in reguerdon⁹ of that duty done,
 I girt thee with the valiant sword of York :
 Rise, Richard, like a true Plantagenet ;
 And rise created princely duke of York.

Plan. And so thrive Richard, as thy foes may fall !
 And as my duty springs, so perish they
 That grudge one thought against your majesty !

All. Welcome, high prince, the mighty duke of York !

Som. Perish, base prince, ignoble duke of York !

[*Aside.*

Glo. Now will it best avail your majesty,
 To cross the seas, and to be crown'd in France :
 The presence of a king engenders love
 Amongst his subjects, and his loyal friends ;
 As it disanimates his enemies.

K. Hen. When Gloster says the word, king Henry goes ;
 For friendly counsel cuts off many foes.

Glo. Your ships already are in readiness.

[*Exeunt all but EXETER.*

Exe. Ay, we may march in England, or in France,
 Not seeing what is likely to ensue :
 This late dissention, grown betwixt the peers,
 Burns under feigned ashes of forg'd love,
 And will at last break out into a flame :
 As fester'd members rot but by degrees,
 Till bones, and flesh, and sinews, fall away,
 So will this base and envious discord breed.²
 And now I fear that fatal prophecy,
 Which, in the time of Henry, nam'd the fifth,
 Was in the mouth of every sucking babe,—
 That Henry, born at Monmouth, should win all :
 And Henry, born at Windsor, should lose all :
 Which is so plain, that Exeter doth wish
 His days may finish ere that hapless time.³

[*Exit.*

SCENE

⁹ Recompence, return. JOHNSON.

It is perhaps a corruption of—*regardum*, middle Latin. STEEVENS.

² That is, so will the malignity of this discord *propagate itself*, and advance. JOHNSON.

³ The Duke of Exeter died shortly after the meeting of this parliament,
 Earl of Warwick was appointed governor or tutor to the king in

ALONE,

SCENE II.

France. Before Roüen.

Enter LA PUCELLE disguis'd, and Soldiers dressed like countrymen, with sacks upon their backs.

Puc. 'These are the city gates, the gates of Roüen,
Through which our policy must make a breach :
Take heed, be wary how you place your words ;
Talk like the vulgar sort of market-men,
That come to gather money for their corn,
If we have entrance, (as, I hope, we shall,)
And that we find the slothful watch but weak,
I'll by a sign give notice to our friends,
That Charles the Dauphin may encounter them.

1. Sol. Our sacks shall be a mean to sack the city,⁴
And we be lords and rulers over Roüen ;
Therefore we'll knock.

[Knocks.

Guard. [Within.] *Qui est là ?*

Puc. *Paisans, pauvres gens de France :*
Poor market-folks, that come to sell their corn.

Guard. Enter, go in ; the market-bell is rung.

[Opens the gates.

Puc. Now, Roüen, I'll shake thy bulwarks to the ground.

[PUCELLE, &c. enter the city.

Enter CHARLES, Bastard of Orleans, ALENÇON, and Forces.

Char. Saint Dennis blefs this happy stratagem !
And once again we'll sleep secure in Roüen.

Bast. Here enter'd Pucelle, and her practifants :⁵
Now she is there, how will she specify
Where is the best and safest passage in ?

Alen.

⁴ Falstaff has the same quibble, showing his bottle of sack : " Here's that will sack a city." STEEVENS.

⁵ *Practice*, in the language of that time, was *treachery*, and perhaps in the softer sense *stratagem*. *Practifants* are therefore *confederates in stratagems*. JOHNSON.

Alen. By thrusting out a torch from yonder tower ;
Which, once discern'd, shows, that her meaning is, —
No way to that,⁶ for weakness, which she enter'd.

*Enter LA PUCELLE on a battlement; holding out a torch
burning.*

Puc. Behold, this is the happy wedding torch,
That joineth Roüen unto her countrymen ;
But burning fatal to the Talbotites.

Bast. See, noble Charles! the beacon of our friend,
The burning torch in yonder turret stands.

Char. Now shine it like a comet of revenge,
A prophet to the fall of all our foes !

Alen. Defer no time, Delays have dangerous ends ;
Enter, and cry—*The Dauphin!*—presently,
And then do execution on the watch. [*They enter.*

Alarums. Enter TALBOT, and certain English.

Tal. France, thou shalt rue this treason with thy tears,
If Talbot but survive thy treachery.—

Pucelle, that witch, that damned forcerefs,
Hath wrought this hellish mischief unawares,
That hardly we escap'd the pride of France.⁷

[*Exeunt to the town.*

*Alarum: Excursions. Enter, from the town, BEDFORD,
brought in sick, in a chair, with TALBOT, BURGUNDY,
and the English forces. Then, enter on the walls, LA PU-
CELLE, CHARLES, BASTARD, ALENÇON,⁸ and others.*

Puc. Good morrow, gallants ! want ye corn for bread ?
I think, the duke of Burgundy will fast,

Before

⁶ That is, *no way equal to that*, no way so fit as that. JOHNSON.

⁷ *Pride* signifies the *haughty power*, as the same speaker says afterwards,
Act IV. sc. vi :—

“ And from the *pride* of *Gallia* rescu'd thee.”

One would think this plain enough. But what won't a puzzling critick
obscure ! Mr. Theobald says — *Pride of France is an absurd and unmeaning
expression*, and therefore alters it to *prize of France*; and in this is followed
by the Oxford editor. WARBURTON.

⁸ *Alençon* Sir T. Hanmer has replaced here, instead of *Reignier*, be-
cause *Alençon*, not *Reignier*, appears in the ensuing scene. JOHNSON.

Before he'll buy again at such a rate :

'Twas full of darnel ; ⁹ Do you like the taste ?

Bur. Scoff on, vile fiend, and shameless courtezan !
I trust, ere long to choke thee with thine own,
And make thee curse the harvest of that corn.

Char. Your grace may starve, perhaps, before that time.

Bed. O, let no words, but deeds, revenge this treason !

Puc. What will you do, good grey-beard ? break a lance,
And run a tilt at death within a chair ?

Tal. Foul fiend of France, and hag of all despite,
Encompas'd with thy lustful paramours !
Becomes it thee to taunt his valiant age,
And twit with cowardice a man half dead ?
Damsel, I'll have a bout with you again,
Or else let Talbot perish with this shame.

Puc. Are you so hot, sir ?—Yet, Pucelle, hold thy peace ;
If Talbot do but thunder, rain will follow,—

[*TALBOT, and the rest, consult together.*]

God speed the parliament ! who shall be the speaker ?

Tal. Dare you come forth, and meet us in the field ?

Puc. Belike, your lordship takes us then for fools,
To try if that our own be ours, or no.

Tal. I speak not to that railing Hecaté,
But unto thee, Alençon, and the rest ;
Will ye, like soldiers, come and fight it out ?

Alen. Signior, no.

Tal. Signior, hang !—base muleteers of France !
Like peasant foot-boys do they keep the walls,
And dare not take up arms like gentlemen.

Puc. Away, captains : let's get us from the walls ;
For Talbot means no goodness, by his looks.—

God

⁹ “ Darnel (says Gerard) hurteth the eyes, and maketh them dim, if it happen either in *c rne* for breade, or drinke.” Hence the old proverb—*Lolius visitare*, applied to such as were dim-sighted. Thus also, Ovid, *Fast.* I. 691 :

“ Et careant lolius oculos vitiantibus agri.”

Pucelle means to intimate, that the corn she carried with her, had produced the same effect on the guards of Rouen ; otherwise they would have seen through her disguise, and defeated her stratagem.

STEEVENS.

God be wi' you, my lord! we came, sir, but to tell you
That we are here.

[*Exeunt* LA PUCELLE, &c. *from the walls.*

Tal. And there will we be too, ere it be long,
Or else reproach be Talbot's greatest fame!—
Vow, Burgundy, by honour of thy house,
(Prick'd on by publick wrongs, sustain'd in France,)
Either to get the town again, or die:
And I,—as sure as English Henry lives,
And as his father here was conqueror;
As sure as in this late-betrayed town
Great Cœur-de-lion's heart was buried;
So sure I swear, to get the town, or die.

Bur. My vows are equal partners with thy vows.

Tal. But, ere we go, regard this dying prince,
The valiant duke of Bedford:—Come, my lord,
We will bestow you in some better place,
Fitter for sickness, and for crazy age.

Bed. Lord Talbot, do not so dishonour me:
Here will I sit before the walls of Rouën,
And will be partner of your weal, or woe.

Bur. Courageous Bedford, let us now persuade you.

Bed. Not to be gone from hence; for once I read,
That stout Pendragon, in his litter,² sick,
Came to the field, and vanquished his foes:
Methinks, I should revive the soldiers' hearts,
Because I ever found them as myself.

Tal. Undaunted spirit in a dying breast!
Then be it so:—Heavens keep old Bedford safe!—
And now no more ado, brave Burgundy,
But gather we our forces out of hand,
And set upon our boasting enemy.

[*Exeunt* BURGUNDY, TALBOT, and *Forces, leaving*
BEDFORD, and Others.

Alarum: Excursions. Enter Sir JOHN FASTOLFE, and a
Captain.

Cap. Whither away, sir John Fastolfe, in such haste?

Fast.

² This hero was Uther Pendragon, brother to Aurelius, and father to King Arthur. STEEVENS.

Fast. Whither away? to save myself by flight;³
We are like to have the overthrow again.

Cap. What! will you fly, and leave lord Talbot?

Fast. Ay,
All the Talbots in the world, to save my life. [*Exit.*
Cap. Cowardly knight! ill fortune follow thee! [*Exit.*

*Retreat: Excursions. Enter from the town, LA PUCELLE,
ALENÇON, CHARLES, &c. and Exeunt, flying.*

Bed. Now, quiet soul, depart when heaven please;
For I have seen⁴ our enemies' overthrow.
What is the trust or strength of foolish man?
They, that of late were daring with their scoffs,
Are glad and fain by flight to save themselves.
[*Dies,*⁵ and is carried off in his chair.

Alarum: Enter TALBOT, BURGUNDY, and Others.

Tal. Lost, and recover'd in a day again!
This is a double honour, Burgundy:
Yet, heavens have glory for this victory!

Bur. Warlike and martial Talbot, Burgundy
Enshrines thee in his heart; and there erects
Thy noble deeds, as valour's monument.

Tal. Thanks, gentle duke. But where is Pucelle now?
I think, her old familiar is asleep:
Now where's the Bastard's braves, and Charles his gleeks?
What,

³ I have no doubt that it was the *exaggerated* representation of Sir John Fastolfe's *cowardice* which the author of this play has given, that induced Shakspeare to give the name of Falstaff to his knight. Sir John Fastolfe did indeed fly at the battle of *Patay* in the year 1429; and is reproached by Ta'bot in a subsequent scene, for his conduct on that occasion; but no historian has said that he fled before Rouen. The change of the name had been already made, for throughout the old copy of this play this flying general is erroneously called *Falstaffe*. MALONE.

⁴ So, in *St. Luke*, ii. 29: "Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace, for mine eyes have seen thy salvation." STEEVENS.

⁵ The Duke of Bedford died at *Rouen* in September, 1435, but not in any action before that town. MALONE.

What, all a-mort ?⁶ Roüen hangs her head for grief,
That such a valiant company are fled.

Now will we take some order in the town,⁷

Placing therein some expert officers ;

And then depart to Paris, to the king ;

For there young Henry, with his nobles, lies.

Bur. What wills lord Talbot, pleaseth Burgundy.

Tal. But yet, before we go, let's not forget

The noble duke of Bedford, late deceas'd,

But see his exequies fulfill'd in Roüen ;

A braver foldier never couched lance,

A gentler heart did never sway in court :

But kings, and mightiest potentates, must die ;

For that's the end of human misery.

[*Exeunt.*]

SCENE III.

The same. The Plains near the City.

*Enter CHARLES, the Bastard, ALENÇON, LA PUCELLE,
and Forces.*

Puc. Dismay not, princes, at this accident,

Nor grieve that Roüen is so recovered :

Care is no cure, but rather corrosive,

For things that are not to be remedy'd.

Let frantick Talbot triumph for a while,

And like a peacock sweep along his tail ;

We'll pull his plumes, and take away his train,

If Dauphin, and the rest, will be but rul'd.

Char. We have been guided by thee hitherto.

And of thy cunning had no diffidence ;

One sudden foil shall never breed distrust.

Bast. Search out thy wit for secret policies,

And we will make thee famous through the world.

Alen. We'll set thy statue in some holy place,

And

⁶ i. e. quite dispirited ; a frequent Gallicism. So, in *The Taming of the Shrew* :

“ What, sweeting ! *all a-mort* ? ” STEEVENS.

⁷ i. e. make some necessary dispositions. STEEVENS.

And have thee reverenc'd like a blessed faint ;
Employ thee then, sweet virgin, for our good.

Puc. Then thus it must be ; this doth Joan devise :
By fair persuasions, mix'd with sugar'd words,
We will entice the duke of Burgundy
To leave the Talbot, and to follow us.

Char. Ay, marry, sweeting, if we could do that,
France were no place for Henry's warriors ;
Nor should that nation boast it so with us,
But be extirped from our provinces.⁸

Alen. For ever should they be expuls'd from France,
And not have title of an earldom here.

Puc. Your honours shall perceive how I will work,
To bring this matter to the wished end. [*Drums heard.*
Hark ! by the sound of drum, you may perceive
Their powers are marching unto Paris-ward.

An English March. Enter and pass over, at a distance, TAL-
BOT and his Forces.

There goes the Talbot, with his colours spread ;
And all the troops of English after him.

A French March. Enter the Duke of BURGUNDY and
Forces.

Now, in the rearward, comes the duke, and his ;
Fortune, in favour, makes him lag behind.
Summon a parley, we will talk with him.

[*A parley sounded.*

Char. A parley with the duke of Burgundy.

Bur. Who craves a parley with the Burgundy ?

Puc. The princely Charles of France, thy countryman.

Bur. What say'st thou, Charles ? for I am marching
hence.

Char. Speak, Pucelle ; and enchant him with thy words.

Puc. Brave Burgundy, undoubted hope of France !
Stay, let thy humble handmaid speak to thee.

Bur.

⁸ To extirp is to root out. STEEVENS.

Bur. Speak on ; but be not over-tedious.

Puc. Look on thy country, look on fertile France,
And see the cities and the towns defac'd
By wasting ruin of the cruel foe !
As looks the mother on her lowly babe,⁹
When death doth close his tender dying eyes,
See, see, the pining malady of France ;
Behold the wounds, the most unnatural wounds,
Which thou thyself hast given her woful breast !
O, turn thy edged sword another way ;
Strike those that hurt, and hurt not those that help !
One drop of blood, drawn from thy country's bosom,
Should grieve thee more than streams of foreign gore ;
Return thee, therefore, with a flood of tears,
And wash away thy country's stained spots !

Bur. Either she hath bewitch'd me with her words,
Or nature makes me suddenly relent.

Puc. Besides, all French and France exclaims on thee,
Doubting thy birth and lawful progeny.
Who join'st thou with, but with a lordly nation,
That will not trust thee, but for profit's sake ?
When Talbot hath set footing once in France,
And fashion'd thee that instrument of ill,
Who then, but English Henry, will be lord,
And thou be thrust out, like a fugitive ?
Call we to mind,—and mark but this, for proof ;—
Was not the duke of Orleans thy foe ?
And was he not in England prisoner ?
But, when they heard he was thine enemy,
'They set him free,² without his ransom paid,
In spite of Burgundy, and all his friends.

See

⁹ It is plain Shakspeare wrote—*lowly babe*, it answering to *fertile France* above, which this domestic image is brought to illustrate. WARBURTON.

The alteration is easy and probable, but perhaps the poet by *lowly babe* meant the *babe* lying *low* in death. *Lowly* answers as well to *towns defaced* and *wasting ruin*, as *lowly* to *fertile*. JOHNSON.

² A mistake : The duke was not liberated till *after* Burgundy's decline to the French interest ; which did not happen, by the way, till some years after the execution of this very Joan la Pucelle ; nor was that during the regency of York, but of Bedford. RITSON.

See then! thou fight'st against thy countrymen,
 And join'st with them will be thy slaughtermen.
 Come, come, return; return, thou wand'ring lord;
 Charles, and the rest, will take thee in their arms.

Bur. I am vanquish'd; these haughty words of hers
 Have batter'd me like roaring cannon-shot,³
 And made me almost yield upon my knees.—
 Forgive me, country, and sweet countrymen!
 And, lords, accept this hearty kind embrace:
 My forces and my power of men are yours;—
 So, farewell, Talbot; I'll no longer trust thee.

Puc. Done like a Frenchman; turn, and turn again! ⁴

Char. Welcome, brave duke! thy friendship makes us
 fresh.

Bast. And doth beget new courage in our breasts.

Alen. Pucelle hath bravely play'd her part in this,
 And doth deserve a coronet of gold.

Char. Now let us on, my lords, and join our powers;
 And seek how we may prejudice the foe. [Exeunt.]

S C E N E IV.

Paris. *A Room in the Palace.*

*Enter King HENRY, GLOSTER, and other Lords, VERNON,
 BASSET, &c. To them TALBOT, and some of his officers.*

Tal. My gracious prince,—and honourable peers,—
 Hearing of your arrival in this realm,
 I have a while given truce unto my wars,

To

³ How these lines came hither I know not; there was nothing in the speech of Joan haughty or violent, it was all soft entreaty and mild expostulation. JOHNSON.

Haughty does not mean *violent* in this place, but *elevated, high-spirited*. It is used in a similar sense, in two other passages in this very play.

M. MASON.

⁴ The inconstancy of the French was always the subject of satire. I have read a dissertation written to prove that the index of the wind upon our steeples was made in form of a cock, to ridicule the French for their frequent changes. JOHNSON.

To do my duty to my sovereign :
 In sign whereof, this arm—that hath reclaim'd
 To your obedience fifty fortresses,
 Twelve cities, and seven walled towns of strength,
 Beside five hundred prisoners of esteem,—
 Lets fall his sword before your highness' feet ;
 And, with submissive loyalty of heart,
 Ascribes the glory of his conquest got,
 First to my God, and next unto your grace.

K. Hen. Is this the lord Talbot, uncle Gloster,
 That hath so long been resident in France ?

Glo. Yes, if it please your majesty, my liege.

K. Hen. Welcome, brave captain, and victorious lord !
 When I was young, (as yet I am not old,)
 I do remember how my father said,⁵
 A flouter champion never handled sword.
 Long since we were resolved of your truth,⁶
 Your faithful service, and your toil in war ;
 Yet never have you tasted our reward,
 Or been reguerdon'd⁷ with so much as thanks,
 Because till now we never saw your face :
 Therefore, stand up ; and, for these good deserts,
 We here create you earl of Shrewsbury ;
 And in our coronation take your place.

[*Exeunt King HENRY, GLOSTER, TALBOT, and Nobles.*]

Ver. Now, sir, to you, that were so hot at sea,
 Disgracing of these colours that I wear⁸
 In honour of my noble lord of York,—
 Dar'st thou maintain the former words thou spak'st ?

Bas. Yes, sir ; as well as you dare patronage
 The envious barking of your saucy tongue
 Against my lord, the duke of Somerset.

Ver. Sirrah, thy lord I honour as he is.

Bas.

⁵ The author of this play was not a very correct historian. Henry was but nine months old when his father died, and never saw him.

MALONE.

⁶ i. e. confirmed in opinion of it. STEEVENS.

⁷ i. e. rewarded. The word was obsolete even in the time of Shakespeare. STEEVENS.

⁸ This was the badge of a rose, and not an officer's scarf. TOLLET.

Bas. Why, what is he? as good a man as York.

Ver. Hark ye; not so: in witness, take ye that.

[*Strikes him.*]

Bas. Villain, thou know'st, the law of arms is such,

That, who so draws a sword, 'tis present death; 9

Or else this blow should broach thy dearest blood.

But I'll unto his majesty, and crave

I may have liberty to venge this wrong;

When thou shalt see, I'll meet thee to thy cost.

Ver. Well, miscreant, I'll be there as soon as you;

And, after, meet you sooner than you would.

[*Exeunt.*]

9 Shakspeare wrote:

— draws a sword i'th' presence 't's death;

i. e. in the court, or in the presence chamber. *WARBURTON.*

This reading cannot be right, because, as Mr. Edwards observed, it cannot be pronounced. It is, however, a good comment, as it shows the author's meaning. *JOHNSON.*

I believe the line should be written as it is in the folio:

That, who so draws a sword, —

i. e. (as Dr. Warburton has observed) with a menace in the court, or in the presence chamber. *STEEVENS.*

Johnson, in his collection of *Ecclesiastical Laws*, has preserved the following, which was made by Ina, king of the West Saxons, 693: "If any one fight in the king's house, let him forfeit all his estate, and let the king deem whether he shall live or not." I am told that there are many other ancient canons to the same purpose. *Grey. STEEVENS.*

Sir William Blackstone observes that, "by the ancient law before the Conquest, fighting in the king's palace, or before the king's judges, was punished with death. So too, in the old Gothic constitution, there were many places privileged by law, *quibus major reverentia et securitas debetur, ut templa et judicia, quæ sancta habebantur, — arces, et aula regis, — denique locus quilibet presente aut adventante rege.* And at present with us, by the Stat. 33 Hen. VIII. c. 12. malicious striking in the king's palace, wherein his royal person resides, whereby blood is drawn, is punishable by perpetual imprisonment and fine, at the king's pleasure; and also with loss of the offender's right hand, the solemn execution of which sentence is prescribed in the statute at length." *Commentaries*, Vol. IV. p. 124. "By the ancient common law, also before the Conquest, striking in the king's court of justice, or drawing a sword therein, was a capital felony." *ibid.* p. 125. *REED.*

ACT

ACT IV. SCENE I.

The same. A Room of State.

Enter King HENRY, GLOSTER, EXETER, YORK, SUFFOLK, SOMERSET, WINCHESTER, WARWICK, TALBOT, the Governour of Paris, and Others.

Glo. Lord bishop, set the crown upon his head.

Win. God save king Henry, of that name the sixth!

Glo. Now, governour of Paris, take your oath,—

[Governour kneels.]

That you elect no other king but him :

Esteem none friends, but such as are his friends ;

And none your foes, but such as shall pretend ²

Malicious practices against his state :

This shall ye do, so help you righteous God !

[Exeunt Gov. and his Train.]

Enter Sir JOHN FASTOLFE.

Fast. My gracious sovereign, as I rode from Calais,
To haste unto your coronation,
A letter was deliver'd to my hands
Writ to your grace from the duke of Burgundy.

Tal. Shame to the duke of Burgundy, and thee !
I vow'd, base knight, when I did meet thee next,
To tear the garter from thy craven's leg,³ [Plucking it off.
(Which I have done) because unworthily
Thou wast installed in that high degree.—
Pardon me, princely Henry, and the rest :
This dastard, at the battle of Patay,⁴—

When

² To pretend is to design, to intend. JOHNSON.

³ i. e. thy mean, dastardly leg. WHALLEY.

⁴ The old copy has—*Poictiers*. MALONE.

The battle of Poictiers was fought in the year 1357, the 31st of King Edward III. and the scene now lies in the 7th year of the reign of King Henry VI. viz. 1428. This blunder may be justly imputed to the players or transcribers; nor can we very well justify ourselves for permitting it
to

When but in all I was fix thousand strong,
 And that the French were almost ten to one;—
 Before we met, or that a stroke was given,
 Like to a trusty squire, did run away;
 In which assault we lost twelve hundred men;
 Myself, and divers gentlemen beside,
 Were there surpriz'd, and taken prisoners.
 Then judge, great lords, if I have done amiss;
 Or whether that such cowards ought to wear
 This ornament of knighthood, yea, or no.

Glo. To say the truth, this fact was infamous,
 And ill beseeming any common man;
 Much more a knight, a captain, and a leader.

Tal. When first this order was ordain'd, my lords,
 Knights of the garter were of noble birth:
 Valiant, and virtuous, full of haughty courage,⁵
 Such as were grown to credit by the wars:
 Not fearing death, nor shrinking for distress,
 But always resolute in most extremes.⁶
 He then, that is not furnish'd in this sort,
 Doth but usurp the sacred name of knight,
 Profaning this most honourable order;
 And should (if I were worthy to be judge,)
 Be quite degraded, like a hedge-born swain
 That doth presume to boast of gentle blood.

K. Hen. Stain to thy countrymen! thou hear'st thy doom:
 Be packing therefore, thou that wast a knight;
 Henceforth we banish thee, on pain of death.—

[Exit FASTOLFE.]

to continue so long, as it was too glaring to have escaped an attentive reader. The action of which Shakspeare is now speaking, happened (according to Holinshed) “neere unto a village in Beausse called *Pataie*,” which we should read, instead of *Poictiers*. “From this battell departed without anie stroke stricken, *Sir John Fastolfe*, the same yeere by his valiantelle elected into the order of the garter. But for doubt of misdealing at this brunt, the duke of Bedford tooke from him the image of St. George and his garter,” &c. Holinshed, Vol. II. p. 601. Monstrelet, the French historian, also bears witness to this degradation of Sir John Fastolfe.

STEEVENS.

⁵ *Haughty* is here in its original sense for *high*. JOHNSON.

⁶ i. e. in greatest extremities. STEEVENS.

And now, my lord protector, view the letter
Sent from our uncle duke of Burgundy.

Glo. What means his grace, that he hath chang'd his stile?

[*Viewing the superscription.*

No more but, plain and bluntly—*To the king?*

Hath he forgot he is his sovereign?

Or doth this churlish superscription

Pretend some alteration in good will?

What's here;—*I have, upon especial cause,—*

[*Reads.*

Mov'd with compassion of my country's wreck,

Together with the pitiful complaints

Of such as your oppression feeds upon,—

Forsaken your pernicious faction,

And join'd with Charles, the rightful king of France,

O monstrous treachery! Can this be so;

That in alliance, amity, and oaths,

There should be found such false dissembling guile?

K. Hen. What! doth my uncle Burgundy revolt?

Glo. He doth, my lord; and is become your foe.

K. Hen. Is that the worst, this letter doth contain?

Glo. It is the worst, and all, my lord, he writes.

K. Hen. Why then, lord Talbot there shall talk with him,
And give him chastisement for this abuse:—

My lord, how say you? are you not content?

Tal. Content, my liege? Yes; but that I am prevented,⁷
I should have begg'd I might have been employ'd.

K. Hen. Then gather strength, and march unto him
straight:

Let him perceive, how ill we brook his treason;

And what offence it is, to flout his friends.

Tal. I go, my lord; in heart desiring still,
You may behold confusion of your foes.

[*Exit.*

Enter VERNON and BASSET.

Ver. Grant me the combat, gracious sovereign!

Bas. And me, my lord, grant me the combat too!

York.

⁷ *Prevented* is here, *anticipated*; a Latinism. MALONE.

So, in our Liturgy; “*Prevent us, O Lord, in all our doings.*”

York. This is my servant; Hear him, noble prince!

Som. And this is mine; Sweet Henry, favour him!

K. Hen. Be patient, lords, and give them leave to speak.—
Say, gentlemen, What makes you thus exclaim?
And wherefore crave you combat? or with whom?

Ver. With him, my lord; for he hath done me wrong.

Bas. And I with him; for he hath done me wrong.

K. Hen. What is that wrong whereof you both complain?
First let me know and then I'll answer you.

Bas. Crossing the sea from England into France,
This fellow here, with envious carping tongue,
Upbraided me about the rose I wear;
Saying—the sanguine colour of the leaves
Did represent my master's blushing cheeks,
When stubbornly he did repugn the truth,⁸
About a certain question in the law,
Argu'd betwixt the duke of York and him;
With other vile and ignominious terms:
In confutation of which rude reproach,
And in defence of my lord's worthiness,
I crave the benefit of law of arms.

Ver. And that is my petition, noble lord:
For though he seem, with forged quaint conceit,
To set a gloss upon his bold intent,
Yet know, my lord, I was provok'd by him;
And he first took exceptions at this badge,
Pronouncing—that the paleness of this flower
Bewray'd the faintness of my master's heart.

York. Will not this malice, Somerset, be left?

Som. Your private grudge, my lord of York, will out,
Though ne'er so cunningly you smother it.

K. Hen. Good Lord! what madness rules in brain-sick
men;

When, for so slight and frivolous a cause,
Such factious emulations shall arise!—
Good cousins both, of York and Somerset,
Quiet yourselves, I pray, and be at peace.

York. Let this dissention first be try'd by fight,
And then your highness shall command a peace.

E 2

Som.

⁸ To repugn is to resist. STEEVENS.

Som. The quarrel toucheth none but us alone;
Betwixt ourselves let us decide it then.

York. There is my pledge; accept it, Somerset.

Ver. Nay, let it rest where it began at first.

Bas. Confirm it so, mine honourable lord.

Glo. Confirm it so? Confounded be your strife!
And perish ye, with your audacious prate!

Presumptuous vassals! are you not ashamed,

With this immodest clamorous outrage

To trouble and disturb the king and us?

And you, my lords,—methinks, you do not well,

To bear with their preverse objections;

Much less, to take occasion from their mouths

To raise a mutiny betwixt yourselves;

Let me persuade you take a better course.

Exe. It grieves his highness;—Good my lords, be friends.

K. Hen. Come hither, you that would be combatants:

Henceforth, I charge you, as you love our favour,

Quite to forget this quarrel, and the cause.—

And you, my lords,—remember where we are;

In France, amongst a fickle wavering nation:

If they perceive dissention in our looks,

And that within ourselves we disagree,

How will their grudging stomachs be provok'd

To wilful disobedience, and rebel?

Beside, What infamy will there arise,

When foreign princes shall be certify'd,

That, for a toy, a thing of no regard,

King Henry's peers, and chief nobility,

Destroy'd themselves, and lost the realm of France?

O, think upon the conquest of my father,

My tender years; and let us not forego

That for a trifle, that was bought with blood!

Let me be umpire in this doubtful strife.

I see no reason, if I wear this rose, [*Putting on a red rose.*

That any one should therefore be suspicious

I more incline to Somerset, than York:

Both are my kinsmen, and I love them both:

As well they may upbraid me with my crown,

Because, forsooth, the king of Scots is crown'd.

But

But your discretions better can persuade,
 Than I am able to instruct or teach :
 And therefore, as we hither came in peace,
 So let us still continue peace and love.—
 Cousin of York, we institute your grace
 To be our regent in these parts of France :—
 And good my lord of Somerset, unite
 Your troops of horsemen with his bands of foot ;—
 And, like true subjects, sons of your progenitors,
 Go cheerfully together, and digest
 Your angry choler on your enemies.
 Ourself, my lord protector, and the rest,
 After some respite, will return to Calais ;
 From thence to England ; where I hope ere long
 To be presented, by your victories,
 With Charles, Alençon, and that traiterous rout.

[*Flourish. Exeunt King HENRY, GLO. SOM. WIN-
 SUF. and BASSET.*]

War. My lord of York, I promise you, the king
 Prettily, methought, did play the orator.

York. And so he did ; but yet I like it not,
 In that he wears the badge of Somerset.

War. Tush ! that was but his fancy, blame him not ;
 I dare presume, sweet prince, he thought no harm.

York. And, if I wist, he did,⁹—But let it rest ;
 Other affairs must now be managed.

[*Exeunt YORK, WARWICK, and VERNON.*]

Exe. Well didst thou, Richard, to suppress thy voice :
 For, had the passions of thy heart burst out,
 I fear, we should have seen decipher'd there
 More rancorous spite, more furious raging broils,
 Than yet can be imagin'd or suppos'd.
 But howsoe'er, no simple man that sees
 This jarring discord of nobility,

E 3

This

⁹ York says, he is not pleased that the king should prefer the red rose, the badge of Somerset, his enemy ; Warwick desires him not to be offended at it, as he dares say the king *meant no harm*. To which York, yet unsatisfied, hastily adds, in a menacing tone,—*If I thought he did ;*—but he instantly checks his threat with, *let it rest*. It is an example of a rhetorical figure, which our author has elsewhere used. RITSON.

This should'ring of each other in the court,
 This factious bandying of their favourites,
 But that it doth presage some ill event.²
 'Tis much,³ when scepters are in children's hands;
 But more, when envy breeds unkind division:⁴
 There comes the ruin, there begins confusion.

[Exit

SCENE II.

France. Before Bourdeaux.

Enter TALBOT, with his Forces.

Tal. Go to the gates of Bourdeaux, trumpeter,
 Summon their general unto the wall.

*Trumpet sounds a parley. Enter, on the walls, the General of
 the French Forces, and Others.*

English John Talbot, captains, calls you forth,
 Servant in arms to Harry king of England;
 And thus he would,—Open your city gates,
 Be humble to us; call my sovereign yours,
 And do him homage as obedient subjects,
 And I'll withdraw me and my bloody power:
 But, if you frown upon this proffer'd peace,
 You tempt the fury of my three attendants,
 Lean famine, quartering steel, and climbing fire;
 Who, in a moment, even with the earth
 Shall lay your stately and air-braving towers,
 If you forsake the offer of their love.

Gen.

² —it doth presage some ill event.] That is, it doth presage to him that sees this discord, &c. that some ill event will happen. MALONE.

³ In our author's time, this phrase meant—'Tis strange or wonderful.

MALONE.

'Tis much, is a colloquial phrase, and the meaning of it, in many instances, can be gathered only from the tenor of the speech in which it occurs. On the present occasion, I believe, it signifies—'Tis an alarming circumstance, a thing of great consequence, or of much weight. STEEVENS.

⁴ Envy in old English writers frequently means enmity. Unkind is unnatural. MALONE.

Gen. Thou ominous and fearful owl of death,
 Our nation's terror, and their bloody scourge!
 The period of thy tyranny approacheth.
 On us thou canst not enter, but by death:
 For, I protest, we are well fortify'd,
 And strong enough to issue out and fight:
 If thou retire, the Dauphin, well appointed,
 Stands with the snares of war to tangle thee:
 On either hand thee there are squadrons pitch'd,
 To wall thee from the liberty of flight;
 And no way canst thou turn thee for redress,
 But death doth front thee with apparent spoil,
 And pale destruction meets thee in the face.
 Ten thousand French have ta'en the sacrament,
 To rive their dangerous artillery⁵
 Upon no christian soul but English Talbot.
 Lo! there thou stand'st, a breathing valiant man,
 Of an invincible unconquer'd spirit:
 This is the latest glory of thy praise,
 That I, thy enemy, due thee withal;⁶

E 4

For

⁵ I do not understand the phrase—to *rive* artillery; perhaps it might be to *drive*; we say to *drive a blow*, and to *drive at a man*, when we mean to express furious assault. JOHNSON.

To *rive* seems to be used, with some deviation from its common meaning, in *Anthony and Cleopatra*, Act IV. sc. ii:

“The soul and body *rive* not more at parting.” STEEVENS.

Rive their artillery seems to mean charge their artillery so much as to endanger their bursting. TOLLET.

To *rive* their artillery means only to *fire* their artillery.—To *rive* is to *burst*; and a cannon, when fired, has so much the appearance of bursting, that, in the language of poetry, it may be well said to burst. We say, a cloud bursts, when it thunders. M. MASON.

⁶ To *due* is to *endue*, to *deck*, to *grace*. JOHNSON.

Johnson says in his Dictionary, that to *due* is to *pay as due*; and quotes this passage as an example. Possibly that may be the true meaning of it.

M. MASON.

It means, I think, to honour by giving thee thy *due*, thy merited elogium. *Due* was substituted for *dew*, the reading of the old copy, by Mr. Theobald. *Dew* was sometimes the old spelling of *due*, as *Hew* was of *Hugh*.

MALONE.

The old copy reads—*dew* thee withal; and perhaps rightly. The *dew of praise* is an expression I have met with in other poets. STEEVENS.

For ere the glass, that now begins to run,
 Finish the process of his sandy hour,
 These eyes, that see thee now well-colour'd,
 Shall see thee wither'd, bloody, pale, and dead.

[*Drum afar off.*

Hark! hark! the Dauphin's drum, a warning bell,
 Sings heavy musick to thy timorous soul;
 And mine shall ring thy dire departure out.

[*Exeunt General, &c. from the walls.*

Tal. He fables not, I hear the enemy;—
 Out, some light horsemen and peruse their wings.—
 O, negligent and heedless discipline!
 How are we park'd, and bounded in a pale;
 A little herd of England's timorous deer,
 Maz'd with the yelping kennel of French curs!
 If we be English deer, be then in blood:⁷
 Not rascal-like,⁸ to fall down with a pinch;
 But rather moody mad, and desperate stags,
 Turn on the bloody hounds with heads of steel,⁹
 And make the cowards stand aloof at bay:
 Sell every man his life as dear as mine,
 And they shall find dear deer of us, my friends.—
 God, and saint George! Talbot, and England's right!
 Prosper our colours in this dangerous fight! [*Exeunt.*

SCENE III.

Plains in Gascony.

Enter YORK, with Forces; to him a Messenger.

York. Are not the speedy scouts return'd again,
 That dogg'd the mighty army of the Dauphin?

Mess. They are return'd, my lord; and give it out,
 That he is march'd to Bourdeaux with his power,

To

⁷ Be in high spirits, be of true mettle. JOHNSON.

This was a phrase of the forest. MALONE.

⁸ A rascal deer is the term of chase for lean poor deer. JOHNSON.

⁹ Continuing the image of the deer, he supposes the lances to be their horns. JOHNSON.

To fight with Talbot: As he march'd along,
By your espials were discovered
Two mightier troops than that the Dauphin led;
Which join'd with him, and made their march for Bourdeaux.

York. A plague upon that villain Somerfet;
That thus delays my promised supply
Of horsemen, that were levied for this siege!
Renowned Talbot doth expect my aid;
And I am louted² by a traitor villain,
And cannot help the noble chevalier:
God comfort him in this necessity!
If he miscarry, farewell wars in France.

Enter Sir WILLIAM LUCY.

Lucy. Thou princely leader of our English strength,
Never so needful on the earth of France,
Spur to the rescue of the noble Talbot;
Who now is girdled with a waist of iron,
And hemm'd about with grim destruction:
To Bourdeaux, warlike duke! to Bourdeaux, York!
Else, farewell Talbot, France, and England's honour.

York. O God! that Somerfet—who in proud heart
Doth stop my cornets—were in Talbot's place!
So should we save a valiant gentleman,
By forfeiting a traitor and a coward.
Mad ire, and wrathful fury, makes me weep,
That thus we die, while remiss traitors sleep.

Lucy. O, send some succour to the distress'd lord!

York. He dies, we lose; I break my warlike word:
We mourn, France smiles; we lose, they daily get;

E 5

ALL

² To *lout* may signify to depress, to lower, to dishonour; but I do not remember it so used. We may read—And I am flouted.—I am mocked, and treated with contempt. JOHNSON.

To *lout*, in Chaucer, signifies to submit. To submit is to let down. To *lout* and *underlout*, in Gawin Douglas's version of the *Æneid*, signifies to be subdued, vanquished. STEEVENS

A *lout* is a country fellow, a clown. He means that Somerfet treats him like a hind. RITSON.

I believe the meaning is; I am treated with contempt, like a *lout*, or low country fellow. MALONE.

All 'long of this vile traitor Somerfet.

Lucy. Then, God take mercy on brave Talbot's soul!
And on his son young John; whom, two hours since,
I met in travel toward his warlike father!

This seven years did not Talbot see his son;
And now they meet where both their lives are done.³

York. Alas! what joy shall noble Talbot have,
To bid his young son welcome to his grave?
Away! vexation almost stops my breath,
That sunder'd friends greet in the hour of death.—
Lucy, farewell: no more my fortune can,
But curse the cause I cannot aid the man.—
Maine, Blois, Poictiers, and Tours, are won away,
'Long all of Somerfet, and his delay.

[*Exit.*]

Lucy. Thus while the vulture⁴ of sedition
Feeds in the bosom of such great commanders,
Sleeping neglect doth betray to loss
The conquest of our scarce-cold conqueror,
That ever-living man of memory,
Henry the fifth;—Whiles they each other cross,
Lives, honours, lands, and all, hurry to loss.

[*Exit.*]

SCENE IV.

Other Plains of Gascony.

*Enter SOMERSET, with his Forces; an Officer of TALBOT'S
with him.*

Som. It is too late; I cannot send them now:
This expediton was by York, and Talbot,
Too rashly plotted; all our general force
Might with a sally of the very town
Be buckled with: the over-daring Talbot
Hath sullied all his gloss of former honour,
By this unheedful, desperate, wild adventure:

York

³ i. e. expended, consumed. The word is yet used in this sense in the Western counties. MALONE.

⁴ Alluding to the tale of Prometheus. JOHNSON.

York set him on to fight, and die in shame,
That, Talbot dead, great York might bear the name.

Off. Here is sir William Lucy, who with me
Set from our o'er-match'd forces forth for aid.

Enter Sir WILLIAM LUCY.

Som. How now, sir William? whither were you sent?

Lucy. Whither, my lord? from bought and sold lord
Talbot;⁵

Who, ring'd about ⁶ with bold adversity,
Cries out for noble York and Somerset,
To beat assailing death from his weak legions.
And whiles the honourable captain there
Drops bloody sweat from his war-wearied limbs,
And, in advantage ling'ring,⁷ looks for rescue,
You, his false hopes, the trust of England's honour,
Keep off aloof with worthless emulation.⁸

Let not your private discord keep away
The levied succours that should lend him aid,
While he, renowned noble gentleman,
Yields up his life unto a world of odds:
Orleans the Bastard, Charles, and Burgundy,
Alençon, Reignier, compass him about,
And Talbot perisheth by your default.

Som. York set him on, York should have sent him aid.

Lucy. And York as fast upon your grace exclaims;
Swearing, that you withhold his levied host,
Collected for this expedition.

Som. York lies; he might have sent, and had the horse:
I owe him little duty, and less love;
And take foul scorn, to fawn on him by sending.

E 6

Lucy.

⁵ i. e. from one utterly ruin'd by the treacherous practices of others.
MALONE.

⁶ Environed, encircled. JOHNSON.

⁷ Protracting his resistance by the advantage of a strong post.

JOHNSON.

⁸ Or, perhaps, endeavouring by every means that he can, with advantage
to himself, to linger out the action, &c. MALONE.

⁸ In this line *emulation* signifies merely *rivalry* , not struggle for superior
excellence. JOHNSON.

Lucy. The fraud of England, not the force of France,
Hath now entrapp'd the noble-minded Talbot :
Never to England shall he bear his life ;
But dies, betray'd to fortune by your strife.

Som. Come, go ; I will despatch the horsemen straight :
Within six hours they will be at his aid.

Lucy. Too late comes rescue ; he is ta'en, or slain :
For fly he could not, if he would have fled ;
And fly would Talbot never, though he might.

Som. If he be dead, brave Talbot then adieu !

Lucy. His fame lives in the world, his shame in you.

[*Exeunt.*]

SCENE V.

The English Camp near Bourdeaux.

Enter TALBOT and John his son.

Tal. O young John Talbot ! I did fend for thee,
To tutor thee in stratagems of war ;
That Talbot's name might be in thee reviv'd,
When sapless age, and weak unable limbs,
Should bring thy father to his drooping chair.
But,—O malignant and ill-boding stars !—
Now thou art come unto a feast of death,⁹
A terrible and unavoyd² danger :
Therefore, dear boy, mount on my swiftest horse ;
And I'll direct thee how thou shalt escape
By sudden flight ; come, dally not, begone.

John. Is my name Talbot ? and am I your son ?
And shall I fly ? O, if you love my mother,
Dishonour not her honourable name,
To make a bastard, and a slave of me :
The world will say—He is not Talbot's blood,
That basely fled, when noble Talbot stood.³

Tal.

⁹ To a field where *death* will be *feasted* with slaughter. JOHNSON.

² For *unavoidable*. MALONE.

³ For what reason this scene is written in rhyme, I cannot guess. If
Shakspeare

Tal. Fly, to revenge my death, if I be slain.

John. He, that flies so, will ne'er return again.

Tal. If we both stay, we both are sure to die.

John. Then let me stay ; and, father, do you fly :
Your loss is great, so your regard ⁴ should be ;
My worth unknown, no loss is known in me.
Upon my death the French can little boast ;
In yours they will, in you all hopes are lost.
Flight cannot stain the honour you have won ;
But mine it will, that no exploit have done :
You fled for vantage, every one will swear ;
But, if I bow, they'll say—it was for fear.
There is no hope that ever I will stay,
If, the first hour, I shrink, and run away.
Here, on my knee, I beg mortality,
Rather than life preserv'd with infamy.

Tal. Shall all thy mother's hopes lie in one tomb ?

John. Ay, rather than I'll shame my mother's womb.

Tal. Upon my blessing I command thee go.

John. To fight I will, but not to fly the foe.

Tal. Part of thy father may be sav'd in thee.

John. No part of him, but will be shame in me.

Tal. Thou never hadst renown, nor canst not lose it.

John. Yes, your renowned name ; Shall flight abuse it ?

Tal. Thy father's charge shall clear thee from that stain.

John. You cannot witness for me, being slain.

If death be so apparent, then both fly.

Tal. And leave my followers here, to fight, and die ?
My age was never tainted with such shame.

John. And shall my youth be guilty of such blame ?

No more can I be sever'd from your side,

Than can yourself yourself in twain divide :

Stay, go, do what you will, the like do I ;

For live I will not, if my father die.

Tal. Then here I take my leave of thee, fair son,

Born

Shakspeare had not in other plays mingled his rhymes and blank verses in the same manner, I should have suspected that this dialogue had been a part of some other poem which was never finished, and that being loath to throw his labour away, he inserted it here. JOHNSON.

⁴ Your care of your own safety. JOHNSON.

Born to eclipse ⁵ thy life this afternoon.
 Come, side by side together live and die ;
 And soul with soul from France to heaven fly. [Exeunt]

SCENE VI.

A Field of Battle.

*Alarum : Excursions, wherein Talbot's son is hemm'd about,
 and Talbot rescues him.*

Tal. Saint George and victory ! fight, soldiers, fight :
 The regent hath with Talbot broke his word,
 And left us to the rage of France his sword.
 Where is John Talbot ?—pause, and take thy breath ;
 I gave thee life, and rescu'd thee from death.

John. O twice my father ! twice am I thy son :
 The life thou gav'st me first, was lost and done ;
 Till with thy warlike sword, despite of fate,
 To my determin'd time ⁶ thou gav'st new date.

Tal. When from the Dauphin's crest thy sword struck
 fire,
 It warm'd thy father's heart with proud desire
 Of bold-fac'd victory. Then leaden age,
 Quicken'd with youthful spleen, and warlike rage,
 Beat down Alençon, Orleans, Burgundy,
 And from the pride of Gallia rescu'd thee.
 The ireful bastard, Orleans—that drew blood
 From thee, my boy ; and had the maidenhood
 Of thy first fight—I soon encountered ;
 And, interchanging blows, I quickly shed
 Some of his bastard blood ; and, in disgrace,
 Bespoke him thus : *Contaminated, base,
 And misbegotten blood I spill of thine,
 Mean and right poor ; for that pure blood of mine,
 Which thou didst force from Talbot, my brave boy :—*

Here,

⁵ An apparent quibble between *son*, and *fun*. STEEVENS.

⁶ i. e. ended. STEEVENS.

The word is still used in that sense by legal conveyancers. MALONE.

Here, purposing the bastard to destroy,
 Came in strong rescue. Speak, thy father's care;
 Art not thou weary, John? How dost thou fare?
 Wilt thou yet leave the battle, boy, and fly,
 Now thou art seal'd the son of chivalry?
 Fly, to revenge my death, when I am dead;
 The help of one stands me in little stead.
 O, too much folly is it, well I wot,
 To hazard all our lives in one small boat.
 If I to-day die not with Frenchmen's rage,
 To-morrow I shall die with mickle age:
 By me they nothing gain, an if I stay,
 'Tis but the short'ning of my life one day:
 In thee thy mother dies, our household's name,
 My death's revenge, thy youth, and England's fame:
 All these, and more, we hazard by thy stay;
 All these are sav'd, if thou wilt fly away.

John. The sword of Orleans hath not made me smart,
 These words of yours draw life-blood from my heart:
 On that advantage, bought with such a shame,
 (To save a paltry life, and slay bright fame,)⁷

Before

⁷ This passage seems to lie obscure and disjointed. Neither the grammar is to be justified; nor is the sentiment better. I have ventur'd at a slight alteration, which departs so little from the reading which has obtain'd, but so much raises the sense, as well as takes away the obscurity, that I am willing to think it restores the author's meaning:

Out on *that* *advantage*, —. THEOBALD.

Sir T. Hanmer reads:

O what *advantage*, —

which I have followed, though Mr. Theobald's conjecture may be well enough admitted. JOHNSON.

I have no doubt but the old reading is right, and the amendment unnecessary; the passage being better as it stood originally, if pointed thus:

*On that advantage bought with such a shame,
 (To save a paltry life, and slay bright fame,)
 Before young Talbot from old Talbot fly,
 The coward horse, that bears me, fall and die!*

The dividing the sentence into two distinct parts, occasioned the obscurity of it, which this method of printing removes. M. MASON.

The sense is—Before young Talbot fly from his father, (in order to save his life while he destroys his character,) *on*, or for the sake of, *the advantages* you mention, namely, preserving our household's name, &c. may my coward horse drop down dead! MALONE.

Before young Talbot from old Talbot fly,
 The coward horse, that bears me, fall and die!
 And like me to the peasant boys of France;⁸
 To be shame's scorn, and subject of mischance!
 Surely, by all the glory you have won,
 An if I fly, I am not Talbot's son:
 Then talk no more of flight, it is no boot;
 If son to Talbot, die at Talbot's foot.

Tal. Then follow thou thy desperate fire of Crete,
 Thou Icarus; thy life to me is sweet:
 If thou wilt fight, fight by thy father's side;
 And, commendable prov'd, let's die in pride.

[*Exeunt.*]

SCENE VII.

Another Part of the same.

Alarum: Excursions. Enter TALBOT wounded, supported by a Servant.

Tal. Where is my other life?—mine own is gone;—
 O, where's young Talbot? where is valiant John?—
 Triumphant death, smear'd with captivity!⁹
 Young Talbot's valour makes me smile at thee:—

When

⁸ To like one to the peasants is, to compare, to level by comparison; the line is therefore intelligible enough by itself, but in this sense it wants connection. Sir T. Hanmer reads,—And leave me, which makes a clear sense and just consequence. But as change is not to be allowed without necessity, I have suffered like to stand, because I suppose the author meant the same as *make like*, or *reduce to a level w.th.* JOHNSON.

⁹ That is, death stained and dishonoured with captivity. JOHNSON.

Death stained by my being made a captive and dying in captivity. The author when he first addresses death, and uses the epithet *triumphant*, considers him as a person who had triumphed over him by plunging his dart in his breast. In the latter part of the line, if Dr. Johnson has rightly explained it, death must have its ordinary signification. “I think light of my death, though rendered disgraceful by captivity,” &c. Perhaps however the construction intended by the poet was—Young Talbot's valour makes *me*, smeared with captivity, smile, &c. If so, there should be a comma after *captivity*. MALONE.

When he perceiv'd me shrink, and on my knee,
 His bloody sword he brandish'd over me,
 And, like a hungry lion, did commence
 Rough deeds of rage, and stern impatience ;
 But when my angry guardant stood alone,
 Tend'ring my ruin,² and assail'd of none,
 Dizzy-ey'd fury, and great rage of heart,
 Suddenly made him from my side to start
 Into the clust'ring battle of the French :
 And in that sea of blood my boy did drench
 His overmounting spirit ; and there dy'd
 My Icarus, my blossom, in his pride.

*Enter Soldiers, bearing the body of JOHN TALBOT.*³

Serv. O my dear lord ! lo, where your son is borne !

Tal. Thou antick death,⁴ which laugh'st us here to scorn,
 Anon, from thy insulting tyranny,
 Coupled in bonds of perpetuity,
 Two Talbots, winged through the lither sky,⁵
 In thy despite, shall 'scape mortality.—

O thou

² Watching me with tenderneſs in my fall. JOHNSON.

³ This John Talbot was the eldeſt ſon of the firſt Earl by his ſecond wife, and was Viſcount Liſle, when he was killed with his father, in endeavouring to relieve Chatillon, after the battle of Bourdeaux, in the year 1453. He was created Viſcount Liſle in 1451. John, the earl's eldeſt ſon by his firſt wife, was ſlain at the battle of Northampton in 1460.

MALONE.

⁴ The *fool*, or *antick* of the play, made ſport by mocking the graver perſonages. JOHNSON.

It is not improbable that Shakspeare borrowed this idea from one of the cuts to that moſt exquisite work called *Imagines Mortis*, commonly aſcribed to the pencil of Holbein, but without any authority. See the 7th print.

DOUCE.

⁵ *Lither* is *flexible* or *yielding*. In much the ſame ſenſe Milton ſays :

“ — He with broad ſails

“ Winnow'd the *buxom* air.”

That is, the obſequious air. JOHNSON.

Lither is the comparative of the adjective *lithe*.

So, in Lyly's *Endymion*, 1591 :

“ — to breed numbneſs or *litherneſs*.”

Litherneſs is *limberneſs*, or *yielding weakneſs*. STEEVENS.

O thou whose wounds become hard-favour'd death,
 Speak to thy father ere thou yield thy breath :
 Brave death by speaking, whether he will, or no ;
 Imagine him a Frenchman and thy foe.——
 Poor boy ! he smiles, methinks ; as who should say—
 Had death been French, then death had died to-day.
 Come, come, and lay him in his father's arms ;
 My spirit can no longer bear these harms.
 Soldiers, adieu ! I have what I would have,
 Now my old arms are young John Talbot's grave. [Dies.]

Alarums. Exeunt Soldiers and Servant, leaving the two bodies. Enter CHARLES, ALENÇON, BURGUNDY, Bastard, LA PUCELLE, and Forces.

Char. Had York and Somerset brought rescue in,
 We should have found a bloody day of this.

Bast. How the young whelp of Talbot's, raging-wood,⁶
 Did flesh his puny sword in Frenchmen's blood !⁷

Puc. Once I encounter'd him, and thus I said,
Thou maiden youth, be vanquish'd by a maid :
 But—with a proud, majestic, high scorn,—
 He answer'd thus ; *Young Talbot was not born*
*To be the pillage of a giglot wench :*⁸
 So, rushing in the bowels of the French,⁹
 He left me proudly, as unworthy fight.

Bur. Doubtless, he would have made a noble knight :
 See, where he lies interred in the arms
 Of the most bloody nurser of his harms.

Bast. Hew them to pieces, hack their bones asunder ;
 Whose life was England's glory, Gallia's wonder,

Char.

⁶ That is, raging mad. STEEVENS.

⁷ The return of rhyme where young Talbot is again mentioned, and in no other place, strengthens the suspicion that these verses were originally part of some other work, and were copied here only to save the trouble of composing new. JOHNSON.

⁸ Giglot is a wanton, or a strumpet. JOHNSON.

⁹ — in the bowels of the French,] So, in the first part of *Jeronimo*, 1605 :

“ Meet, Don Andrea ! yes, in the battle's bowels.”

STEEVENS.

Char. O, no; forbear: for that which we have fled
During the life, let us not wrong it dead.

*Enter Sir WILLIAM LUCY, attended; a French Herald
preceding.*

Lucy. Herald,
Conduct me to the Dauphin's tent; to know
Who hath obtain'd² the glory of the day.

Char. On what submissive message art thou sent?

Lucy. Submission, Dauphin? 'tis a mere French word;
We English warriors wot not what it means.
I come to know what prisoners thou hast ta'en,
And to survey the bodies of the dead.

Char. For prisoners ask'st thou? hell our prison is.
But tell me whom thou seek'st.

Luc. Where is the great Alcides of the field,
Valiant lord Talbot, earl of Shrewsbury!
Created, for his rare success in arms,
Great earl of Washford,³ Waterford, and Valence;
Lord Talbot of Goodrig and Urchinfield,
Lord Strange of Blackmere, lord Verdun of Alton,
Lord Cromwell of Wingfield, lord Furnival of Sheffield,
The thrice victorious lord of Falconbridge;
Knight of the noble order of saint George,

Worthy

² Lucy's message implied that he knew who had obtained the victory: therefore sir T. Hanmer reads:

Herald, conduct me to the Dauphin's tent. JOHNSON.

³ It appears from Camden's *Britannia* and Holinshed's *Chronicle* of Ireland, that Wexford was anciently called *Weyford*. In Crompton's *Mansion of Magnanimitie* it is written as here, *Washford*. This long list of titles is taken from the epitaph formerly fixed on Lord Talbot's tomb in Rouen in Normandy. Where this author found it, I have not been able to ascertain, for it is not in the common historians. The oldest book in which I have met with it is the tract above mentioned, which was printed in 1599, posterior to the date of this play. Numerous as this list is, the epitaph has one more, which, I suppose, was only rejected because it would not easily fall into the verse, "Lord Lovetoft of Worlop" It concludes as here,— "Lord Falconbridge, Knight of the noble order of St. George, St. Michael, and the golden fleece, Great Marshall to King Henry VI. of his realm in France, who died in the battle of Bourdeaux, 1453." MALONE.

Worthy faint Michael, and the golden fleece;
Great marshal to Henry the sixth,
Of all his wars within the realm of France?

Puc. Here is a silly stately stile, indeed!
The Turk, that two and fifty kingdoms hath,⁴
Writes not so tedious a stile as this.—
Him, that thou magnify'st with all these titles,
Stinking, and fly-blown, lies here at our feet.

Lucy. Is Talbot slain; the Frenchmen's only scourge,
Your kingdom's terror and black Nemesis?
O, were mine eyeballs into bullets turn'd,
That I, in rage, might shoot them at your faces!
O, that I could but call these dead to life!
It were enough to fright the realm of France:
Were but his picture left among you here,
It would amaze⁵ the proudest of you all.
Give me their bodies; that I may bear them hence,
And give them burial as beseems their worth.

Puc. I think, this upstart is old Talbot's ghost,
He speaks with such a proud commanding spirit.
For God's sake, let him have 'em; to keep them here,
They would but stink, and putrefy the air.

Char. Go, take their bodies hence.

Lucy. I'll bear them hence:
But from their ashes shall be rear'd
A phoenix that shall make all France afraid.

Char. So we be rid of them, do with 'em what thou wilt.
And now to Paris, in this conquering vein;
All will be ours, now bloody Talbot's slain. [Exeunt.

⁴ Alluding probably to the ostentatious letter of *Sultan Solymán the Magnificent*, to the emperor Ferdinand, 1562; in which all the *Grand Signior's* titles are enumerated. See *Knolles's History of the Turks*, 5th edit. p. 789. GREY.

⁵ *L. e.* (as in other instances) confound, throw into consternation.

STEEVENS.

ACT V. SCENE I.⁶

London. *A Room in the Palace.*

Enter King HENRY, GLOSTER, and EXETER.

K. Hen. Have you perus'd the letters from the pope,
The emperor, and the earl of Armagnac?

Glo. I have, my lord; and their intent is this,—
They humbly sue unto your excellence,
To have a godly peace concluded of,
Between the realms of England and of France.

K. Hen. How doth your grace affect their motion?

Glo. Well, my good lord; and as the only means
To stop effusion of our Christian blood,
And 'stablish quietness on every side.

K. Hen. Ay, marry, uncle; for I always thought,
It was both impious and unnatural,
That such immanity⁷ and bloody strife
Should reign among professors of one faith.

Glo. Beside, my lord,—the sooner to effect,
And surer bind, this knot of amity,—
The earl of Armagnac—near knit to Charles,
A man of great authority in France,—
Proffers his only daughter to your grace
In marriage, with a large and sumptuous dowry.

K. Hen. Marriage, uncle? alas! my years are young;⁸
And fitter is my study and my books,
Than wanton dalliance with a paramour.
Yet, call the ambassadors; and, as you please,
So let them have their answers every one:

I shall

⁶ In the original copy, the transcriber or printer forgot to mark the commencement of the fifth Act; and has by mistake called this scene, Scene II. The editor of the second folio made a very absurd regulation by making the act begin in the middle of the preceding scene, (where the Dauphin, &c. enter, and take notice of the dead bodies of Talbot and his son,) which was inadvertently followed in subsequent editions.

MALONE.

⁷ i. e. barbarity, savageness. STEEVENS.

⁸ His majesty, however, was twenty-four years old. MALONE.

I shall be well content with any choice,
Tends to God's glory, and my country's weal.

*Enter a Legate, and two Ambassadors, with WINCHESTER
in a Cardinal's habit.*

Exe. What! is my lord of Winchester install'd,
And call'd unto a cardinal's degree!
Then, I perceive, that will be verify'd,
Henry the fifth did sometime prophecy,—
*If once he come to be a cardinal,
He'll make his cap co-equal with the crown.*

K. Hen. My lords ambassadors, your several suits
Have been consider'd and debated on.
Your purpose is both good and reasonable:
And, therefore, are we certainly resolv'd
To draw conditions of a friendly peace;
Which, by my lord of Winchester, we mean
Shall be transported presently to France.

Glo. And for the proffer of my lord your master,—
I have inform'd his highness so at large,
As—liking of the lady's virtuous gifts,
Her beauty, and the value of her dower,—
He doth intend she shall be England's queen.

K. Hen. In argument and proof of which contract,
Bear her this jewel, [*to the Amb.*] pledge of my affection.
And so, my lord protector, see them guarded,
And safely brought to Dover; where, inshipp'd,
Commit them to the fortune of the sea.

[*Exeunt King HENRY and Train; GLOSTER, EXETER,
and Ambassadors.*

Win.

9 This (as Mr. Edwards has observed in his MS. notes) argues a great forgetfulness in the poet. In the first act Gloster says:

“ I'll canvass thee in thy broad cardinal's hat : ”

and it is strange that the duke of Exeter should not know of his advancement. STEEVENS.

It should seem from the stage-direction prefixed to this scene, and from the conversation between the Legate and Winchester, that the author meant it to be understood that the bishop had obtained his cardinal's hat only just before his present entry. The inaccuracy therefore was in making Gloster address him by that title in the beginning of the play. He in fact obtained it in the fifth year of Henry's reign. MALONE.

Win. Stay, my lord legate; you shall first receive
The sum of money, which I promised
Should be deliver'd to his holiness
For clothing me in these grave ornaments.

Leg. I will attend upon your lordship's leisure.

Win. Now Winchester will not submit, I trow,
Or be inferior to the proudest peer.
Humphrey of Gloster, thou shalt well perceive,
That, neither in birth,² or for authority,
The bishop will be overborne by thee:
I'll either make thee stoop, and bend thy knee,
Or sack this country with a mutiny.

[*Exeunt*]

SCENE II.

France. *Plains in Anjou.*

*Enter CHARLES, BURGUNDY, ALENÇON, LA PUCELLE,
and Forces, marching.*

Char. These news, my lords, may cheer our drooping
spirits:

'Tis said, the stout Parisians do revolt,
And turn again unto the warlike French.

Alen. Then march to Paris, royal Charles of France,
And keep not back your powers in dalliance.

Puc. Peace be amongst them, if they turn to us;
Else, ruin combat with their palaces!

Enter a Messenger.

Mess. Success unto our valiant general,
And happiness to his accomplices!

Char. What tidings send our scouts? I pr'ythee, speak.

Mess. The English army; that divided was
Into two parts, is now conjoin'd in one;
And means to give you battle presently.

Char. Somewhat too sudden, firs, the warning is;
But we will presently provide for them.

Bur.

² I would read *for* birth. That is, thou shalt not rule me, though thy birth is legitimate, and thy authority supreme. JOHNSON.

FIRST PART OF

Bur. I trust, the ghost of Talbot is not there;
Now he is gone, my lord, you need not fear.

Puc. Of all base passions, fear is most accurs'd:—
Command the conquest, Charles, it shall be thine;
Let Henry fret, and all the world repine.

Char. Then on, my lords; And France be fortunate!

[*Exeunt.*]

SCENE III.

The same. Before Angiers.

Alarums: Excursions. Enter LA PUCELLE.

Puc. The regent conquers, and the Frenchmen fly.—
Now help, ye charming spells and periapts;³
And ye choice spirits that admonish me,
And give me signs of future accidents! [Thunder.
You speedy helpers, that are substitutes
Under the lordly monarch of the north,⁴
Appear, and aid me in this enterprize!

³ Charms sow'd up. *Ezek.* xiii. 18: "Woe to them that sow pillows to all arm-holes, to hunt souls." *POPE.*

³ *Periapts* were worn about the neck as preservatives from disease or danger. Of these, the first chapter of St. John's Gospel was deemed the most efficacious.

Whoever is desirous to know more about them, may consult Reginald Scott's *Discovery of Witchcraft*, 1584, p. 230, &c. *STEEVENS.*

The following story, which is related in *Wits, Fits, and Fancies*, 1595, proves what Mr. Steevens has asserted: "A cardinal seeing a priest carrying a cudgel under his gown, reprimanded him. His excuse was, that he only carried it to defend himself against the dogs of the town. Wherefore, I pray you, replied the cardinal, serves St. John's Gospel? Alas, my lord, said the priest, these curs understand no Latin."

MALONE.

⁴ The north was always supposed to be the particular habitation of bad spirits. Milton, therefore, assembles the rebel angels in the north.

JOHNSON.

The boast of Lucifer in the xivth chapter of Isaiah is said to be, that he will sit upon the mount of the congregation, in the sides of the north.

STEEVENS.

Enter

Enter Fiends.

This speedy and quick appearance argues proof
Of your accustom'd diligence to me.
Now, ye familiar spirits, that are cull'd
Out of the powerful regions under earth,⁵
Help me this once, that France may get the field.

[They walk about, and speak not.]

O, hold me not with silence over long!
Where⁶ I was wont to feed you with my blood,
I'll lop a member off, and give it you,
In earnest of a further benefit;
So you do condescend to help me now.—

[They hang their heads.]

No hope to have redress?—My body shall
Pay recompense, if you will grant my suit.

[They shake their heads.]

Cannot my body, nor blood-sacrifice,
Entreat you to your wonted furtherance?
Then take my soul; my body, soul, and all,
Before that England give the French the foil.

[They depart.]

See! they forsake me. Now the time is come,
That France must vail her lofty-plumed crest,
And let her head fall into England's lap.
My ancient incantations are too weak,
And hell too strong for me to buckle with:—
Now, France, thy glory droopeth to the dust.

[Exit.]

⁵ I believe Shakspeare wrote—*legions*. WARBURTON.

The *regions under earth* are the infernal regions. Whence else should the forcerefs have selected or summoned her fiends? STEEVENS.

In a former passage *regions* seems to have been printed instead of *legions*; at least all the editors from the time of Mr. Rowe have there substituted the latter word instead of the former. The word *cull'd*, and the epithet *powerful*, which is applicable to the *fiends* themselves, but not to their place of residence, show that it has an equal title to a place in the text here. MALONE.

⁶ *Where—*] i. e. *whereas*. STEEVENS.

Alarums. Enter French and English, fighting. LA PUCELLE and YORK fight hand to hand. LA PUCELLE is taken. The French fly.

York. Damsel of France, I think, I have you fast :
Unchain your spirits now with spelling charms,
And try if they can gain your liberty.—
A goodly prize, fit for the devil's grace !
See, how the ugly witch doth bend her brows,
As if, with Circe, she would change my shape.

Puc. Chang'd to a worser shape thou canst not be.

York. O, Charles the Dauphin is a proper man ;
No shape but his can please your dainty eye.

Puc. A plaguing mischief light on Charles, and thee !
And may ye both be suddenly surpriz'd
By bloody hands, in sleeping on your beds !

York. Fell, banning hag !⁷ enchantress, hold thy tongue.

Puc. I pr'ythee, give me leave to curse a while.

York. Curse, miscreant, when thou comest to the stake.

[*Exeunt.*]

Alarums. Enter SUFFOLK, leading in lady MARGARET.

Suf. Be what thou wilt, thou art my prisoner.

[*Gazes on her.*]

O fairest beauty, do not fear, nor fly ;
For I will touch thee but with reverent hands,
And lay them gently on thy tender side.
I kiss these fingers [*Kissing her hand.*] for eternal peace :
Who art thou ? say, that I may honour thee.

Mar. Margaret my name ; and daughter to a king,
The king of Naples, whosoe'er thou art.

Suf. An earl I am, and Suffolk am I call'd :
Be not offended, nature's miracle,
Thou art allotted to be ta'en by me :
So doth the swan her downy cygnets save,
Keeping them prisoners underneath her wings.
Yet, if this servile usage once offend,
Go, and be free again, as Suffolk's friend.

[*She turns away as going.*
O, stay !

⁷ To ban is to curse. STEEVENS.

O, stay!—I have no power to let her pass;
 My hand would free her, but my heart says—no.
 As plays the sun upon the glassy streams,⁸
 Twinkling another counterfeited beam,
 So seems this gorgeous beauty to mine eyes.
 Fain would I woo her, yet I dare not speak:
 I'll call for pen and ink, and write my mind:
 Fie, De la Poole! disable not thyself;⁹
 Hast not a tongue? is she not here thy prisoner?
 Wilt thou be daunted at a woman's sight?
 Ay; beauty's princely majesty is such,
 Confounds the tongue, and makes the senses rough.

Mar. Say, earl of Suffolk,—if thy name be so,—
 What ransom must I pay before I pass?
 For, I perceive, I am thy prisoner.

Suf. How canst thou tell, she will deny thy suit,
 Before thou make a trial of her love? [*Aside.*

Mar. Why speak'st thou not? what ransom must I pay?

Suf. She's beautiful; and therefore to be woo'd:
 She is a woman; therefore to be won. [*Aside.*

Mar. Wilt thou accept of ransom, yea, or no?

Suf. Fond man! remember, that thou hast a wife;
 Then how can Margaret be thy paramour? [*Aside.*

Mar. I were best to leave him, for he will not hear.

Suf. There all is marr'd; there lies a cooling card.

Mar. He talks at random; sure, the man is mad.

Suf. And yet a dispensation may be had.

Mar. And yet I would that you would answer me.

Suf. I'll win this lady Margaret. For whom?
 Why, for my king: Tush! that's a wooden thing.²

Mar. He talks of wood: It is some carpenter.

F 2

Suf.

⁸ This comparison, made between things which seem sufficiently unlike, is intended to express the softness and delicacy of Lady Margaret's beauty, which delighted, but did not dazzle; which was bright, but gave no pain by its lustre. JOHNSON.

⁹ Do not represent thyself so weak. To *disable* the judgement of another was, in that age, the same as to destroy its credit or authority. JOHNSON.

² Is an awkward business, an undertaking not likely to succeed.

STEEVENS.

Suf. Yet so my fancy³ may be satisfy'd,
And peace established between these realms.
But there remains a scruple in that too:
For though her father be the king of Naples,
Duke of Anjou and Maine, yet is he poor,
And our nobility will scorn the match. [*Aside.*]

Mar. Hear ye, captain? Are you not at leisure?

Suf. It shall be so, disdain they ne'er so much:
Henry is youthful, and will quickly yield.—
Madam, I have a secret to reveal.

Mar. What though I be enthrall'd? he seems a knight,
And will not any way dishonour me. [*Aside.*]

Suf. Lady, vouchsafe to listen what I say.

Mar. Perhaps, I shall be rescu'd by the French;
And then I need not crave his courtesy. [*Aside.*]

Suf. Sweet madam, give me hearing in a cause—

Mar. Tush! women have been captivate ere now. [*Aside.*]

Suf. Lady, wherefore talk you so?

Mar. I cry you mercy, 'tis but *quid* for *quo*.

Suf. Say, gentle princess, would you not suppose
Your bondage happy, to be made a queen?

Mar. To be made a queen in bondage, is more vile,
Than is a slave in base servility;
For princes should be free.

Suf. And so shall you,
If happy England's royal king be free.

Mar. Why, what concerns his freedom unto me?

Suf. I'll undertake to make thee Henry's queen;
To put a golden scepter in thy hand,
And set a precious crown upon thy head,
If thou wilt condescend to be my—

Mar. What?

Suf. His love.

Mar. I am unworthy to be Henry's wife.

Suf. No, gentle madam; I unworthy am
To woo so fair a dame to be his wife,

An

³ i.e. my love. STEEVENS.

And have no portion in the choice myself.
How say you, madam ; are you so content ?

Mar. An if my father please, I am content.

Suf. Then call our captains, and our colours, forth :
And, madam, at your father's castle walls
We'll crave a parley, to confer with him.

[Troops come forward.]

A parley sounded. Enter REIGNIER, on the walls.

Suf. See, Reignier, see, thy daughter prisoner.

Reig. To whom ?

Suf. To me.

Reig. Suffolk, what remedy ?

I am a soldier ; and unapt to weep,
Or to exclaim on fortune's fickleness.

Suf. Yes, there is remedy enough, my lord :
Consent, (and, for thy honour, give consent,)
Thy daughter shall be wedded to my king ;
Whom I with pain have woo'd and won thereto ;
And this her easy-held imprisonment
Hath gain'd thy daughter princely liberty.

Reig. Speaks Suffolk as he thinks ?

Suf. Fair Margaret knows,
That Suffolk doth not flatter, face, or feign.⁴

Reig. Upon thy princely warrant, I descend,
To give thee answer of thy just demand.

[Exit, from the walls.]

Suf. And here I will expect thy coming.

Trumpets sounded. Enter REIGNIER, below.

Reig. Welcome, brave earl, into our territories ;
Command in Anjou what your honour pleases.

Suf. Thanks, Reignier, happy for so sweet a child,
Fit to be made companion with a king :

F 3

What

⁴ “ To *face* (says Dr. Johnson) is to carry a false appearance ; to play the hypocrite.” Hence the name of one of the characters in Ben Jonson's *Albionist*. MALONE.

So, in *The Taming of a Shrew* :

“ Yet I have *fac'd* it with a card of ten.” STEEVENS.

What answer makes your grace unto my suit?

Reig. Since thou dost deign to woo her little worth,
To be the princely bride of such a lord;
Upon condition I may quietly
Enjoy mine own, the county Maine,⁶ and Anjou,
Free from oppression, or the stroke of war,
My daughter shall be Henry's, if he please.

Suf. That is her ransom, I deliver her;
And those two counties, I will undertake,
Your grace shall well and quietly enjoy.

Reig. And I again,—in Henry's royal name,
As deputy unto that gracious king,
Give thee her hand, for sign of plighted faith.

Suf. Reignier of France, I give thee kingly thanks,
Because this is in traffick of a king:
And yet, methinks, I could be well content
To be mine own attorney in this case. [Aside.]
I'll over then to England with this news,
And make this marriage to be solemniz'd:
So, farewell, Reignier! Set this diamond safe
In golden palaces, as it becomes.

Reig. I do embrace thee, as I would embrace
The Christian prince, king Henry, were he here.

Mar. Farewell, my lord! Good wishes, praise, and
prayers,
Shall Suffolk ever have of Margaret. [Going.]

Suf. Farewell, sweet madam! But hark you, Margaret;
No princely commendations to my king?

Mar. Such commendations as become a maid,
A virgin, and his servant, say to him.

Suf. Words sweetly plac'd, and modestly directed.
But, madam, I must trouble you again,—
No loving token to his majesty?

Mar.

⁵ To woo her little worth—may mean—to court her small share of merit.
But perhaps the passage should be pointed thus:

*Since thou dost deign to woo her, little worth
To be the princely bride of such a lord;*

i. e. little deserving to be the wife of such a prince. MALONE.

⁶ Maine is called a county both by Hall and Holinshed. The old copy
erroneously reads—country. MALONE.

Mar. Yes, my good lord ; a pure unspotted heart,
Never yet taint with love, I send the king.

Suf. And this withal, [Kisses her.

Mar. That for thyself ;—I will not so presume,
To send such peevish tokens ⁷ to a king.

[*Exeunt* REIGNIER and MARGARET.

Suf. O, wert thou for myself!—But, Suffolk, stay ;
Thou may'st not wander in that labyrinth ;
There Minotaurs, and ugly treasons, lurk.
Solicit Henry with her wond'rous praise :
Bethink thee on her virtues that surmount ;
Mad, natural graces ⁸ that extinguish art ;
Repeat their semblance often on the seas,
That, when thou com'st to kneel at Henry's feet,
Thou may'st bereave him of his wits with wonder. [Exit.

S C E N E IV.

Camp of the Duke of York, in Anjou.

Enter YORK, WARWICK, and Others.

York. Bring forth that forcerefs, condemn'd to burn.

Enter LA PUCELLE, guarded, and a Shepherd.

Shep. Ah, Joan ! this kills thy father's heart outright !
Have I fought every country far and near,

F 4

And,

⁷ *Peevish*, for childish. WARBURTON.

See a note on *Cymbeline*, Act I. sc. vii : “ He's strange and *peevish*.”

STEEVENS.

⁸ So the old copy. The modern editors have been content to read *her* natural graces. By the word *mad*, however, I believe the poet only meant *wild* or uncultivated. In the former of these significations he appears to have used it in *Othello* :

“ —he she lov'd prov'd *mad*.”

which Dr. Johnson has properly interpreted. We call a wild girl, to this day, a *mad-cap*.

Mad, in some of the ancient books of gardening, is used as an epithet to plants which grow rampant and wild. STEEVENS.

It is possible that Steevens may be right in asserting that the word *mad*, may have been used to express *wild* ; but I believe it was never used as descriptive

And, now it is my chance to find thee out,
Must I behold thy timeless cruel death?

Ah, Joan, sweet daughter Joan, I'll die with thee!

Puc. Decrepit miser! ⁹ base ignoble wretch!

I am descended of a gentler blood;

Thou art no father, nor no friend, of mine.

Shep. Out, out!—My lords, an please you, 'tis not so;
I did beget her, all the parish knows:

Her mother liveth yet, can testify

She was the first-fruit of my bachelorship.

War. Graceless! wilt thou deny thy parentage?

York. This argues what her kind of life hath been;
Wicked and vile; and so her death concludes.

Shep. Fie, Joan! that thou wilt be so obstacle! ²

God knows, thou art a collop of my flesh;

And for thy sake have I shed many a tear;

Deny me not, I pr'ythee, gentle Joan.

Puc. Peasant, avaunt!—You have suborn'd this man,
Of purpose to obscure my noble birth.

Shep. 'Tis true, I gave a noble ³ to the priest,
The morn that I was wedded to her mother.—

Kneel down and take my blessing, good my girl.

Wilt thou not stoop? Now cursed be the time

Of thy nativity! I would, the milk

Thy mother gave thee, when thou suck'dst her breast,

Had

descriptive of excellence, or as applicable to grace. The passage is in truth erroneous, as is also the amendment of former editors. That which I should propose is, to read *and*, instead of *mad*, words that might easily have been mistaken for each other:

*Bethink thee of her virtues that surmount,
And natural graces that extinguish art.*

That is, think of her virtues that surmount art, and of her natural graces that extinguish it. M. MASON.

⁹ *Miser* has no relation to avarice in this passage, but simply means a miserable creature. STEEVENS.

² A vulgar corruption of *obstinate*, which I think has oddly lasted since our author's time till now. JOHNSON.

³ This passage seems to corroborate an explanation, somewhat far-fetched, which I have given in *King Henry IV*, of the *nobleman* and *royal man*. JOHNSON.

Had been a little ratsbane for thy sake !
 Or else, when thou didst keep my lambs a-field,
 I wish some ravenous wolf had eaten thee !
 Dost thou deny thy father, cursed drab ?
 O, burn her, burn her ; hanging is too good. [Exit.

York. Take her away ; for she hath liv'd too long,
 To fill the world with vicious qualities.

Puc. First, let me tell you whom you have condemn'd ;
 Not me begotten of a shepherd swain,
 But issu'd from the progeny of kings ;
 Virtuous, and holy ; chosen from above,
 By inspiration of celestial grace,
 To work exceeding miracles on earth.
 I never had to do with wicked spirits :
 But you,—that are polluted with your lusts,
 Stain'd with the guiltless blood of innocents,
 Corrupt and tainted with a thousand vices,—
 Because you want the grace that others have,
 You judge it straight a thing impossible
 To compass wonders, but by help of devils.
 No, misconceived ! ⁴ Joan of Arc hath been
 A virgin from her tender infancy,
 Chaste and immaculate in very thought ;
 Whose maiden blood, thus rigorously effus'd,
 Will cry for vengeance at the gates of heaven.

York. Ay, ay ;—away with her to execution.

War. And hark ye, sirs ; because she is a maid,
 Spare for no faggots, let there be enough :
 Place barrels of pitch upon the fatal stake,
 That so her torture may be shortened.

Puc. Will nothing turn your unrelenting hearts ?—
 Then, Joan, discover thine infirmity ;
 That warranteth by law to be thy privilege.⁵—
 I am with child, ye bloody homicides :
 Murder not then the fruit within my womb,
 Although ye hale me to a violent death.

F 5

York.

⁴ i. e. No, ye misconceivers, ye who mistake me and my qualities.

STEEVENS.

⁵ The useless words—to be, which spoil the measure, are an evident interpolation. STEEVENS.

York. Now heaven forefend : the holy maid with child ?

War. The greatest miracle that e'er ye wrought :

Is all your strict preciseness come to this ?

York. She and the Dauphin have been juggling :

I did imagine what would be her refuge.

War. Well, go to ; we will have no bastards live ;
Especially, since Charles must father it.

Puc. You are deceiv'd ; my child is none of his ;
It was Alençon, that enjoy'd my love.

York. Alençon ! that notorious Machiavel ! ⁶
It dies, an if it had a thousand lives.

Puc. O, give me leave, I have deluded you ;
'Twas neither Charles, nor yet the duke I nam'd,
But Reignier, king of Naples, that prevail'd.

War. A marry'd man ! that's most intolerable.

York. Why, here's a girl ! I think, she knows not well,
There were so many, whom she may accuse.

War. It's sign, she hath been liberal and free.

York. And, yet, forsooth, she is a virgin pure.—
Strumpet, thy words condemn thy brat, and thee ;
Use no entreaty, for it is in vain.

Puc. Then lead me hence ;—with whom I leave my curse,
May never glorious sun reflex his beams
Upon the country where you make abode !
But darkness and the gloomy shade of death ⁷
Environ you ; till mischief, and despair,
Drive you to break your necks, or hang yourselves ! ⁸

[Exit, guarded.

York.

⁶-*Machiavel* being mentioned somewhat before his time, this line is by some of the editors given to the players, and ejected from the text.

JOHNSON.

The character of Machiavel seems to have made so very deep an impression on the dramattick writers of this age, that he is many times as prematurely spoken of. STEEVENS.

⁷ The expression is scriptural : “Whereby the day-spring from on high hath visited us, to give light to them that sit in darkness and the shadow of death.” MALONE.

⁸ Perhaps Shakspeare intended to remark, in this execration, the frequency of suicide among the English, which has been commonly imputed to the gloominess of their air. JOHNSON.

York. Break thou in pieces, and consume to ashes,
Thou foul accursed minister of hell!

Enter Cardinal BEAUFORT, attended.

Car. Lord regent, I do greet your excellence
With letters of commission from the king.
For know, my lords, the states of Christendom,
Mov'd with remorse⁹ of these outrageous broils,
Have earnestly implor'd a general peace
Betwixt our nation and the aspiring French;
And here at hand the Dauphin, and his train,
Approacheth, to confer about some matter.

York. Is all our travail turn'd to this effect?
After the slaughter of so many peers,
So many captains, gentlemen, and soldiers,
That in this quarrel have been overthrown,
And fold their bodies for their country's benefit,
Shall we at last conclude effeminate peace?
Have we not lost most part of all the towns,
By treason, falsehood, and by treachery,
Our great progenitors had conquered?—
O, Warwick, Warwick! I foresee with grief
The utter loss of all the realm of France.

War. Be patient, York; if we conclude a peace,
It shall be with such strict and severe covenants,
As little shall the Frenchmen gain thereby.

*Enter CHARLES, attended; ALENÇON, Bastard, REIGNIER,
and Others.*

Char. Since, lords of England, it is thus agreed,
That peaceful truce shall be proclaim'd in France,
We come to be informed by yourselves
What the conditions of that league must be.

York. Speak, Winchester; for boiling choler chokes
The hollow passage of my poison'd voice,²

F 6

By

⁹ i. e. compassion, pity. STEEVENS.

² *Poison'd voice* agrees well enough with *baneful enemies*, or with *baleful*,

By fight of these our baleful enemies.³

Win. Charles, and the rest, it is enacted thus ;
That—in regard king Henry gives consent,
Of mere compassion, and of lenity,
To ease your country of distressful war,
And suffer you to breathe in fruitful peace,—
You shall become true liegemen to his crown :
And, Charles, upon condition thou wilt swear
To pay him tribute, and submit thyself,
Thou shalt be plac'd as viceroy under him,
And still enjoy thy regal dignity.

Alen. Must he be then as shadow of himself ?
Adorn his temples with a coronet ;⁴
And yet, in substance and authority,
Retain but privilege of a private man ?
This proffer is absurd and reasonless.

Char. 'Tis known, already that I am possess'd
With more than half the Gallian territories,
And therein reverenc'd for their lawful king :
Shall I, for lucre of the rest unvanquish'd,
Detract so much from that prerogative,
As to be call'd but viceroy of the whole ?
No, lord ambassador ; I'll rather keep
That which I have, than, coveting for more,
Be cast from possibility of all.

York. Insulting Charles ! hast thou by secret means
Us'd intercession to obtain a league ;
And, now the matter grows to compromise,

Stand't

— if it can be used in the same sense. The modern editors read—*prison'd* voice. JOHNSON.

Prison'd was introduced by Mr. Pope. MALONE.

³ *Baleful* is *sorrowful* ; I therefore rather imagine that we should read—*baneful*, hurtful, or mischievous JOHNSON.

Baleful had anciently the same meaning as *baneful*. It is an epithet very frequently bestowed on poisonous plants and reptiles. STEEVENS.

⁴ *Coronet* is here used for a *crown*. JOHNSON.

So, in *King Lear* :

“ ——— which to confirm,

“ This coronet part between you.”

These are the words of *Lear* when he gives up his crown to Cornwall and Albany. STEEVENS.

Stand'st thou aloof upon comparison ?⁵
 Either accept the title thou usurp'st,
 Of benefit⁶ proceeding from our king,
 And not of any challenge of desert,
 Or we will plague thee with incessant wars.

Reig. My lord, you do not well in obstinacy
 To cavil in the course of this contract :
 If once it be neglected, ten to one,
 We shall not find like opportunity.

Alen. To say the truth, it is your policy,
 To save your subjects from such massacre,
 And ruthless slaughters, as are daily seen
 By our proceeding in hostility :
 And therefore take this compact of a truce,
 Although you break it when your pleasure serves.

[*Aside, to Charles.*

War. How say'st thou, Charles ? shall our condition stand ?

Char. It shall :

Only reserv'd, you claim no interest
 In any of our towns of garrison.

York. Then swear allegiance to his majesty ;
 As thou art knight, never to disobey,
 Nor be rebellious to the crown of England,
 Thou, nor thy nobles, to the crown of England.—

[*Charles, and the rest, give tokens of fealty.*

So, now dismiss your army when ye please ;
 Hang up your ensigns, let your drums be still,
 For here we entertain a solemn peace.

[*Exeunt.*

SCENE V.

London. *A Room in the Palace.*

Enter King HENRY, in conference with SUFFOLK ; GLOSTER and EXETER following.

K. Hen. Your wond'rous rare description, noble earl,
 Of beauteous Margaret hath astonish'd me :

Her

⁵ Do you stand to compare your present state, a state which you have
 neither right or power to maintain, with the terms which we offer ?

JOHNSON.

⁶ *Benefit* is here a term of law. Be content to live as the beneficiary of
 our king. JOHNSON.

Her virtues, graced with external gifts,
 Do breed love's settled passions in my heart :
 And like as rigour of tempestuous gusts
 Provokes the mightiest hulk against the tide ;
 So am I driven,⁷ by breath of her renown,
 Either to suffer shipwreck, or arrive
 Where I may have fruition of her love.

Suf. Tush, my good lord ! this superficial tale
 Is but a preface of her worthy praise :
 The chief perfections of that lovely dame,
 (Had I sufficient skill to utter them,)
 Would make a volume of enticing lines,
 Able to ravish any dull conceit.

And, which is more, she is not so divine,
 So full replete with choice of all delights,
 But, with as humble lowliness of mind,
 She is content to be at your command ;
 Command, I mean, of virtuous chaste intents,
 To love and honour Henry as her lord.

K. Hen. And otherwise will Henry ne'er presume.
 Therefore, my lord protector, give consent,
 That Margaret may be England's royal queen.

Glo. So should I give consent to flatter sin.
 You know, my lord, your highness is betroth'd
 Unto another lady of esteem ;
 How shall we then dispense with that contract,
 And not deface your honour with reproach ?

Suf. As doth a ruler with unlawful oaths ;
 Or one, that at a triumph⁸ having vow'd
 To try his strength, forsaketh yet the lists
 By reason of his adversary's odds :
 A poor earl's daughter is unequal odds,
 And therefore may be broke without offence.

Glo. Why, what, I pray, is Margaret more than that ?

Her

⁷ This simile is somewhat obscure ; he seems to mean, that as a ship is driven against the tide by the wind, so he is driven by love against the current of his interest. JOHNSON.

⁸ That is, at the sports by which a triumph is celebrated. JOHNSON.
 A triumph, in the age of Shakspeare, signified a public exhibition, such as a mask, a revel, &c. STEEVENS.

Her father is no better than an earl,
Although in glorious titles he excel.

Suf. Yes, my good lord,⁹ her father is a king,
The king of Naples, and Jerusalem;
And of such great authority in France,
As his alliance will confirm our peace,
And keep the Frenchmen in allegiance.

Glo. And so the earl of Armagnac may do,
Because he is near kinsman unto Charles.

Exe. Beside, his wealth doth warrant liberal dower:]
While Reignier sooner will receive, than give.

Suf. A dower, my lords! disgrace not so your king,
That he should be so abject, base, and poor,
To choose for wealth, and not for perfect love.
Henry is able to enrich his queen,
And not to seek a queen to make him rich:
So worthless peasants bargain for their wives,
As market-men for oxen, sheep, or horse.
Marriage is a matter of more worth,
Than to be dealt in by attorneyship;²
Not whom we will, but whom his grace affects,
Must be companion of his nuptial bed:
And therefore, lords, since he affects her most,
It most of all these reasons bindeth us,
In our opinions she should be preferr'd.
For what is wedlock forced, but a hell,
An age of discord and continual strife?
Whereas the contrary bringeth forth blifs,
And is a pattern of celestial peace.
Whom should we match with Henry, being a king,
But Margaret, that is daughter to a king?
Her peerless feature, joined with her birth,

Approves

⁹ *Good*, which is not in the old copy, was added for the sake of the metre, in the second folio. MALONE.

² By the intervention of another man's choice; or the discretionary agency of another. JOHNSON.

This is a phrase of which Shakspeare is peculiarly fond. It occurs twice in *King Richard III*:

“Be the attorney of my love to her.”

Again:

“I, by attorney, blefs thee from thy mother.” STEEVENS.

Approves her fit for none, but for a king :
 Her valiant courage, and undaunted spirit,
 (More than in women commonly is seen,)
 Will answer our hope in issue of a king ;
 For Henry, son unto a conqueror,
 Is likely to beget more conquerors,
 If with a lady of so high resolve,
 As is fair Margaret, he be link'd in love.
 Then yield, my lords ; and here conclude with me,
 That Margaret shall be queen, and none but she.

K. Hen. Whether it be through force of your report,
 My noble lord of Suffolk ; or for that
 My tender youth was never yet attaint
 With any passion of inflaming love,
 I cannot tell ; but this I am assur'd,
 I feel such sharp dissention in my breast,
 Such fierce alarums both of hope and fear,
 As I am sick with working of my thoughts.
 Take, therefore shipping ; post, my lord to France ;
 Agree to any covenants ; and procure
 That lady Margaret do vouchsafe to come
 To cross the seas to England, and be crown'd
 King Henry's faithful and anointed queen :
 For your expences and sufficient charge,
 Among the people gather up a tenth.
 Be gone, I say ; for, till you do return,
 I rest perplexed with a thousand cares.—
 And you, good uncle, banish all offence :
 If you do censure me by what you were,³
 Not what you are, I know it will excuse
 This sudden execution of my will.
 And so conduct me where from company,
 I may revolve and ruminatè my grief.⁴ [Exit.

Glo. Ay, grief, I fear me, both at first and last.
 [Exeunt GLOSTER and EXETER.

Suf. Thus Suffolk hath prevail'd ; and thus he goes,
 As

³ To censure is here simply to judge. If in judging me you consider the past frailties of your own youth. JOHNSON.

⁴ Grief in the first line is taken generally for pain or uneasiness ; in the second specially for sorrow. JOHNSON.

As did the youthful Paris once to Greece ;
 With hope to find the like event in love,
 But prosper better than the Trojan did.
 Margaret shall now be queen, and rule the king ;
 But I will rule both her, the king, and realm.*

[Exit.]

* Of this play there is no copy earlier than that of the folio in 1623, though the two succeeding parts are extant in two editions in quarto. That the second and third parts were published without the first, may be admitted as no weak proof that the copies were surreptitiously obtained, and that the printers of that time gave the publick those plays, not such as the author designed, but such as they could get them. That this play was written before the two others is indubitably collected from the series of events ; that it was written and played before *Henry the Fifth* is apparent, because in the epilogue there is mention made of this play, and not of the other parts :

“ Henry the sixth in swaddling bands crown’d king,
 “ Whose state so many had the managing,
 “ That they lost France, and made his England bleed :
 “ Which oft our stage hath shown.”

France is lost in this play. The two following contain, as the old title imports, the contention of the houses of York and Lancaster.

The second and third parts of *Henry VI.* were printed in 1600. When *Henry V.* was written, we know not, but it was printed likewise in 1600, and therefore before the publication of the first and second parts. The first part of *Henry VI.* had been often *shown on the stage*, and would certainly have appeared in its place, had the author been the publisher.

JOHNSON.

That the second and third parts (as they are now called) were printed without the first, is a proof, in my apprehension, that they were not written by the author of the first : and the title of *The Contention of the houses of York and Lancaster*, being affixed to the two pieces which were printed in quarto in 1600, is a proof that they were a distinct work, commencing where the other ended, but not written at the same time ; and that this play was never known by the name of *The First Part of King Henry VI.* till Heminge and Condell gave it this title in their volume, to distinguish it from the two subsequent plays ; which being *altered* by Shakspeare, assumed the new titles of *The Second and Third Parts of King Henry VI.* that they might not be confounded with the original pieces on which they were formed. This first part was, I conceive, originally called *The historical play of King Henry VI.* See the Essay at the end of these contested pieces. MALONE.

KING HENRY VI.

PART II.

KING HENRY VI.

PART II.

*** This and *The Third Part of King Henry VI.* contain that troublesome period of this prince's reign which took in the whole contention betwixt the houses of York and Lancaster: and under that title were these two plays first acted and published. The present scene opens with king Henry's marriage, which was in the twenty-third year of his reign [A. D. 1445]: and closes with the first battle fought at St. Albans, and won by the York faction, in the thirty-third year of his reign [A. D. 1455]: so that it comprizes the history and transactions of ten years.

THEOBALD.

This play was altered by *Crowne*, and acted in the year 1681.

STEEVENS.

In a note prefixed to the preceding play, I have briefly stated my opinion concerning the drama now before us, and that which follows it; to which the original editors of Shakspeare's works in folio have given the titles of *The Second and Third Parts of King Henry VI.*

The Contention of the two famous houses of Yorke and Lancaster in two parts, was published in quarto, in 1600; and the first part was entered on the Stationer's books, (as Mr. Steevens has observed,) March 12, 1593-4. On these two plays, which I believe to have been written by some preceding author, before the year 1590, Shakspeare formed, as I conceive, this and the following drama; altering, retrenching, or amplifying, as he thought proper. The reasons on which this hypothesis is founded, I shall subjoin at large at the end of *The third part of King Henry VI.* At present it is only necessary to apprize the reader of the method observed in the printing of these plays. All the lines printed in the usual manner, are found in the original quarto plays (or at least with such minute variations as are not worth noticing); and those, I conceive, Shakspeare adopted as he found them. The lines to which inverted commas are prefixed, were, if my hypothesis be well founded, retouched, and greatly improved by him; and those with asterisks were his own original production; the embroidery with which he ornamented the coarse stuff that had been awkwardly made up for the stage by some of his contemporaries. The speeches which he new-modelled, he improved, sometimes by amplification, and sometimes by retrenchment.

These two pieces, I imagine, were produced in their present form in 1591. See *An Attempt to ascertain the order of Shakspeare's plays*, Vol. I. and the Dissertation at the end of *The third part of King Henry VI.* Dr. Johnson observes very justly, that these two parts were not written without a dependance on the first. Undoubtedly not; the old play of *K. Henry VI.* (or, as it is now called, *The First Part*,) certainly had been exhibited before these were written in any form. But it does not follow from this concession, either that *The Contention of the two Houses, &c.* in two parts, was written by the author of the former play, or that Shakspeare was the author of these two pieces as they originally appeared. MALONE.

PERSONS REPRESENTED.

King Henry *the Sixth* :

Humphrey, *Duke of Gloster, his uncle.*

Cardinal Beaufort, *Bishop of Winchester, great Uncle to the king.*

Richard Plantagenet, *Duke of York* :

Edward and Richard, *his sons.*

Duke of Somerset,

Duke of Suffolk,

Duke of Buckingham,

Lord Clifford,

Young Clifford, his son.

} *of the king's party.*

Earl of Salisbury,

Earl of Warwick,

} *of the York faction.*

Lord Scales, Governor of the Tower, Lord Say.

Sir Humphrey Stafford, and his brother. Sir John Stanley.

A Sea-captain, Master, and Master's Mate, and Walter Whitmore.

Two Gentlemen, prisoners with Suffolk.

A Herald. Vaux.

Hume and Southwell, two priests.

Bolingbroke, a Conjurer. A spirit raised by him.

Thomas Horner, an Armourer. Peter, his man.

Clerk of Chatham. Mayor of Saint Alban's.

Simpcox, an Impostor. Two Murderers.

Jack Cade, a Rebel:

George, John, Dick, Smith, the Weaver, Michael, &c. his followers.

Alexander Iden, a Kentish Gentleman.

Margaret, Queen to King Henry.

Eleanor, Duchess of Gloster.

Margery Jourdain, a Witch. Wife to Simpcox.

Lords, Ladies, and Attendants ; Petitioners, Aldermen, a Beadle, Sheriff, and Officers ; Citizens, Prentices, Falconers, Guards, Soldiers, Messengers, &c.

SCENE, dispersedly in various parts of England.

SECOND

SECOND PART OF
KING HENRY VI.

ACT I. SCENE I.

London. *A Room of state in the Palace.*

Fourish of trumpets : then hautboys. Enter, on one side, King HENRY, Duke of GLOSTER, SALISBURY, WARWICK, and Cardinal BEAUFORT ; on the other, Queen MARGARET, led in by SUFFOLK ; YORK, SOMERSET, BUCKINGHAM, and Others, following.

Suf. As by your high ² imperial majesty
I had in charge at my depart for France,
As procurator to your excellence,
To marry princess Margaret for your grace ;
So, in the famous ancient city, Tours,—
In presence of the kings of France and Sicil,
The dukes of Orleans, Calaber, Bretagne, and Alençon,
Seven earls, twelve barons, and twenty reverend bishops,—
I have perform'd my task, and was espous'd :
And humbly now upon my bended knee,
In sight of England and her lordly peers,
Deliver up my title in the queen
To your most gracious hands, that are ³ the substance
Of that great shadow I did represent ;
The happiest gift that ever marquess gave,
The fairest queen that ever king receiv'd.

K. Hen.

² Vide *Hall's Chronicle*, fol. 66, year 23. init. POPE.

It is apparent that this play begins where the former ends, and continues the series of transactions of which it presupposes the first part already known. This is a sufficient proof that the second and third parts were not written without dependance on the first, though they were printed as containing a complete period of history. JOHNSON.

³ i. e. to the gracious hands of you, my sovereign, who are, &c.

MALONE.

K. Hen. Suffolk, arise.—Welcome, queen Margaret :
 I can express no kinder sign of love,
 Than this kind kifs.—O Lord, that lends me life,
 Lend me a heart replete with thankfulness !
 For thou hast given me, in this beauteous face,
 ‘ A world of earthly blessings to my soul,
 ‘ If sympathy of love unite our thoughts.

‘ *Q. Mar.* Great king of England, and my gracious lord ;
 ‘ The mutual conference ⁴ that my mind hath had—
 ‘ By day, by night ; waking, and in my dreams ;
 ‘ In courtly company, or at my beads,—
 ‘ With you mine alder-lievest sovereign,⁵
 ‘ Makes me the bolder to salute my king
 ‘ With ruder terms ; such as my wit affords,
 ‘ And over-joy of heart doth minister.

‘ *K. Hen.* Her sight did ravish : but her grace in speech,
 ‘ Her words y-clad with wisdom’s majesty,
 ‘ Makes me, from wondering, fall to weeping joys ;⁶
 ‘ Such is the fulness of my heart’s content.—
 ‘ Lords, with one cheerful voice welcome my love.

All. Long live queen Margaret, England’s happiness !

Q. Mar. We thank you all. [Flourish.]

Suf. My lord protector, so it please your grace,
 Here are the articles of contracted peace,
 Between our sovereign and the French king Charles,
 ‘ For eighteen months concluded by consent.

Glo. [reads.] *Imprimis, It is agreed between the French king, Charles, and William de la Poole, marquis of Suffolk, ambassador for Henry king of England,—that the said Henry shall espouse the lady Margaret, daughter unto Reignier king of Naples*

⁴ I am the bolder to address you, having already familiarized you to my imagination. JOHNSON.

⁵ *Alder-lievest* is an old English word given to him to whom the speaker is supremely attached : *lievest* being the superlative of the comparative *levar*, rather, from *lief*. WARBURTON.

Alder-lievest is a corruption of the German word *alder-liebste*, beloved above all things, dearest of all. STEEVENS.

⁶ This *weeping joy*, of which there is no trace in the original play, Shakspeare was extremely fond of ; having introduced it in *Much ado about nothing*, *K. Richard II.* *Macbeth*, and *King Lear*. MALONE.

Naples, Sicilia, and Jerusalem; and crown her queen of England, ere the thirtieth of May next ensuing.—Item,—That the dutchy of Anjou and the county of Maine, shall be released and delivered to the king her father—

K. Hen. Uncle, how now?

Glo.

Pardon me, gracious lord;
Some sudden qualm hath struck me at the heart,
And dimm'd mine eyes, that I can read no further.

K. Hen. Uncle of Winchester, I pray, read on.

Win. Item,—It is further agreed between them,—that the duchies of Anjou and Maine shall be released and delivered over to the king her father; and she sent over of the king of England's own proper cost and charges, without having dowry.

K. Hen. They please us well.—Lord marquess, kneel down;

We here create thee the first duke of Suffolk,
And girt thee with the sword.—

Cousin of York, we here discharge your grace
From being regent in the parts of France,
Till term of eighteen months be full expir'd.—

Thanks, uncle Winchester, Gloster, York, and Buckingham,
Somerset, Salisbury, and Warwick;

We thank you all for this great favour done,
In entertainment to my princely queen.

Come, let us in; and with all speed provide
To see her coronation be perform'd.

[*Exeunt King, Queen, and SUFFOLK.*]

Glo. Brave peers of England, pillars of the state,
‘ To you duke Humphrey must unload his grief,
‘ Your grief, the common grief of all the land.
‘ What! did my brother Henry spend his youth,
‘ His valour, coin, and people in the wars?
‘ Did he so often lodge in open field,
‘ In winter's cold, and summer's parching heat,
‘ To conquer France, his true inheritance?
‘ And did my brother Bedford toil his wits,
‘ To keep by policy what Henry got?
‘ Have you yourselves, Somerset, Buckingham,
‘ Brave York, Salisbury, and victorious Warwick,
‘ Receiv'd deep scars in France and Normandy?

- Or hath mine uncle Beaufort, and myself,
- With all the learned council of the realm,
- Study'd so long, sat in the council-house,
- Early and late, debating to and fro
- How France and Frenchmen might be kept in awe?
- And hath his highness in his infancy
- Been crown'd in Paris, in despite of foes;
- And shall these labours, and these honours, die?
- Shall Henry's conquest, Bedford's vigilance,
- Your deeds of war, and all our counsel, die?
- O peers of England, shameful is this league!
- Fatal this marriage! cancelling your fame;
- Blotting your names from books of memory;
- Razing the characters of your renown;
- Defacing monuments of conquer'd France;
- Undoing all, as all had never been!

• *Car.* Nephew, what means this passionate discourse?

• This peroration with such circumstance?⁷

• For France, 'tis ours; and we will keep it still.

* *Glo.* Ay, uncle, we will keep it, if we can;

* But now it is impossible we should:

Suffolk, the new-made Duke that rules the roast,

• Hath given the duchies of Anjou and Maine

* Unto the poor king Reignier, whose large style

* Agrees not with the leanness of his purse.

* *Sal.* Now, by the death of him that died for all,

* These counties were the keys of Normandy:—

But wherefore weeps Warwick, my valiant son?

• *War.* For grief that they are past recovery:

• For, were there hope to conquer them again,

• My sword should shed hot blood, mine eyes no tears.

• Anjou and Maine! myself did win them both;

• Those provinces these arms of mine did conquer:

• And are the cities,⁸ that I got with wounds,

Deliver'd

⁷ This speech crouded with so many instances of aggravation.

JOHNSON.

⁸ The indignation of Warwick is natural, and I wish it had been better expressed; there is a kind of jingle intended in *wounds* and *words*.

JOHNSON.

La

‘ Deliver’d up again with peaceful words ?

‘ Mort Dieu !

* *York.* For Suffolk’s duke—may he be suffocate,

* That dims the honour of this warlike isle !

* France should have torn and rent my very heart,

* Before I would have yielded to this league.

‘ I never read but England’s kings have had

‘ Large sums of gold, and dowries, with their wives :

‘ And our king Henry gives away his own,

‘ To match with her that brings no vantages.

* *Glo.* A proper jest, and never heard before,

* That Suffolk should demand a whole fifteenth,

* For costs and charges in transporting her !

* She should have staid in France, and starv’d in France,

* Before—

* *Car.* My lord of Gloster, now you grow too hot ;

* It was the pleasure of my lord the king.

* *Glo.* My lord of Winchester, I know your mind ;

‘ ’Tis not my speeches that you do dislike.

‘ But ’tis my presence that doth trouble you,

‘ Rancour will out : Proud prelate, in thy face

‘ I see thy fury : if I longer stay,

‘ We shall begin our ancient bickerings,⁹—

Lordings, farewell ; and say, when I am gone,

I prophesy’d—France will be lost ere long.

[*Exit.*

Car. So, there goes our protector in a rage.

’Tis known to you he is mine enemy :

* Nay, more, an enemy unto you all ;

* And no great friend, I fear me, to the king.

* Consider lords,—he is the next of blood,

* And heir apparent to the English crown ;

* Had Henry got an empire by his marriage,

G 2

* And

In the old play the jingle is more striking, “ And must that then
which we won with our *swords*, be given away with *words* ? ”

MALONE.

⁹ To *bicker* is to *skirmish*. *Levi pugna congregior* is the expression by
which Barrett in his *Alvearis*, or *Quadruple Dict.* 1580, explains the
verb to *bicker*. STEEVENS.

- * And all the wealthy kingdoms of the west,²
- * There's reason he should be displeas'd at it.
- * Look to it, lords; let not his smoothing words
- * Bewitch your hearts; be wise, and circumspect.
- * What though the common people favour him,
- * Calling him—*Humphrey the good duke of Gloster*;
- * Clapping their hands, and crying with loud voice—
- * *Jesu maintain your royal excellence!*
- * With—*God preserve the good duke Humphrey!*
- * I fear me, lords, for all this flattering gloss,
- * He will be found a dangerous protector,
- * *Buck.* Why should he then protect our sovereign,
- * He being of age to govern of himself?—
- * Cousin of Somerset, join you with me.
- * And all together,—with the duke of Suffolk,—
- * We'll quickly hoise duke Humphrey from his seat.
- * *Car.* This weighty business will not brook delay;
- * I'll to the duke of Suffolk presently. [Exit.]
- * *Som.* Cousin of Buckingham, though Humphrey's pride,
- * And greatness of his place be grief to us,
- * Yet let us watch the haughty cardinal;
- * His insolence is more intolerable
- * Than all the princes in the land beside;
- * If Gloster be displac'd, he'll be protector.
- * *Buck.* Or thou, or I, Somerset, will be protector,
- * Despight duke Humphrey, or the cardinal.

[Exeunt BUCKINGHAM and SOMERSET.]

Sal. Pride went before, ambition follows him.

- * While these do labour for their own preferment,
- * Behoves it us to labour for the realm.
- * I never saw but Humphrey duke of Gloster
- * Did bear him like a noble gentleman.
- * Oft have I seen the haughty cardinal—
- * More like a soldier, than a man o'the church,

As

² Certainly Shakspeare wrote—*east*. WARBURTON.

There are wealthy kingdoms in the *west* as well as in the *east*, and the western kingdoms were more likely to be in the thought of the speaker.

JOHNSON.

' As stout, and proud, as he were lord of all,—
 ' Swear like a ruffian, and demean himself
 ' Unlike the ruler of a common-weal.—
 ' Warwick my son, the comfort of my age!
 ' Thy deeds, thy plainness, and thy house-keeping,
 ' Hath won the greatest favour of the commons,
 ' Excepting none but good duke Humphrey.—
 ' And, brother York,³ thy acts in Ireland,
 ' In bringing them to civil discipline;⁴
 ' Thy late exploits done in the heart of France,
 ' When thou wert regent for our sovereign,
 ' Have made thee fear'd, and honour'd, of the people:—
 ' Join we together, for the publick good;
 ' In what we can, to bridle and suppress
 ' The pride of Suffolk, and the cardinal,
 ' With Somerset's and Buckingham's ambition;
 ' And, as we may, cherish duke Humphrey's deeds,
 ' While they do tend the profit of the land.⁵

* *War.* So God help Warwick, as he loves the land,
 * And common profit of his country!

* *York.* And so says York, for he hath greatest cause.

G 3

Sal.

³ Richard Plantagenet, Duke of York, married Cicely, the daughter of Ralf Nevil, Earl of Westmoreland. Richard Nevil, Earl of Salisbury, was son to the Earl of Westmoreland by a second wife. He married Alice, the only daughter of Thomas Montacute, Earl of Salisbury, who was killed at the siege of Orleans [See this play, Part I. Act I. sc. iii.]; and in consequence of that alliance obtained the title of Salisbury in 1428. His eldest son Richard, having married the sister and heir of Henry Beauchamp Earl of Warwick, was created Earl of Warwick, in 1449.

MALONE.

⁴ This is an anachronism. The present scene is in 1445, but Richard Duke of York was not viceroy of Ireland till 1449. MALONE.

⁵ I think we might read, more clearly—to profit of the land—i. e. to profit themselves by it; unless *tend* be written for *attend*, as in *King Richard II.*

“ They *tend* the crowne, yet still with me they stay.”

STEEVENS.

Perhaps *tend* has here the same meaning as *tender* in a subsequent scene:

“ I *tender* so the safety of my liege.”

Or it may have been put for *intend*; while they have the advantage of the commonwealth as their *object*. MALONE.

Sal. Then let's make haste away, and look unto the main.

War. Unto the main! O father, Maine is lost;
That Maine, which by main force Warwick did win,
* And would have kept, so long as breath did last:
Mainchance, father, you meant; but I meant Maine;
Which I will win from France, or else be slain.

[*Exeunt WARWICK and SALISBURY.*]

York. Anjou and Maine are given to the French;
* Paris is lost; the state of Normandy
* Stands on a tickle point,⁶ now they are gone:
* Suffolk concluded on the articles;
* The peers agreed; and Henry was well pleas'd,
* To change two dukedoms for a duke's fair daughter.
* I cannot blame them all; What is't to them?
* 'Tis thine they give away, and not their own.
* Pirates may make cheap pennyworth's of their pillage,
* And purchase friends, and give to courtezans,
* Still revelling, like lords, till all be gone:
* While as the silly owner of the goods
* Weeps over them, and wrings his hapless hands,
* And shakes his head, and trembling stands aloof,
* While all is shar'd, and all is borne away;
* Ready to starve, and dare not touch his own.
* So York must sit, and fret, and bite his tongue,
* While his own lands are bargain'd for, and sold.
* Methinks, the realms of England, France, and Ireland,
* Bear that proportion to my flesh and blood,
* As did the fatal brand Althea burn'd,
* Unto the prince's heart of Calydon.⁷
Anjou and Maine, both given unto the French!
Cold news for me; for I had hope of France,
Even as I have of fertile England's soil.
A day will come, when York shall claim his own;
And therefore I will take the Nevils' parts,
And make a show of love to proud duke Humphrey,

And,

⁶ *Tickle* is very frequently used for *ticklish* by poets contemporary with Shakspeare. STEEVENS.

⁷ According to the fable, Meleager's life was to continue only so long as a certain firebrand should last. His mother Althea having thrown it into the fire, he expired in great torments. MALONE.

And, when I spy advantage, claim the crown,
 For that's the golden mark I seek to hit :
 Nor shall proud Lancaster usurp my right,
 Nor hold the scepter in his childish fist,
 Nor wear the diadem upon his head,
 Whose church-like humours fit not for a crown.
 Then, York, be still a while, till time do serve :
 Watch thou, and wake, when others be asleep,
 To pry into the secrets of the state ;
 Till Henry, surfeiting in joys of love,
 With his new bride, and England's dear-bought queen,
 And Humphrey with the peers be fall'n at jars :
 Then will I raise aloft the milk-white rose,
 With whose sweet smell the air shall be perfum'd ;
 And in my standard bear the arms of York,
 To grapple with the house of Lancaster ;
 And, force perforce, I'll make him yield the crown,
 Whose bookish rule hath pull'd fair England down. [Exit.

SCENE II.

The same. A Room in the duke of Gloster's house.

Enter GLOSTER and the Duchess.

Duch. Why droops my lord, like over-ripen'd corn,
 Hanging the head at Ceres' plenteous load ?
 * Why doth the great duke Humphrey knit his brows,
 * As frowning at the favours of the world ?
 * Why are thine eyes fix'd to the fallen earth,
 * Gazing on that which seems to dim thy sight ?
 * What see'st thou there ? king Henry's diadem,
 * Enchas'd with all the honours of the world ?
 * If so, gaze on, and grovel on thy face,
 * Until thy head be circled with the same.
 * Put forth thy hand, reach at the glorious gold :—
 * What, is't too short ? I'll lengthen it with mine :
 * And, having both together heav'd it up,
 * We'll both together lift our heads to heaven ;

- * And never more abase our sight so low,
- * As to vouchsafe one glance unto the ground.
- *Glo.* O Nell, sweet Nell, if thou dost love thy lord,
- Banish the canker of ambitious thoughts :
- And may that thought, when I imagine ill
- Against my king and nephew, virtuous Henry,
- Be my last breathing in this mortal world!
- My troublous dream this night doth make me sad.
- *Duch.* What dream'd my lord? tell me, and I'll re-
quite it
- With sweet rehearsal of my morning's dream.
- *Glo.* Methought, this staff, mine office-badge in court,
- Was broke in twain; by whom, I have forgot,
- But, as I think, it was by the cardinal ;
- And on the pieces of the broken wand
- Were plac'd the heads of Edmond duke of Somerset,
- And William de la Poole first duke of Suffolk.
- This was my dream; what it doth bode, God knows.
- *Duch.* Tut, this was nothing but an argument,
- That he, that breaks a stick of Gloster's grove,
- Shall lose his head for his presumption.
- But list to me, my Humphrey, my sweet duke :
- Methought, I sat in seat of majesty,
- In the cathedral church of Westminster,
- And in that chair where kings and queens are crown'd ;
- Where Henry, and dame Margaret, kneel'd to me,
- And on my head did set the diadem.
- *Glo.* Nay, Eleanor, then must I chide outright :
- * Presumptuous dame, ill-nurtur'd Eleanor ! ⁸
- Art thou not second woman in the realm ;
- And the protector's wife, belov'd of him ?
- * Hast thou not worldly pleasure at command,
- * Above the reach or compass of thy thought ?
- And wilt thou still be hammering treachery,
- * To tumble down thy husband, and thyself,
- * From top of honour to disgrace's feet ?
- Away from me, and let me hear no more.
- *Duch.* What, what, my lord! are you so cholerick
- With Eleanor, for telling but her dream ?
- Next

⁸ *Ill-nurtur'd*, is *ill-educated*. MALONE.

‘ Next time, I’ll keep my dreams unto myself,
 ‘ And not be check’d.

‘ *Glo.* Nay, be not angry, I am pleas’d again.

Enter a Messenger.

‘ *Mess.* My lord protector, ’tis his highness’ pleasure,
 ‘ You do prepare to ride unto Saint Albans,
 ‘ Whereas the king and queen do mean to hawk.⁹

Glo. I go.—Come, Nell, thou wilt ride with us?

‘ *Duch.* Yes, my good lord, I’ll follow presently.

[*Exeunt GLOSTER and Messenger.*]

‘ Follow I must, I cannot go before,
 * While Gloster bears this base and humble mind.
 * Were I a man, a duke, and next of blood,
 * I would remove these tedious stumbling-blocks,
 * And smoothe my way upon their headless necks;
 * And, being a woman, I will not be slack
 * ‘To play my part in fortune’s pageant.
 ‘ Where are you there? Sir John! ² nay, fear not, man,
 ‘ We are alone; here’s none but thee, and I.

Enter HUME.

Hume. Jesu preserve your royal majesty!

‘ *Duch.* What say’st thou, majesty! I am but grace.

Hume. But, by the grace of God, and Hume’s advice,
 ‘ Your grace’s title shall be multiply’d.

Duch. What say’st thou, man? hast thou as yet con-
 ferr’d

With Margery Jourdain, the cunning witch;

And Roger Bolingbroke, the conjurer?

And will they undertake to do me good?

‘ *Hume.* This they have promised,—to show your high-
 nefs

A spirit rais’d from depth of under ground,

‘ That shall make answer to such questions,

‘ As by your grace shall be propounded him.

G 5

‘ *Duch.*

⁹ *Whereas* is the same as *where*; and seems to be brought into use only on account of its being a dissyllable. STEEVENS.

² A title frequently bestowed on the clergy. STEEVENS.

' *Duch.* It is enough ; I'll think upon the questions :
 ' When from faint Albans we do make return,
 ' We'll see these things effected to the full.
 ' Here, Hume, take this reward ; make merry, man,
 ' With thy confederates in this weighty cause.

[*Exit* Ducheſs.

* *Hume.* Hume muſt make merry with the ducheſs'
 gold ;
 ' Marry, and ſhall. But, how now, Sir John Hume ?
 ' Seal up your lips, and give no words but—mum !
 ' The buſineſs aſketh ſilent ſecrecy.
 * Dame Eleanor gives gold, to bring the witch :
 * Gold cannot come amiſs, were ſhe a devil.
 ' Yet have I gold, flies from another coaſt :
 ' I dare not ſay, from the rich cardinal,
 ' And from the great and new-made duke of Suffolk ;
 ' Yet I do find it ſo : for, to be plain,
 * They, knowing dame Eleanor's aſpiring humour,
 ' Have hired me to undermine the ducheſs,
 * And buz theſe conjurations in her brain.
 * They ſay, a crafty knave does need no broker ;³
 * Yet am I Suffolk and the cardinal's broker.
 * Hume, if you take not heed, you ſhall go near
 * To call them both—a pair of crafty knaves.
 * Well, ſo it ſtands : And thus, I fear, at laſt,
 * Hume's knavery will be the ducheſs' wreck ;
 * And her attainure will be Humphrey's fall :
 * Sort how it will,⁴ I ſhall have gold for all. [*Exit.*

SCENE III.

The ſame. A Room in the Palace.

Enter PETER, and Others, with Petitions.

' 1. *Pet.* My maſters, let's ſtand cloſe ; my lord protec-
 ' tor

³ A proverbial ſentence. See Ray's *Collection*. STEEVENS.

⁴ Let the iſſue be what it will. JOHNSON.

‘ tor will come this way by and by, and then we may deliver
 ‘ our supplications in the quill.⁵

‘ 2. *Pet.* Marry, the lord protect him, for he’s a good
 ‘ man ! Jesu blefs him !

Enter SUFFOLK, and Queen MARGARET.

* 1. *Pet.* Here ’a comes, methinks, and the queen with
 * him ; I’ll be the first, sure.

‘ 2. *Pet.* Come back, fool ; this is the duke of Suffolk,
 ‘ and not my lord protector.

‘ *Suf.* How now, fellow ? would’st any thing with me ?

‘ 1. *Pet.* I pray, my lord, pardon me ! I took ye for my
 ‘ lord protector.

‘ 2. *Mar.* [reading the superscription.] *To my lord pro-*
 ‘ *teCTOR!* are your supplications to his lordship ? Let me see
 ‘ them : What is thine ?

‘ 1. *Pet.* Mine is, an’t please your grace, against John
 ‘ Goodman, my lord cardinal’s man, for keeping my house,
 ‘ and lands, and wife and all, from me.

Suf. Thy wife too ? that is some wrong, indeed.—

G 6

What’s

5 *In quill* is Sir Thomas Hanmer’s reading ; the rest have—in *the quill*.
 JOHNSON.

Perhaps our supplications *in the quill*, or *in quill*, means no more than
 our *written* or *penn’d* supplications. We still say, a drawing *in chalk*, for a
 drawing executed by the use of chalk. STEEVENS.

In the quill may mean, with great exactness and observance of form, or
 with the utmost punctilio of ceremony. The phrase seems to be taken
 from part of the dress of our ancestors, whose ruffs were *quilled*. While
 these were worn, it might be the vogue to say, such a thing is in the *quill*,
 i. e. in the reigning mode of taste. TOLLET.

To this observation I may add, that after printing began, the similar
 phrase of a thing being *in print* was used to express the same circumstance
 of exactness. “ All this,” (declares one of the quibbling servants in
The Two Gentlemen of Verona) “ I say *in print*, for in print I found it.”

STEEVENS.

In quill may be supposed to have been a phrase formerly in use, and the
 same with the French *en quille*, which is said of a man, when he stands
 upright upon his feet without stirring from the place. The proper sense
 of *quille* in French is a nine-pin, and, in some parts of England, nine-pins
 are still called *cayls*, which word is used in the statute 33. *Henry VIII.*
 c. 9. *Quelle* in the old British language also signifies any piece of wood
 set upright. HAWKINS.

What's your's?—What's here! [*reads.*] *Against the duke of Suffolk, for enclosing the commons of Melford.*—How now, fir knave?

2. *Pet.* Alas, fir, I am but a poor petitioner of our whole township.

Peter. [*presenting his petition.*] Against my master, Thomas Horner, for saying, That the duke of York was rightful heir to the crown.

2. *Mar.* What say'st thou? Did the duke of York say, he was rightful heir to the crown?

Peter. That my master was! 6 No, forsooth: my master said, That he was; and that the king was an usurper.

Suf. Who is there? [*Enter Servants.*]—Take this fellow in, and send for his master with a pursuivant presently:—we'll hear more of your matter before the king.

[*Exeunt Servants, with PETER.*]

2. *Mar.* And as you that love to be protected Under the wings of our protector's grace, Begin your suits anew, and sue to him.

[*tears the petitions.*]

Away, base cullions!—Suffolk, let them go.

* *All.* Come, let's be gone. [*Exeunt Petitioners.*]

* 2. *Mar.* My lord of Suffolk, say, is this the guise,

* Is this the fashion in the court of England?

* Is this the government of Britain's isle,

* And this the royalty of Albion's king?

* What, shall king Henry be a pupil still,

* Under the surley Gloster's governance?

* Am I a queen in title and in style,

* And must be made a subject to a duke?

* I tell thee, Poole, when in the city Tours

* Thou ran'st a tilt in honour of my love,

* And stol'st away the ladies' hearts of France;

* I thought, king Henry had resembled thee,

* In

6 The old copy—that my *mistress* was? The present emendation was supplied by Mr. Tyrwhitt, and has the concurrence of Mr. M. Mason.

STEEVENS.

The context shows clearly that *mistress* was a misprint for *master*. The mistake arose from these words being formerly abbreviated in *Mfs*; and an *M.* stood for either one or the other. MALONE.

- ‘ In courage, courtship, and proportion :
- ‘ But all his mind is bent to holiness,
- * To number *Ave-Maries* on his beads :
- * His champions are—the prophets, and apostles ;
- * His weapons, holy saws of sacred writ ;
- * His study is his tilt-yard, and his loves
- * Are brazen images of canoniz’d saints.
- * I would, the college of the cardinals
- * Would choose him pope, and carry him to Rome,
- * And set the triple crown upon his head ;
- * That were a state fit for his holiness.

‘ *Suf.* Madam, be patient : as I was cause
 ‘ Your highness came to England, so will I
 ‘ In England work your grace’s full content.

* *Q. Mar.* Beside the haught protector, have we Beau-
 fort,

- * The imperious churchman ; Somerset, Buckingham,
- * And grumbling York : and not the least of these,
- * But can do more in England than the king.

* *Suf.* And he of these, than can do most of all,
 * Cannot do more in England than the Nevils :
 * Salisbury, and Warwick, are no simple peers.

‘ *Q. Mar.* Not all these lords do vex me half so much,
 ‘ As that proud dame, the lord protector’s wife.

‘ She sweeps it through the court with troops of ladies,
 ‘ More like an empress, than duke Humphrey’s wife ;
 Strangers in court do take her for the queen :

- * She bears a duke’s revenues on her back,
- * And in her heart she scorns our poverty :
- * Shall I not live to be aveng’d on her ?

* Contemptuous base-born callat as she is,
 ‘ She vaunted ’mongst her minions t’other day,
 The very train of her worst wearing gown

Was better worth than all my father’s lands,
 * Till Suffolk gave two dukedoms ⁷ for his daughter.

‘ *Suf.* Madam, myself have lim’d a bush for her ;
 * And plac’d a quire of such enticing birds,

That

⁷ The duchies of Anjou and Maine, which Henry surrendered to Regnier, on his marriage with Margaret. See sc. i. MALONE.

- * That she will light to listen to the lays,
- * And never mount to trouble you again.
- * So, let her rest : And, madam, list to me ;
- * For I am bold to counsel you in this.
- * Although we fancy not the cardinal,
- * Yet must we join with him, and with the lords,
- * Till we have brought duke Humphrey in disgrace.
- * As for the duke of York,—this late complaint ⁸
- * Will make but little for his benefit :
- * So, one by one, we'll weed them all at last,
- * And you yourself shall steer the happy helm.

Enter King HENRY, YORK, and SOMERSET, conversing with him ; Duke and Duchess of GLOSTER, Cardinal BEAUFORT, BUCKINGHAM, SALISBURY, and WARWICK.

K. Hen. For my part, noble lords, I care not which ;
Or Somerset, or York, all's one to me.

York. If York have ill demean'd himself in France,
Then let him be deny'd the regentship.

Som. If Somerset be unworthy of the place,
Let York be regent, I will yield to him.

War. Whether your grace be worthy, yea, or no,
Dispute not that ; York is the worthier.

Car. Ambitious Warwick, let thy betters speak.

War. The cardinal's not my better in the field.

Buck. All in this presence are thy betters, Warwick.

War. Warwick may live to be the best of all.

* *Sal.* Peace, son ;——and show some reason, Buckingham,

* Why Somerset should be preferr'd in this.

* *Q. Mar.* Because the king, forsooth, will have it so.

* *Glo.* Madam, the king is old enough himself

* To give his censure : ⁹ these are no women's matters.

Q. Mar. If he be old enough, what needs your grace

* To be protector of his excellence ?

Glo.

⁸ That is, The complaint of Peter the armourer's man against his master, for saying that York was the rightful king. JOHNSON.

⁹ Through all these plays *censure* is used in an indifferent sense, simply for judgement or opinion. JOHNSON.

* *Glo.* Madam, I am protector of the realm ;
 * And, at his pleasure, will resign my place.

* *Suf.* Resign it then, and leave thine insolence.
 * Since thou wert king, (as who is king, but thou ?)

* The commonwealth hath daily run to wreck :

* The Dauphin hath prevail'd beyond the seas ;

* And all the peers and nobles of the realm

* Have been as bondmen to thy sovereignty.

* *Car.* 'The commons hast thou rack'd ; the clergy's bags
 * Are lank and lean with thy extortions.

* *Som.* Thy sumptuous buildings, and thy wife's attire,
 * Have cost a mass of publick treasury.

* *Buck.* Thy cruelty in execution,

* Upon offenders, hath exceeded law,

* And left thee to the mercy of the law.

* *Q. Mar.* Thy sale of offices, and towns in France,—

* If they were known, as the suspect is great,—

* Would make thee quickly hop without thy head.

[*Exit GLOSTER. The Queen drops her fan.*

* Give me my fan : What, minion ! can you not ?

[*gives the Duchess a box on the ear.*

* I cry you, mercy ; Madam, Was it you ?

* *Duch.* Was't I ? yea, I it was, proud Frenchwoman ;

* Could I come near your beauty with my nails,

I'd set my ten commandments in your face.

K. Hen. Sweet aunt, be quiet ; 'twas against her will.

* *Duch.* Against her will ! Good king, look to't in
 time ;

* She'll hamper thee, and dandle thee like a baby :

* Though in this place most master wear no breeches,

She shall not strike dame Eleanor unreveng'd.

[*Exit Duchess.*

* *Buck.* Lord Cardinal, I will follow Eleanor,

* And listen after Humphrey, how he proceeds :

* She's tickled now ; her fume can need no spurs,

* She'll gallop fast enough to her destruction.

[*Exit BUCKINGHAM.*

Re-enter

Re-enter GLOSTER.

* *Glo.* Now, lords, my choler being over-blown
 * With walking once about the quadrangle,
 * I come to talk of commonwealth affairs.
 * As for your spiteful false objections,
 * Prove them, and I lie open to the law :
 * But God in mercy so deal with my soul,
 * As I in duty love my king and country !
 * But, to the matter that we have in hand :—
 * I say, my fovereign, York is meetest man
 * To be your regent in the realm of France.

* *Suf.* Before we make election, give me leave
 * To show some reason, of no little force,
 * That York is most unmeet of any man.

* *York.* I'll tell thee, Suffolk, why I am unmeet.

* First, for I cannot flatter thee in pride :

* Next, if I be appointed for the place,

* My lord of Somerset will keep me here,

* Without discharge, money, or furniture,

* Till France be won into the Dauphin's hands.

* Last time, I danc'd attendance on his will,

* Till Paris was besieg'd, famish'd, and lost.

* *War.* That I can witness; and a fouler fact

* Did never traitor in the land commit.

* *Suf.* Peace, head-strong Warwick !

* *War.* Image of pride, why should I hold my peace ?

*Enter Servants of SUFFOLK, bringing in HORNER and
 — PETER.*

* *Suf.* Because here is a man accus'd of treason :
 Pray God, the duke of York excuse himself !

* *York.* Doth any one accuse York for a traitor ?

* *K. Hen.* What mean'st thou, Suffolk ? tell me : What
 are these ?

* *Suf.* Please it your majesty, this is the man
 * That doth accuse his master of high treason :

* His words were these;—that Richard, duke of York,

• Was rightful heir unto the English crown ;

• And that your majesty was an usurper.

• *K. Hen.* Say, man, were these thy words ?

Hor. An't shall please your majesty, I never said nor thought any such matter : God is my witness, I am falsely accus'd by the villain.

• *Pet.* By these ten bones,² my lords, [*holding up his hands.*]
• he did speak them to me in the garret one night, as we were
• scouring my lord of York's armour.

* *York.* Base dunghill villain, and mechanical,
• I'll have thy head for this thy traitor's speech :—

• I do beseech your royal majesty,

• Let him have all the rigour of the law.

Hor. Alas, my lord, hang me, if ever I spake the words.
My accuser is my prentice ; and when I did correct him for his fault the other day, he did vow upon his knees he would be even with me : I have good witness of this ; therefore, I beseech your majesty, do not cast away an honest man for a villain's accusation.

K. Hen. Uncle, what shall we say to this in law ?

• *Glo.* This doom, my lord, if I may judge.

• Let Somerset be regent o'er the French,

• Because in York this breeds suspicion :

• And let these have a day appointed them

• For single combat, in convenient place ;

• For he hath witness of his servant's malice :

• This is the law, and this duke Humphrey's doom.

K. Hen. Then be it so. My lord of Somerset,
We make your grace lord regent o'er the French.

Som. I humbly thank your royal majesty.

Hor. And I accept the combat willingly.

Pet. Alas, my lord, I cannot fight ; * for God's sake, pity
* my case ! the spite of man prevaieth against me. O, Lord
* have mercy upon me ! I shall never be able to fight a blow :
* O Lord, my heart !

Glo. Sirrah, or you must fight, or else be hang'd.

• *K. Hen.*

² We have just heard a duchess threaten to set her ten commandments in the face of a queen. The jests in this play turn rather too much on the enumeration of fingers. This adjuration is, however, very ancient.

- * *K. Hen.* Away with them to prison : and the day
 * Of combat shall be the last of the next month.—
 * Come, Somerset, we'll see thee sent away. [Exeunt.]

SCENE IV.

The same. The Duke of Gloster's Garden.

*Enter MARGERY JOURDAIN, HUME, SOUTHWELL, and
 BOLINGBROKE.*

- * *Hume.* Come, my masters; the duchess, I tell you,
 * expects performance of your promises.
 * *Boling.* Master Hume, we are therefore provided :
 * Will her ladyship behold and hear our exorcisms?³
 * *Hume.* Ay ; What else ? fear you not her courage.
 * *Boling.* I have heard her reported to be a woman of an
 * invincible spirit: But it shall be convenient, master Hume,
 * that you be by her aloft, while we be busy below ; and so,
 * I pray you, go in God's name, and leave us. [Exit Hume.]
 * Mother Jourdain, be you prostrate, and grovel on the
 * earth :—* John Southwell, read you ; and let us to our
 * work.

Enter Duchess, above.

- * *Duch.* Well said, my masters ; and welcome all. To
 * this geer ; the sooner the better.
 * *Boling.* Patience, good lady ; wizards know their times :
 Deep night, dark night, the silent of the night,⁴

* The

³ The word *exorcise*, and its derivatives, are used by Shakspeare in an uncommon sense. In all other writers it means to lay spirits, but in these plays it invariably means to raise them. M. MASON.

⁴ *The silent of the night* is a classical expression, and means an interlunar night.—*Amica silentia lunæ.* So Pliny, *Inter omnes verò convenit, utilissimè in coitu ejus sterni, quem diem alii interlunii, alii silentis lunæ appellant.* lib. xvi. cap. 39. In imitation of this language, Milton says :

“ The sun to me is dark,

“ And silent as the moon,

“ When she deserts the night,

“ Hid in her vacant interlunar cave.”

WARBURTON.

I believe

' The time of night when Troy was set on fire ;
 ' The time when scritch-owls cry, and bandogs howl,⁵
 ' And spirits walk, and ghosts break up their graves,
 ' That time best fits the work we have in hand.
 ' Madam, sit you, and fear not ; whom we raise,
 ' We will make fast within a hallow'd verge.

[Here they perform the ceremonies appertaining, and make the circle ; Bolingbroke, or Southwell, reads, Conjuro te, &c. It thunders and lightens terribly ; then the spirit riseth.

* *Spir.* Adsum.

* *M. Fourd.* Asmath,

* By the eternal God, whose name and power

* Thou tremblest at, answer that I shall ask ;

* For, till thou speak, thou shalt not pass from hence.

* *Spir.* Ask what thou wilt :—That I had said and done !⁶

Boling. First, of the king. What shall of him become ?

[Reading out of a paper.

Spir. The duke yet lives, that Henry shall depose ;
 But him outlive, and die a violent death.

[As the Spirit speaks, Southwell writes the answer.

Boling. What fate awaits the duke of Suffolk ?

Spir.

I believe this display of learning might have been spared. *Silent*, though an adjective, is used by Shakspeare as a substantive. So, in *The Tempest*, the *vast* of night is used for the greatest part of it. The old quarto reads, *the silence of the night*. STEEVENS.

Steevens's explanation of this passage is evidently right ; and Warburton's observations on it, though long, learned, and laborious, are nothing to the purpose. Bolingbroke does not talk of the silence of the *moon*, but of the silence of the *night* ; nor is he describing the time of the month, but the hour of the night. M. MASON.

⁵ —bandogs howl,] I was unacquainted with the etymology of this word, till it was pointed out to me by an ingenious correspondent in the Supplement to the Gentleman's Magazine for 1789, who signs himself D. T. "Shakspeare's *ban-dog* (says he) is simply a *village-dog*, or *mastiff*, which was formerly called a *band-dog*, per syncopen, *bandog*."

STEEVENS.

Ban-dog is surely a corruption of *band-dog* ; or rather the first *d* is suppressed here, as in other compound words. Cole in his Dict. 1679, renders *ban-dog*, *canis catenatus*. MALONE.

⁶ It was anciently believed that spirits, who were raised by incantations, remain'd above ground, and answer'd questions with reluctance. See both Lucan and Statius. STEEVENS.

Spir. By water shall he die, and take his end.

Boling. What shall befall the duke of Somerset?

Spir. Let him shun castles;
Safer shall he be upon the sandy plains,
Than where castles mounted stand.

• Have done, for more I hardly can endure.

• *Boling.* Descend to darkness, and the burning lake:
• False fiend, avoid!

[*Thunder and lightning. Spirit descends.*]

*Enter YORK and BUCKINGHAM, hastily, with their guards,
and others.*

• *York.* Lay hands upon these traitors, and their trash.
• Beldame, I think, we watch'd you at an inch.—
• What, madam, are you there? the king and commonweal
• Are deeply indebted for this piece of pains;
• My lord protector will, I doubt it not,
• See you well guerdon'd for these good deserts.

* *Duch.* Not half so bad as thine to England's king,
• Injurious duke; that threat'it where is no cause.

* *Buck.* True, madam, none at all. What call you this?
[*Shewing her the papers.*]

• Away with them; let them be clapp'd up close,
• And kept asunder:—You, madam, shall with us:—
• Stafford, take her to thee.—

[*Exit Duchefs from above.*]

• We'll see your trinkets here all forthcoming;
• All.—Away! [*Exeunt guards, with SOUTH. BOLING. &c.*]
* *York.* Lord Buckingham, methinks,⁷ you watch'd her
well:

* A pretty plot, well chosen to build upon!
Now, pray, my lord, let's see the devil's writ.
What have we here?

[*Reads.*
The

⁷ This repetition of the prophecies, which is altogether unnecessary, after what the spectators had heard in the scene immediately preceding, is not to be found in the first edition of this play. POPE.

They are not, it is true, found in this scene, but they are repeated in the subsequent scene, in which Buckingham brings an account of this proceeding to the king. MALONE.

*The duke yet lives, that Henry shall depose;
But him outlive, and die a violent death.*

* Why, this is just,

* *Aio te, Æacida, Romanos vincere posse.*

Well, to the rest:

Tell me, what fate awaits the duke of Suffolk?

By water shall he die, and take his end.—

What shall betide the duke of Somerset?—

Let him shun castles;

Safer shall he be upon the sandy plains,

Than where castles mounted stand.

* Come, come, my lords;

* These oracles are hardly attain'd,

* And hardly understood.

* The king is now in progress towards saint Albans,

* With him, the husband of this lovely lady:

* Thither go these news, as fast as horse can carry them;

* A sorry breakfast for my lord protector.

* *Buck.* Your grace shall give me leave, my lord of York,

* To be the post, in hope of his reward.

* *York.* At your pleasure, my good lord.—Who's within
there, ho!

Enter a Servant.

* Invite my lords of Salisbury, and Warwick,

* To sup with me to-morrow night.—Away!

[*Exeunt.*]

ACT II. SCENE I.

Saint Albans.

Enter King HENRY, Queen MARGARET, GLOSTER, Cardinal, SUFFOLK, with Falconers hollaing.

* *Q. Mar.* Believe me, lords, for flying at the brook,⁸
I saw not better sport these seven years' day:

* Yet,

⁸ The falconer's term for hawking at water-fowl. JOHNSON.

‘ Yet, by your leave, the wind was very high;
And, ten to one, old Joan had not gone out.⁹

‘ *K. Hen.* But what a point, my lord, your falcon made,
‘ And what a pitch she flew above the rest!—
‘ To see how God in all his creatures works!

* Yea, man and birds, are fain of climbing high.

Suf. No marvel, an it like your majesty,
My lord protector’s hawks do tower so well;
They know, their master loves to be aloft,²

* And bears his thoughts above his falcon’s pitch.

‘ *Glo.* My lord, ’tis but a base ignoble mind
‘ That mounts no higher than a bird can soar.

‘ *Car.* I thought as much; he’d be above the clouds.

‘ *Glo.* Ay, my lord cardinal; How think you by that?
Were it not good, your grace could fly to heaven?

* *K. Hen.* The treasury of everlasting joy!

‘ *Car.* Thy heaven is on earth; thine eyes and thoughts
‘ Beat on a crown,³ the treasure of thy heart;

Pernicious

⁹ I am told by a gentleman, better acquainted with falconry than myself, that the meaning, however expressed, is, that the wind being high, it was ten to one that the old hawk had flown quite away; a trick which hawks often play their masters in windy weather. JOHNSON.

i. e. the wind was so high it was ten to one that old Joan would not have taken her flight at the game. PERCY.

The ancient books of hawking do not enable me to decide on the merits of such discordant explanations. It may yet be remarked, that the terms belonging to this once popular amusement were in general settled with the utmost precision; and I may at least venture to declare, that a mistress might have been kept at a cheaper rate than a falcon. To compound a medicine to cure one of these birds of worms, it was necessary to destroy no fewer animals than a *lamb*, a *culver*, a *pigeon*, a *buck* and a *cat*. I have this intelligence from the *Booke of Haukinge*, &c. bl. l. no date. This work was written by dame Julyana Bernes, prioress of the nunnery of Sopwell, near St. Albans, (where Shakspeare has fixed the present scene), and was first *prynted at Westmestre by Wynkyn de Worde*, 1496.

STEEVENS.

2 Perhaps alluding to the adage:

“ High-flying hawks are fit for princes.” STEEVENS.

3 To *boit* or *beat*, (*bathe*) is a terme in falconry. JOHNSON.

To *bathe*, and to *beat*, or *bate*, are distinct terms in this diversion. To *bathe* a hawk was to wash his plumage. To *beat*, or *bate*, was to flutter with

Pernicious protector, dangerous peer,
That smooth'st it so with king and commonweal!

Glo. What, cardinal, is your priesthood grown peremptory?

* *Tantæne animis cælestibus iræ?*

'Churchmen so hot? good uncle, hide such malice;

'With such holiness can you do it?'

Suf. No malice, sir; no more than well becomes

'So good a quarrel, and so bad a peer.

Glo. As who, my lord?

Suf. Why, as you, my lord;

An't like your lordly lord-protectorship.

Glo. Why, Suffolk, England knows thine insolence.

Q. Mar. And thy ambition, Gloster.

K. Hen. I pr'ythee, peace,

Good queen; and whet not on these furious peers,

For blessed are the peacemakers on earth.

Car. Let me be blessed for the peace I make,

Against this proud protector, with my sword!

Glo. 'Faith, holy uncle, 'would 'twere come to that!

[*Aside to the Cardinal.*

'*Car.* Marry, when thou dar'st.

[*Aside.*

'*Glo.* Make up no factious numbers for the matter,

'In thine own person answer thy abuse.

[*Aside.*

'*Car.*

with his wings. To *beat on a crown*, however, is equivalent to an expression which is still used—to *hammer*, i. e. to work in the mind. STEEVENS.

So, in *The Tempest*:

“Do not infest your mind with *beating on*

“The strangeness of this business.”

I have given this instance of the phrase, because Dr. Johnson's interpretation of it is certainly incorrect. MALONE.

* Do what? The verse wants a foot; we should read:

With such holiness can you not do it?

Spoken ironically. By holiness he means hypocrisy: and says, have you not hypocrisy enough to hide your malice? WARBURTON.

The verse is lame enough after the emendation, nor does the negative particle improve the sense. When words are omitted it is not often easy to say what they were if there is a perfect sense without them. I read, but somewhat at random:

A churchman, with such holiness can you do it?

The transcriber saw *churchman* just above, and therefore omitted it in the second line. JOHNSON.

‘ *Car.* Ay, where thou dar’st not peep : an if thou dar’st,
 ‘ This evening, on the east side of the grove. [*Aside.*

‘ *K. Hen.* How now, my lords ?

‘ *Car.* Believe me, cousin Gloster,
 Had not your man put up the fowl so suddenly,
 ‘ We had had more sport.—Come with thy two-hand sword. [*Aside to Glo.*

Glo. True, uncle.

Car. Are you advis’d ?—the east side of the grove ?

Glo. Cardinal, I am with you.⁵ [*Aside.*

K. Hen. Why, how now, uncle Gloster ?

‘ *Glo.* Talking of hawking ; nothing else, my lord.—
 Now, by God’s mother, priest, I’ll shave your crown for this,
 * Or all my fence shall fail.⁶ [*Aside.*

* *Car.* *Medice teipsum ;*

‘ Protector, see to’t well, protect yourself. } *Aside.*

K. Hen. The winds grow high ; so do your stomachs, lords,

* How irksome is this musick to my heart !

* When such strings jar, what hope of harmony ?

* I pray, my lords, let me compound this strife.

Enter an Inhabitant of Saint Albans, crying, A Miracle !⁷

Glo. What means this noise ?

Fellow, what miracle dost thou proclaim ?

Inhab. A miracle ! a miracle !

Suf. Come to the king, and tell him what miracle.

Inhab. Forsooth, a blind man at saint Alban’s shrine,
 Within this half hour, hath receiv’d his sight ;
 A man, that ne’er saw in his life before.

K. Hen.

⁵ — Come with thy two-hand sword.

Glo. True, uncle, are ye advis’d ?—the east side of the grove ?

*Cardinal, I am with you.] Thus is the whole speech placed to Gloster, in all the editions : but, surely, with great inadvertence. It is the cardinal who first appoints the east side of the grove for the place of *duel* : and how finely does it express his rancour and impetuosity, for fear Gloster should mistake, to repeat the appointment, and ask his antagonist if he takes him right ! THEOBALD.*

⁶ *Fence* is the art of defence. STEEVENS.

⁷ This scene is founded on a story which Sir Thomas More has related, and which he says was communicated to him by his father. The impostor’s name is not mentioned, but he was detected by Humphrey duke of Gloster, and in the manner here represented. MALONE.

* *K. Hen.* Now, God be prais'd ! that to believing souls
 * Gives light in darkness, comfort in despair !

*Enter the Mayor of Saint Albans, and his brethren ; and SIMP-
 COX, borne between two persons in a chair ; his wife and a
 great multitude following.*

* *Car.* Here come the townsmen on procession,
 * To present your highness with the man.
 * *K. Hen.* Great is his comfort in this earthly vale,
 * Although by his sight his sin be multiply'd.
 * *Glo.* Stand by, my masters, bring him near the king,
 * His highness' pleasure is to talk with him.
 * *K. Hen.* Good fellow, tell us here the circumstance,
 * That we for thee may glorify the Lord.

What, hast thou been long blind, and now restor'd ?

Simp. Born blind, an't please your grace.

Wife. Ay, indeed, was he.

Suf. What woman is this ?

Wife. His wife, an't like your worship.

Glo. Had'st thou been his mother, thou could'st have bet-
 ter told.

K. Hen. Where wert thou born ?

Simp. At Berwick in the north, an't like your grace.

* *K. Hen.* Poor soul ! God's goodness hath been great to
 thee :

* Let never day nor night unhallow'd pass,
 * But still remember what the Lord hath done.

* *Q. Mar.* Tell me, good fellow, cam'st thou here by
 chance,

* Or of devotion, to this holy shrine ?

* *Simp.* God knows, of pure devotion ; being call'd

* A hundred times, and oftner, in my sleep

* By good saint Alban ; who said, — *Simpcox, come ;*

* *Come, offer at my shrine, and I will help thee.*

* *Wife.* Most true, forsooth ; and many time and oft

* Myself have heard a voice to call him so.

Car. What, art thou lame ?

Simp.

Ay, God Almighty help me !

Suf. How cam'st thou so ?

VOL. V

H

Simp.

Simp.

A fall off of a tree.

Wife. A plum-tree, master.*Glo.*

How long hast thou been blind?

Simp. O, born so, master.*Glo.*

What, and would'st climb a tree?

Simp. But that in all my life, when I was a youth.* *Wife.* Too true; and bought his climbing very dear.* *Glo.* 'Mafs, thou lov'd'st plums well, that would'st venture so.* *Simp.* Alas, good master, my wife desir'd some damsons,

* And made me climb, with danger of my life.

* *Glo.* A subtle knave! but yet it shall not serve.—

* Let me see thine eyes:—wink now;—now open them:—

* In my opinion, yet thou see'st not well.

* *Simp.* Yes, master, clear as day; I thank God, and saint Alban.*Glo.* Say'st thou me so? What colour is this cloak of?*Simp.* Red, master; red as blood.*Glo.* Why, that's well said: what colour is my gown of?*Simp.* Black, forsooth; coal-black, as jet.*K. Hen.* Why then, thou know'st what colour jet is of?*Suf.* And yet, I think, jet did he never see.*Glo.* But cloaks, and gowns, before this day, a many.* *Wife.* Never, before this day, in all his life.*Glo.* Tell me, firrah, what's my name?*Simp.* Alas, master, I know not.*Glo.* What's his name?*Simp.* I know not.*Glo.* Nor his?*Simp.* No, indeed, master.*Glo.* What's thine own name?*Simp.* Saunder Simpcox, an if it please you, master.*Glo.* Then Saunder, sit thou there, the lying'st knave

In Christendom. If thou hadst been born blind,

Thou might'st as well have known our names, as thus

To name the several colours we do wear.

Sight may distinguish of colours; but suddenly

To nominate them all, 's impossible.——

My lords, saint Alban here hath done a miracle;

And

And would ye not think that cunning to be great,
That could restore this cripple to his legs again?

Simp. O, master, that you could!

Glo. My masters of Saint Albans, have you not beadles in your town, and things call'd whips?

May. Yes, my lord, if it please your grace.

Glo. Then fend for one presently.

May. Sirrah, go fetch the beadle hither straight.

[*Exit an Attendant.*]

Glo. Now fetch me a stool hither by and by. [*A stool brought out.*] Now, sirrah, if you mean to save yourself from whipping, leap me over this stool, and run away.

Simp. Alas, master, I am not able to stand alone:
You go about to torture me in vain.

Re-enter Attendant, with the Beadle.

Glo. Well, sir, we must have you find your legs. Sirrah beadle, whip him till he leap over that same stool.

Bead. I will, my lord.—Come on, sirrah; off with your doublet quickly.

Simp. Alas, master, what shall I do? I am not able to stand.

[*After the Beadle hath hit him once, he leaps over the stool, and runs away; and the people follow, and cry, A Miracle!*]

* *K. Hen.* O God, see'st thou this, and bear'st so long?

* *Q. Mar.* It made me laugh to see the villain run.

* *Glo.* Follow the knave; and take this drab away.

* *Wife.* Alas, sir, we did it for pure need.

Glo. Let them be whipped through every market town, till they come to Berwick, whence they came.

[*Exeunt Mayor, Beadle, Wife, &c.*]

* *Car.* Duke Humphrey has done a miracle to-day.

* *Suf.* True; made the lame to leap, and fly away.

* *Glo.* But you have done more miracles than I;

* You made, in a day, my lord, whole towns to fly.

Enter BUCKINGHAM.

* *K. Hen.* What tidings with our cousin Buckingham?

H 2

* *Buck.*

- *Buck.* Such as my heart doth tremble to unfold.
- A sort of naughty persons, lewdly bent,²—
- Under the countenance and confederacy
- Of lady Eleanor, the protector's wife,
- 'The ringleader and head of all this rout,—
- Have practis'd dangerously against your state,
- Dealing with witches and with conjurers :
- Whom we have apprehended in the fact ;
- Raising up wicked spirits from under ground,
- Demanding of King Henry's life and death,
- And other of your highness' privy council,
- As more at large your grace shall understand.

- *Car.* And so my lord protector, by this means
- Your lady is forthcoming³ yet at London.
- This news, I think, hath turn'd your weapon's edge ;
- 'Tis like, my lord, you will not keep your hour.

[*Afide to GLOSTER.*

- *Glo.* Ambitious churchman, leave to afflict my heart !
- * Sorrow and grief have vanquish'd all my powers :
- * And vanquish'd as I am, I yield to thee,
- * Or to the meanest groom.
- * *K. Hen.* O God, what mischiefs work the wicked ones ;
- * Heaping confusion on their own heads thereby !
- * *Q. Mar.* Gloster, see here the tainture of thy nest ;
- * And, look, thyself be faultless, thou wert best.
- *Glo.* Madam, for myself, to heaven I do appeal,
- How I have lov'd my king, and commonweal :
- And, for my wife, I know not how it stands ;
- Sorry I am to hear what I have heard :
- Noble she is ; but, if she have forgot
- Honour, and virtue, and convers'd with such
- As, like to pitch, defile nobility,
- I banish her, my bed, and company ;

• And

² *Lewdly*, in this place, and in some others, does not signify wantonly, but wickedly. STEEVENS.

The word is so used in old acts of parliament. A *sort* is a company.

MALONE.

³ That is, Your lady is in custody. JOHNSON.

- ' And give her, as a prey, to law, and shame,
 ' That hath dishonour'd Gloster's honest name.
 ' *K. Hen.* Well, for this night, we will repose us here :
 ' To-morrow, toward London, back again,
 ' To look into this business thoroughly,
 ' And call these foul offenders to their answers ;
 ' And poise the cause in justice' equal scales,
 ' Whose beam stands sure, whose rightful cause prevails.⁴
[*Flourish.* *Exeunt.*

SCENE II.

London. *The Duke of York's Garden.*

Enter YORK, SALISBURY, and WARWICK.

- ' *York.* Now, my good lords of Salisbury and Warwick,
 ' Our simple supper ended, give me leave,
 ' In this close walk, to satisfy myself,
 ' In craving your opinion of my title,
 ' Which is infallible,⁵ to England's crown.

* *Sal.* My lord, I long to hear it at full.

War. Sweet York, begin : and if thy claim be good,
 The Nevils are thy subjects to command.

York. Then thus :—

- ' Edward the Third, my lords, had seven sons :
 ' The first, Edward the Black Prince, prince of Wales ;
 ' The second, William of Hatfield ; and the third,
 ' Lionel, duke of Clarence ; next to whom,
 ' Was John of Gaunt, the duke of Lancaster :
 ' The fifth, was Edmond Langley,⁶ duke of York ;

H 3

' The

⁴ The sense will, I think, be mended if we read in the optative mood :

— *justice' equal scale,*

Whose beam stand sure, whose rightful cause prevail !"

JOHNSON.

⁵ I know not well whether he means the opinion or the title is infallible. JOHNSON.

Surely he means his *title*. MALONE.

⁶ The author of the original play has ignorantly enumerated Roger Mortimer, Earl of March, as Edward's fifth son ; and represented the duke of York as Edward's *second* son. MALONE.

- The sixth, was Thomas of Woodstock, duke of Gloster ;
- William of Windsor was the seventh, and last.
- Edward, the Black Prince, died before his father ;
- And left behind him Richard, his only son,
- Who, after Edward the Third's death, reign'd as king ;
- Till Henry Bolingbroke, duke of Lancaster,
- The eldest son and heir of John of Gaunt,
- Crown'd by the name of Henry the Fourth,
- Seiz'd on the realm ; depos'd the rightful king ;
- Sent his poor queen to France, from whence she came,
- And him to Pomfret ; where, as all you know,
- Harmless Richard was murder'd traiterously.
- * *War.* Father, the duke hath told the truth ;
- * Thus got the house of Lancaster the crown.
- * *York.* Which now they hold by force, and not by
right ;
- * For Richard, the first son's heir, being dead,
- * The issue of the next son should have reign'd.
- * *Sal.* But William of Hatfield died without an heir.
- * *York.* The third son, duke of Clarence, (from whose
line
- * I claim the crown,) had issue—Philippe, a daughter,
- * Who married Edmund Mortimer, earl of March.
- * Edmund had issue—Roger, earl of March :
- * Roger had issue—Edmund, Anne, and Eleanor.
- * *Sal.* This Edmund,⁷ in the reign of Bolingbroke,
- As I have read, laid claim unto the crown ;
- And, but for Owen Glendower, had been king,
- Who kept him in captivity, till he died.⁸
- * But, to the rest.

• *York.*

⁷ In Act II. sc. v. of the last play, York, to whom this is spoken, is present at the death of Edmund Mortimer in prison ; and the reader will recollect him to have been married to Owen Glendower's daughter, in *The First Part of King Henry IV.* RITSON.

⁸ I have observed in a former note, (*First Part*, Act II. sc. v.) that the historians as well as the dramattick poets have been strangely mistaken concerning this Edmond Mortimer, Earl of March, who was so far from being “ kept in captivity till he died,” that he appears to have been at liberty during the whole reign of King Henry V. and to have been trusted and employed by him ; and there is no proof that he ever was confined,

* York. His eldest sister, Anne,
 * My mother, being heir unto the crown,

H 4

* Married

as a *state-prisoner*, by King Henry IV. Being only six years of age at the death of his father in 1398, he was delivered by Henry in ward to his son Henry Prince of Wales; and during the whole of that reign, being a minor and related to the family on the throne, both he and his brother Roger were under the particular care of the king. At the age of ten years, in 1402, he headed a body of Herefordshire men against Owen Glendower; and they being routed, he was taken prisoner by Owen, and is said by Walsingham to have contracted a marriage with Glendower's daughter, and to have been with him at the battle of Shrewsbury; but I believe the story of his being affianced to Glendower's daughter is a mistake, and that the historian has confounded Mortimer with Lord Gray of Ruthvin, who was likewise taken prisoner by Glendower, and actually did marry his daughter. Edmond Mortimer Earl of March married Anne Stafford, the daughter of Edmond Earl of Stafford. If he was at the battle of Shrewsbury he was probably brought there against his will, to grace the cause of the rebels. The Percies in the Manifesto which they published a little before that battle, speak of him, not as a confederate of Owen's, but as the rightful heir to the crown, whom Owen had confined, and whom, finding that the king for political reasons would not ransom him, they at their own charges had ransomed. After that battle, he was certainly under the care of the king, he and his brother in the seventh year of that reign having had annuities of two hundred pounds and one hundred marks allotted to them, for their maintenance during their minorities.

In addition to what I have already said respecting the trust reposed in him during the whole reign of K. Henry V. I may add, that in the sixth year of that king this Earl of March was with the Earl of Salisbury at the siege of Fresnes; and soon afterwards with the king himself at the siege of Melun. In the same year he was constituted **LIEUTENANT OF NORMANDY**. He attended Henry when he had an interview with the French King, &c. at Melun, to treat about a marriage with Catharine, and he accompanied the queen when she returned from France in 1422, with the corpse of her husband.

One of the sources of the mistakes in our old histories concerning this earl, I believe, was this: he was probably confounded with one of his kinsmen, a Sir John Mortimer, who was confined for a long time in the Tower, and at last was executed in 1424. That person however, could not have been his uncle; for he had but one legitimate uncle, and his name was *Edmond*. The Sir John Mortimer, who was confined in the Tower was perhaps cousin german to the lost Edmond Earl of March, the illegitimate son of his uncle Edmond.

I take this opportunity of correcting an inaccuracy in the note above referred to. I have said that Lionel Duke of Clarence was married to Elizabeth the daughter of the Earl of Ulster, in 1360. I have since learned

- Married Richard, earl of Cambridge; who was son
- To Edmund Langley, Edward the third's fifth son.
- By her I claim the kingdom: she was heir
- To Roger, earl of March; who was the son
- Of Edmund Mortimer; who married Philippe,
- Sole daughter unto Lionel, duke of Clarence:
- So, if the issue of the elder son
- Succeed before the younger, I am king.
- *War.* What plain proceedings are more plain than this?
- Henry doth claim the crown from John of Gaunt,
- The fourth son; York claims it from the third.
- Till Lionel's issue fails, his should not reign:
- It fails not yet; but flourishes in thee,
- And in thy sons, fair slips of such a stock.—
- Then, father Salisbury, kneel we both together;
- And, in this private plot,⁹ be we the first,
- That shall salute our rightful sovereign
- With honour of his birthright to the crown.
- *Both.* Long live our sovereign Richard, England's king!
- *York.* We thank you, lords. But I am not your king
- Till I be crown'd; and that my sword be stain'd
- With heart-blood of the house of Lancaster:
- * And that's not suddenly to be perform'd;
- * But with advice, and silent secrecy.
- * Do you, as I do, in these dangerous days,
- * Wink at the duke of Suffolk's insolence,
- * At Beaufort's pride, at Somerset's ambition,
- * At Buckingham, and all the crew of them,

* Till

learned that he was affianced to her in his tender years; and consequently Lionel, having been born in 1338, might have had his daughter Philippa in 1354. Philippa, I find, was married in 1370, at the age of sixteen, to Edmond Mortimer Earl of March, who was himself born in 1351. Their son Roger was born in 1371, and must have been married to Eleanor, the daughter of the Earl of Kent, in the year 1388, or 1389, for their daughter Anne, who married Richard Earl of Cambridge, was born in 1389. Edmond Mortimer, Roger's eldest son, (the Mortimer of Shakespeare's *King Henry IV.* and the person who has given occasion to this tedious note,) was born in the latter end of the year 1392; and consequently when he died in his castle at Trim in Ireland, in 1424-5, he was thirty-two years old. MALONE.

⁹ Sequester'd spot of ground. MALONE.

- * Till they have snar'd the shepherd of the flock,
- * That virtuous prince, the good duke Humphrey :
- * 'Tis that they seek ; and they, in seeking that,
- * Shall find their deaths, if York can prophesy.
- * *Sal.* My lord, break we off ; we know your mind at full.
- * *War.* My heart assures me, that the earl of Warwick
- * Shall one day make the duke of York a king.
- * *York.* And, Nevil, this I do assure myself,—
- * Richard shall live to make the earl of Warwick
- * The greatest man in England, but the king. [[*Exeunt*]]

SCENE III.

The same. A Hall of justice.

Trumpets sounded. Enter King HENRY, Queen MARGARET, GLOSTER, YORK, SUFFOLK, and SALISBURY ; the Duchess of GLOSTER, MARGERY JOURDAIN, SOUTHWELL, HUME, and BOLINGBROKE, under guard.

- * *K. Hen.* Stand forth, dame Eleanor Cobham, Gloster's wife :
- * In sight of God, and us, your guilt is great ;
- * Receive the sentence of the law, for sins
- * Such as by God's book are adjudg'd to death.—
- * You four, from hence to prison back again ; [*to Jourd. &c.*]
- * From thence, unto the place of execution :
- * The witch in Smithfield shall be burn'd to ashes,
- * And you three shall be strangled on the gallows.—
- * You, madam, for you are more nobly born, [*to the Duchess.*]
- * Despoiled of your honour in your life,
- * Shall, after three days' open penance done,
- * Live in your country here, in banishment,
- * With sir John Stanley, in the isle of Man.
- * *Duch.* Welcome is banishment, welcome were my death.
- * *Glo.* Eleanor, the law, thou seest, hath judged thee ;

* I cannot justify whom the law condemns.—

[*Exeunt the Dukes, and the other Prisoners, guarded.*]

‘ Mine eyes are full of tears, my heart of grief.

‘ Ah, Humphrey, this dishonour in thine age

‘ Will bring thy head with sorrow to the ground!—

‘ I beseech your majesty, give me leave to go ;

‘ Sorrow would solace, and mine age would ease.²

‘ *K. Hen.* Stay, Humphrey duke of Gloster : ere thou go,

‘ Give up thy staff ; Henry will to himself

‘ Protector be : and God shall be my hope,

‘ My stay, my guide, and lantern to my feet ; ³

‘ And go in peace, Humphrey ; no less belov’d,

‘ Than when thou wert protector to thy king.

* *Q. Mar.* I see no reason, why a king of years

* Should be to be protected like a child.—

‘ God and king Henry govern England’s helm :

‘ Give up your staff, sir, and the king his realm.

‘ *Glo.* My staff ?— here, noble Henry, is my staff :

‘ As willingly do I the same resign,

‘ As e’er thy father Henry made it mine ;

And even as willingly at thy feet I leave it,

As others would ambitiously receive it.

‘ Farewel, good king : When I am dead and gone,

May honourable peace attend thy throne !

[*Exit.*]

* *Q. Mar.* Why, now is Henry king, and Margaret
queen ;

* And Humphrey, duke of Gloster, scarce himself,

* That bears so shrewd a maim ; two pulls at once,—

* His lady banish’d, and a limb lopp’d off ;

* This staff of honour raught : ⁴— ‘ There let it stand,

‘ Where it best fits to be, in Henry’s hand.

* *Suf.*

² That is, Sorrow would have, sorrow requires, solace, and age requires ease. JOHNSON.

³ This image, I think, is from our Liturgy : “ — a lantern to my feet, and a light to my paths.” STEEVENS.

⁴ *Raught* is the ancient preterite of the verb *reach*, and is frequently used by Spenser. STEEVENS.

Rather *raft*, or *rest*, the preterite of *reave* ; unless *reached* were ever used with the sense of *arracher*, Fr. that is, to snatch, take, or pull violently away. RITSON.

- * *Suf.* Thus droops this lofty pine, and hangs his sprays;
 * Thus Eleanor's pride dies in her youngest days.⁵
 * *York.* Lords, let him go.⁶—Please it your majesty,
 * This is the day appointed for the combat;
 * And ready are the appellant and defendant,
 * The armourer and his man, to enter the lists,
 * So please your highness to behold the fight,
 * *Q. Mar.* Ay, good my lord; for purposely therefore
 * Left I the court, to see this quarrel tried.
 * *K. Hen.* O' God's name, see the lists and all things fit;
 * Here let them end it, and God defend the right!
 * *York.* I never saw a fellow worse bested,⁷
 * Or more afraid to fight, than is the appellant,
 * The servant of this armourer, my lords.

Enter, on one side, HORNER, and his neighbours, drinking to him so much that he is drunk; and he enters bearing his staff with a sand-bag fastened to it; ⁸ a drum before him; at the other side, PETER, with a drum and a similar staff; accompanied by prentices drinking to him.

1. Neigh. Here, neighbour Horner, I drink to you in a cup of sack; And fear not, neighbour, you shall do well enough.

H 6

2. Neigh.

⁵ This expression has no meaning, if we suppose that the word *her* refers to Eleanor, who certainly was not a young woman. We must therefore suppose that the pronoun *her* refers to *pride*, and stands for *it's*;—a licence frequently practised by Shakspeare. M. MASON.

Or the meaning may be, in her, i. e. Eleanor's youngest days of power. But the assertion, which ever way understood, is untrue. MALONE.

Suffolk's meaning may be:—*The pride of Eleanor dies before it has reached maturity.* It is by no means unnatural to suppose, that had the designs of a proud woman on a crown succeeded, she might have been prouder than she was before. STEEVENS.

⁶ i. e. Let him pass out of your thoughts. Duke Humphrey had already left the stage. STEEVENS.

⁷ In a worse plight. JOHNSON.

⁸ As, according to the old laws of duels, knights were to fight with the lance and sword; so those of inferior rank fought with an ebon staff or battoon, to the farther end of which was fixed a bag cram'd hard with sand. To this custom Hudibras has alluded in these humorous lines:

“Engaged

2. *Neigh.* And here, neighbour, here's a cup of charneco.⁹

3. *Neigh.* And here's a pot of good double beer, neighbour: drink, and fear not your man.

Hor. Let it come, i'faith, and I'll pledge you all; And a fig for Peter!

1. *Pren.* Here, Peter, I drink to thee; and be not afraid.

2. *Pren.* Be merry, Peter, and fear not thy master: fight for credit of the prentices.

Pet. I thank you all: * drink, and pray for me, I pray * you; for, I think, I have taken my last draught in this * world.*—Here, Robin, an if I die, I give thee my apron; and, Will, thou shalt have my hammer:—and here, Tom, take all the money that I have.—O Lord, blefs me, I pray God! for I am never able to deal with my master, he hath learnt so much fence already.

Sal. Come, leave your drinking, and fall to blows.—
Sirrah, what's thy name?

Pet. Peter, forsooth.

Sal. Peter! what more?

Pet. Thump.

Sal. Thump! then see thou thump thy master well.

Hor. Masters, I am come hither, as it were, upon my man's instigation, to prove him a knave, and myself an honest man: * and touching the duke of York,—will take my death, I never meant him any ill, nor the king, nor the queen; * And therefore,

“ Engaged with money-bags, as bold

“ As men with *sand-bags* did of old.” WARBURTON.

Mr. Symphon, in his notes on Ben Jonson, observes, that a passage in *St. Chrysostom* very clearly proves the great antiquity of this practice.

STEEVENS.

⁹ A common name for a sort of sweet wine, as appears from a passage in a pamphlet intitled, *The Discovery of a London Monster, called the Black Dog of Newgate*, printed 1612: “Some drinking the neat wine of Orleance, some the Gascony, some the Bourdeaux. ‘There wanted neither sherry, sack, nor *charneco*, maligo, nor amber-colour'd Candy, nor liquorish ipocras, brown beloved bastard, fat Aligant, or any quick-spirited liquor.” And as *charneca* is, in Spanish, the name of a kind of turpentine-tree, I imagine the growth of it was in some district abounding with that tree; or that it had its name from a certain flavour resembling it.

WARBURTON.

therefore, Peter, have at thee with a downright blow, as Bevis of Southampton fell upon Ascapart.²

* *York.* Despatch :—this knave's tongue begins to double.³

* Sound trumpets, alarum to the combatants.

[*Alarum.* They fight, and Peter strikes down his master.

Hor. Hold, Peter, hold! I confess, I confess treason. [*Dies.*

* *York.* Take away his weapon :—Fellow, thank God,

* and the good wine in thy master's way.

Pet.

² *Ascapart*—the giant of the story—a name familiar to our ancestors, is mentioned by Dr. Donne :

“ Those *Ascaparts*, men big enough to throw

“ Charing-crofs for a bar,” &c. JOHNSON.

The figures of these combatants are still preserved on the gates of Southampton. STEEVENS.

³ So, in Holinshed, whose narrative Shakspeare has deserted, by making the armourer confess treason.

“ In the same yeare also, a certeine armourer was appeached of treason by a servant of his owne. For prooffe whereof a daie was giuen them to fight in Smithfield, insomuch that in conflict the said armourer was overcome and slaine; but yet by misgouverning of himselfe. For on the morrow, when he should haue come to the field fresh and fasting, his neighbours came to him, and gaue him wine and strong drink in such excessiue sort, that he was therewith distempered, and reeled as he went; and so was slain without guilt: as for the false seruant, he liued not long,” &c.

By favour of Craven Ord, Esq. I have now before me the original Exchequer record of expences attending this memorable combat. From hence it appears that William Catour, the Armourer, was not killed by his opponent John Davy, but worsted, and immediately afterwards hanged. The following is the last article in the account; and was struck off by the Barons of Exchequer, because it contained charges unauthorized by the sheriffs.

“ Also paid to officers for watchyng of ye ded man in Smyth felde ye same day and ye nyghte aftyr yt ye bataill was doon, and for hors hyre for ye officers at ye execucion doying, and for ye hangmans labor, xjs. vid.

“ Also paid for ye cloth yat lay upon ye ded man in Smyth feld, viij^d.

Also paid for i pole and nayllis, and for settying up of ye said mannys hed on london Brigge, v.^d.

s. d.
Sum. xij. vii.

The sum total of expence incurred on this occasion was £. 10 18 9

I know not why Shakspeare has called the Armourer *Horner*. The name of one of the sheriffs indeed was *Horne*, as appears from the record before me, which is printed at full length by Mr. Nichols in one of his valuable collections. STEEVENS.

* *Pet.* O God! have I overcome mine enemies in this
 * presence? O Peter, thou hast prevail'd in right!

K. Hen. Go, take hence that traitor from our fight;
 For, by his death, we do perceive his guilt:⁴
 And God, in justice, hath reveal'd to us
 The truth and innocence of this poor fellow,
 Which he had thought to have murder'd wrongfully.—
 Come, fellow, follow us for thy reward. [Exeunt.]

SCENE IV.

The same. A street.

Enter GLOSTER and Servants, in mourning cloaks.

* *Glo.* Thus sometimes, hath the brightest day a cloud;
 * And, after summer, evermore succeeds
 * Barren winter, with his wrathful nipping cold:
 * So cares and joys abound, as seasons fleet.⁵—
 Sirs, what's o'clock?

Serv. Ten, my lord.

* *Glo.* Ten is the hour that was appointed me,
 * To watch the coming of my punish'd duchess:
 * Uneath⁶ may she endure the flinty streets,
 * To tread them with her tender-feeling feet.
 Sweet Nell, ill can thy noble mind abrook
 The abject people, gazing on thy face,
 With envious⁷ looks still laughing at thy shame;
 That erst did follow thy proud chariot wheels,
 When thou didst ride in triumph through the streets.

* But

⁴ According to the ancient usage of the duel, the vanquished person not only lost his life but his reputation, and his death was always regarded as a certain evidence of his guilt. BOWLE.

⁵ To *fleet* is to change. STEEVENS.

Dr. Johnson in his Dictionary supposes to *fleet* (as here used) to be the same as to *flit*; that is, to be in a flux or transient state; to pass away.

MALONE.

⁶ *Uneath*—] i. e. Scarcely. POPE.

⁷ i. e. malicious. STEEVENS.

- * But, soft ! I think she comes ; and I'll prepare
- * My tear-stain'd eyes to see her miseries.

Enter the Duchess of GLOSTER, in a white sheet, with papers pinn'd upon her back, her feet bare, and a taper burning in her hand; Sir John Stanley, a sheriff, and officers.

Serv. So please your grace, we'll take her from the sheriff.

* *Glo.* No, stir not, for your lives ; let her pass by.

Duch. Come you, my lord, to see my open shame ?
Now thou dost penance too. Look, how they gaze !

- * See, how the giddy multitude do point,
 - * And nod their heads, and throw their eyes on thee !
 - * Ah, Gloster, hide thee from their hateful looks ;
 - * And, in thy closet pent up, rue my shame,
- And ban thine enemies, both mine and thine.

Glo. Be patient, gentle Nell ; forget this grief.

Duch. Ah, Gloster, teach me to forget myself :

For, whilst I think I am thy married wife,
And thou a prince, protector of this land,
* Methinks, I should not thus be led along,
Mail'd up in shame,⁸ with papers on my back ;

- * And follow'd with a rabble, that rejoice
- * To see my tears, and hear my deep-fet⁹ groans.

The ruthless flint doth cut my tender feet ;
And, when I start, the envious people laugh,
And bid me be advised how I tread.

* Ah, Humphrey, can I bear this shameful yoke ?

* Trow'st thou, that e'er I'll look upon the world ;

* Or count them happy, that enjoy the sun ?

* No ; dark shall be my light, and night my day ;

* To think upon my pomp, shall be my hell.

Sometime I'll say, I am duke Humphrey's wife ;

And he a prince, and ruler of the land :

Yet so he rul'd, and such a prince he was,

As

⁸ Wrapped up ; bundled up in disgrace ; alluding to the sheet of penance. JOHNSON.

⁹ i. e. deep-fetched. STEEVENS.

As he stood by, whilst I, his forlorn duchess,
 ' Was made a wonder, and a pointing-stock,
 To every idle rascal follower.
 But be thou mild, and blush not at my shame;
 Nor stir at nothing, till the axe of death
 Hang over thee, as, sure, it shortly will.
 For Suffolk,—he that can do all in all
 ' With her, that hateth thee, and hates us all,—
 And York, and impious Beaufort, that fa' ~ est,
 Have all lim'd bushes to betray thy wings
 And, fly thou how thou canst, they'll tangle thee :
 * But fear not thou, until thy foot be snar'd,
 * Nor never seek prevention of thy foes.
 * *Glo.* Ah, Nell, forbear; thou aimest all awry;
 * I must offend, before I be attainted :
 * And had I twenty times so many foes,
 * And each of them had twenty times their power,
 * All these could not procure me any scathe,²
 * So long as I am loyal, true, and crimeless.
 ' Would'st have me rescue thee from this reproach ?
 ' Why, yet thy scandal were not wip'd away,
 ' But I in danger for the breach of law.
 ' Thy greatest help is quiet,³ gentle Nell :
 ' I pray thee, fort thy heart to patience;
 ' These few days' wonder will be quickly worn.

Enter a Herald.

Her. I summon your grace to his majesty's parliament,
 holden at Bury the first of this next month.

Glo. And my consent ne'er ask'd herein before !
 This is close dealing.—Well, I will be there.

[*Exit Herald.*

My Nell, I take my leave :—and, master sheriff,
 Let not her penance exceed the king's commission.

' *Sher.* An't please your grace, here my commission stays :
 ' And

² *Scathe* is harm, or mischief. Chaucer, Spenser, and all our ancient writers, are frequent in their use of this word. STEEVENS.

³ The poet has not endeavoured to raise much compassion for the duchess, who indeed suffers but what she had deserved. JOHNSON.

‘ And fir John Stanley is appointed now

‘ To take her with him to the isle of Man.

‘ *Glo.* Must you, fir John, protect my lady here?

‘ *Stan.* So am I given in charge, may’t please your grace.

Glo. Entreat her not the worse, in that I pray
You use her well; the world may laugh ⁴ again;
And I may live to do you kindness, if
You do it her. And so, fir John, farewell.

Duch. What gone, my lord; and bid me not farewell?

‘ *Glo.* Witness my tears, I cannot stay to speak.

[*Exeunt GLOSTER and Servants.*

‘ *Duch.* Art thou gone too? * All comfort go with thee!

* For none abides with me: my joy is—death;

* Death, at whose name I oft have been afraid,

* Because I wish’d this world’s eternity.—

‘ Stanley, I pr’ythee, go, and take me hence;

‘ I care not whither, for I beg no favour,

‘ Only convey me where thou art commanded.

* *Stan.* Why, madam, that is to the isle of Man;

* There to be us’d according to your state.

* *Duch.* That’s bad enough, for I am but reproach:

* And shall I then be us’d reproachfully?

* *Stan.* Like to a duchess, and duke Humphrey’s lady,

* According to that state you shall be us’d.

‘ *Duch.* Sheriff, farewell, and better than I fare;

‘ Although thou hast been conduct of my shame!⁵

‘ *Sher.* It is my office; and, madam, pardon me.

‘ *Duch.* Ay, ay, farewell; thy office is discharg’d.—

‘ Come, Stanley, shall we go?

‘ *Stan.* Madam, your penance done, throw off this sheet:

‘ And go we to attire you for our journey.

‘ *Duch.* My shame will not be shifted with my sheet:

* No, it will hang upon my richest robes,

* And show itself, attire me how you can.

* Go, lead the way; I long to see my prison.⁶

[*Exeunt.*
A C T

⁴ That is, The world may look again favourably upon me. JOHNSON.

⁵ i. e. conductor. STEEVENS.

⁶ This impatience of a high spirit is very natural. It is not so dreadful to be imprisoned, as it is desirable in a state of disgrace to be sheltered from the scorn of gazers. JOHNSON.

ACT III. SCENE I.

The Abbey at Bury.

Enter to the parliament, King HENRY, Queen MARGARET, Cardinal BEAUFORT, SUFFOLK, YORK, BUCKINGHAM, and Others.

- *K. Hen.* I muse, my lord of Gloster is not come:
 • 'Tis not his wont to be the hindmost man,
 • Whate'er occasion keeps him from us now.
 • *Q. Mar.* Can you not see? or will you not observe
 • The strangeness of his alter'd countenance?
 • With what a majesty he bears himself;
 • How insolent of late he is become,
 • How proud, peremptory, and unlike himself?
 • We know the time, since he was mild and affable;
 • And, if we did but glance a far-off look,
 • Immediately he was upon his knee,
 • That all the court admir'd him for submission:
 • But meet him now, and, be it in the morn,
 • When every one will give the time of day,
 • He knits his brow, and shows an angry eye,
 • And passeth by with stiff unbowed knee,
 • Disdaining duty that to us belongs.
 • Small curs are not regarded, when they grin;
 • But great men tremble, when the lion roars;
 • And Humphrey is no little man in England.
 • First, note, that he is near you in descent;
 • And, should you fall, he is the next will mount.
 • Me seemeth⁷ then, it is no policy,—
 • Respecting what a rancorous mind he bears,
 • And his advantage following your decease,—
 • That he should come about your royal person,
 • Or be admitted to your highness' council.
 • By flattery hath he won the commons' hearts;
 • And, when he please to make commotion,

• 'Tis

⁷ That is, it seemeth to me, a word more grammatical than *methinks*, which has, I know not how, intruded into its place. JOHNSON.

'Tis to be fear'd, they all will follow him.
 Now 'tis the spring, and weeds are shallow-rooted;
 Suffer them now, and they'll o'ergrow the garden,
 And choke the herbs for want of husbandry.
 The reverent care, I bear unto my lord,
 Made me collect⁸ these dangers in the duke.
 If it be fond,⁹ call it a woman's fear;
 Which fear if better reasons can supplant,
 I will subscribe, and say—I wrong'd the duke.
 My lord of Suffolk,—Buckingham,—and York,—
 Reprove my allegation, if you can;
 Or else conclude my words effectual.

Suf. Well hath your highness seen into the duke;
 And, had I first been put to speak my mind,
 I think, I should have told your grace's tale.²

* The duchess, by his subornation,
 * Upon my life, began her devilish practices:
 * Or if he were not privy to those faults,
 * Yet, by reputed of his high descent,
 * (As next the king, he was successive heir,)
 * And such high vaunts of his nobility,
 * Did instigate the bedlam brainfick duchess,
 * By wicked means to frame our sovereign's fall.
 Smooth runs the water, where the brook is deep;
 * And in his simple show he harbours treason.
 The fox barks not, when he would steal the lamb.
 No, no, my sovereign; Gloster is a man
 Unfounded yet, and full of deep deceit.

* *Gar.* Did he not, contrary to form of law,
 * Devise strange deaths for small offences done?
York. And did he not, in his protectorship,
 * Levy great sums of money through the realm,
 * For soldiers' pay in France, and never sent it?
 * By means whereof, the towns each day revolted.

Buck. Tut! these are petty faults to faults unknown,

* Which

⁸ i. e. assemble by observation. STEEVENS.

⁹ i. e. weak, foolish. STEEVENS.

² Suffolk uses *highness* and *grace* promiscuously to the queen. *Majesty* was not the settled title till the time of king James the First.

JOHNSON.

- * Which time will bring to light in smooth duke Humphrey,
 * *K. Hen.* My lords, at once : The care you have of us,
 * To mow down thorns that would annoy our foot,
 * Is worthy praise : But shall I speak my conscience ?
 * Our kinsman Gloster is as innocent
 * From meaning treason to our royal person,
 * As is the sucking lamb, or harmless dove :
 * The duke is virtuous, mild ; and too well given,
 * To dream on evil, or to work my downfall.
 * *2. Mar.* Ah, what's more dangerous than this fond
 affiance !
 * Seems he a dove ? his feathers are but borrow'd,
 * For he's disposed as the hateful raven.
 * Is he a lamb ? his skin is surely lent him,
 * For he's inclin'd as are the ravenous wolves.
 * Who cannot steal a shape, that means deceit ?
 * Take heed, my lord ; the welfare of us all
 * Hangs on the cutting short that fraudulent man,

Enter SOMERSET.

- * *Som.* All health unto my gracious sovereign !
K. Hen. Welcome, lord Somerset. What news from
 France ?
 * *Som.* That all your interest in those territories
 * Is utterly bereft you ; all is lost.
K. Hen. Cold news, lord Somerset : But God's will be
 done !
York. Cold news for me ;³ for I had hope of France,
 As firmly as I hope for fertile England.
 * Thus are my blossoms blasted in the bud,
 * And caterpillars eat my leaves away :
 * But I will remedy this gear ⁴ ere long,
 * Or sell my title for a glorious grave. [*Aside.*

³ These two lines York had spoken before in the first act of this play. He is now meditating on his disappointment, and comparing his former hopes with his present loss. STEEVENS.

⁴ *Gear* was a general word for things or matters. JOHNSON.

Enter

Enter GLOSTER.

* *Glo.* All happiness unto my lord the king !
Pardon, my liege, that I have staid so long.

Suff. Nay, Gloster, know, that thou art come too soon,
‘ Unless thou wert more loyal than thou art :
I do arrest thee of high treason here.

Glo. Well, Suffolk, yet thou shalt not see me blush,
Nor change my countenance for this arrest ;

* A heart unspotted is not easily daunted.

* The purest spring is not so free from mud,

* As I am clear from treason to my sovereign :

Who can accuse me ? wherein am I guilty ?

York. ’Tis thought, my lord, that you took bribes of
France,

And, being protector, stay’d the soldiers’ pay ;

By means whereof, his highness hath lost France.

Glo. Is it but thought so ? What are they, that think it ?

‘ I never robb’d the soldiers of their pay,

‘ Nor ever had one penny bribe from France.

‘ So help me God, as I have watch’d the night,—

‘ Ay, night by night,—in studying good for England !

‘ That do it that e’er I wrested from the king,

‘ Or any groat I hoarded to my use,

‘ Be brought against me at my trial day !

‘ No ! many a pound of mine own proper store,

‘ Because I would not tax the needy commons,

‘ Have I dispursed to the garrisons,

‘ And never ask’d for restitution,

* *Car.* It serves you well, my lord, to say so much,

* *Glo.* I say no more than truth, so help me God !

York. In your protectorship, you did devise
Strange tortures for offenders, never heard of,
‘ That England was defam’d by tyranny.

Glo. Why, ’tis well known, that whiles I was protector,
Pity was all the fault that was in me ;

* For I should melt at an offender’s tears,

* And lowly words were ransom for their fault,

‘ Unless it were a bloody murderer,

‘ Or

‘ Or foul felonious thief, that fleec’d poor passengers,
 ‘ I never gave them cóndign punishment :
 ‘ Murder, indeed, that bloody sin, I tortur’d
 ‘ Above the felon, or what trespass else.

‘ *Suf.* My lord, these faults are easy,⁵ quickly answer’d ;
 ‘ But mightier crimes are laid unto your charge,
 ‘ Whereof you cannot easily purge yourself.
 ‘ I do arrest you in his highness’ name ;
 ‘ And here commit you to my lord cardinal
 ‘ To keep, until your further time of trial:

‘ *K. Hen.* My lord of Gloster, ’tis my special hope,
 ‘ That you will clear yourself from all suspects ;
 My conscience tells me, you are innocent.

Glo. Ah, gracious lord, these days are dangerous !

* Virtue is chok’d with foul ambition,
 * And charity chas’d hence by rancour’s hand ;
 * Foul subornation is predominant,
 * And equity exil’d your highness’ land.
 * I know, their complot is to have my life ;
 ‘ And, if my death might make this island happy,
 ‘ And prove the period of their tyranny,
 ‘ I would expend it with all willingness :
 ‘ But mine is made the prologue to their play ;
 ‘ For thousands more, that yet suspect no peril,
 ‘ Will not conclude their plotted tragedy.
 ‘ Beaufort’s red sparkling eyes blab his heart’s malice,
 ‘ And Suffolk’s cloudy brow his stormy hate ;
 ‘ Sharp Buckingham unburdens with his tongue
 ‘ The envious load that lies upon his heart ;
 ‘ And dogged York, that reaches at the moon,
 ‘ Whose overweening arm I have pluck’d back,
 ‘ By false accuse ⁶ doth level at my life :—
 ‘ And you, my fovereign lady, with the rest,
 ‘ Causeless have laid disgraces on my head ;
 * And, with your best endeavour, have stirr’d up

* My

⁵ *Easy* is slight, inconsiderable, as in other passages of this author.

JOHNSON.

The word no doubt, means—*easily*. RITSON.

This explanation is, I believe, the true one. *Easy* is an adjective used adverbially. STEEVENS.

⁶ i. e. accusation. STEEVENS.

* My liefest ⁷ liege to be mine enemy :
 * Ay, all of you have laid your heads together,
 * Myself had notice of your conventicles,
 * And all to make away my guiltless life :
 ' I shall not want false witness to condemn me,
 ' Nor store of treasons to augment my guilt ;
 ' The ancient proverb will be effected,—
 A staff is quickly found to beat a dog.

* *Car.* My liege, his railing is intolerable :
 * If those, that care to keep your royal person
 * From treason's secret knife, and traitors' rage,
 * Be thus upbraided, chid, and rated at,
 * And the offender granted scope of speech,
 * 'Twill make them cool in zeal unto your grace.

Suf. Hath he not twit our sovereign lady here,
 ' With ignominious words, though clerkly couch'd,
 ' As if she had suborned some to swear
 ' False allegations to o'erthrow his state ?

' *Q. Mar.* But I can give the loser leave to chide.

Glo. Far truer spoke, than meant : I lose indeed ;—
 ' Beshrew the winners, for they play'd me false !—
 * And well such losers may have leave to speak.

Buck. He'll wrest the sense, and hold us here all day :—
 ' Lord cardinal, he is your prisoner.

' *Car.* Sirs, take away the duke, and guard him sure.

Glo. Ah, thus king Henry throws away his crutch,
 Before his legs be firm to bear his body :

' Thus is the shepherd beaten from thy side,
 ' And wolves are gnarling who shall gnaw thee first.
 ' Ah, that my fear were false ! ⁸ ah, that it were !
 ' For, good king Henry, thy decay I fear.

[*Exeunt Attendants, with GLOSTER.*

K. Hen. My lords, what to your wisdoms seemeth best,
 Do, or undo, as if ourself were here.

Q. Mar.

⁷ — *liefest* —] Is *dearest*. JOHNSON.

⁸ The variation is here worth noting. In the original play, instead of these two lines, we have the following :

“ Farewell my sovereign : long may'st thou enjoy
 “ Thy father's happy days, free from annoy ! ” MALONE.

Q. Mar. What, will your highness leave the parliament?

K. Hen. Ay, Margaret; ⁹ my heart is drown'd with grief,

* Whose flood begins to flow within mine eyes;

* My body round engirt with misery;

* For what's more miserable than discontent?—

* Ah, uncle Humphrey! in thy face I see

* The map of honour, truth, and loyalty;

* And yet, good Humphrey, is the hour to come,

* That e'er I prov'd thee false, or fear'd thy faith.

* What low'ring star now envies thy estate,

* That these great lords, and Margaret our queen,

* Do seek subversion of thy harmless life?

* Thou never didst them wrong, nor no man wrong:

* And as the butcher takes away the calf,

* And binds the wretch, and beats it when it strays,²

* Bearing

⁹ Of this speech the only traces in the quarto are the following lines. In the king's speech a line seems to be lost:

Queen. What, will your highness leave the parliament?

King. Yea, Margaret; my heart is kill'd with grief;

* * * * *

Where I may sit and sigh in endless moan,

For who's a traitor, Gloster he is none.

If therefore, according to the conjecture already suggested, these plays were originally the composition of another author, the speech before us belongs to Shakspeare. It is observable that one of the expressions in it is found in his *Richard II.* and in *The Rape of Lucrece*; and in perusing the subsequent lines one cannot help recollecting the trade which his father has by some been supposed to have followed. MALONE.

² But how can it *stray* when it is *bound*? The poet certainly intended when it *strives*; i. e. when it struggles to get loose. And so he elsewhere employs this word. THIRLBY.

This emendation is admitted by the succeeding editors, and I had once put it in the text. I am, however, inclined to believe that in this passage, as in many, there is a confusion of ideas, and that the poet had at once before him a butcher carrying a calf bound, and a butcher driving a calf to the slaughter, and beating him when he did not keep the path. Part of the line was suggested by one image, and part by another, so that *strive* is the best word, but *stray* is the right. JOHNSON.

There needs no alteration. It is common for butchers to tie a rope or halter about the neck of a calf when they take it away from the breeder's farm, and to beat it gently if it attempts to stray from the direct road. The duke of Gloster is borne away like the calf, that is, he is taken away upon his feet; but he is not carried away as a burthen on horseback, or upon men's shoulders, or in their hands. TOLLET.

* Bearing it to the bloody slaughter-house ;
 * Even so, remorseless, have they borne him hence.
 * And as the dam runs lowing up and down,
 * Looking the way her harmless young one went,
 * And can do nought but wail her darling's loss ;
 * Even so myself bewails good Gloster's case,
 * With sad unhelpful tears ; and with dimm'd eyes
 * Look after him, and cannot do him good ;
 * So mighty are his vowed enemies.
 * His fortunes I will weep ; and, 'twixt each groan,
 * Say—*Who's a traitor, Gloster he is none.* [Exit.
 * *Q. Mar.* Free lords,³ cold snow melts with the sun's hot
 beams.

* Henry my lord is cold in great affairs,
 * Too full of foolish pity : and Gloster's show
 * Beguiles him, as the mournful crocodile
 * With sorrow snares relenting passengers ;
 * Or as the snake, roll'd in a flowering bank,⁴
 * With shining checker'd slough, doth sting a child,
 * That, for the beauty, thinks it excellent.
 * Believe me, lords, were none more wise than I,
 * (And yet, herein, I judge mine own wit good,)
 * This Gloster should be quickly rid the world,
 * To rid us from the fear we have of him.
 * *Car.* That he should die, is worthy policy ;
 * But yet we want a colour for his death :
 * 'Tis meet, he be condemn'd by course of law.
 * *Suf.* But, in my mind, that were no policy :
 * The king will labour still to save his life,
 * The commons haply rise to save his life ;
 * And we yet have but trivial argument,
 * More than mistrust, that shows him worthy death.
 * *York.* So that, by this, you would not have him die.
 * *Suf.* Ah, York, no man alive so fain as I.

³ By this she means (as may be seen by the sequel) you, who are not bound up to such precise regards of religion as is the king ; but are men of the world, and know how to live. **WARBURTON.**

⁴ i. e. in the flowers growing on a bank. Some of the modern editions read unnecessarily—*on a flowering bank.* **MALONE.**

- * *York.* 'Tis York that hath more reason for his death.⁵—
 * But, my lord cardinal, and you, my lord of Suffolk,—
 * Say as you think, and speak it from your souls,—
 * Wer't not all one, an empty eagle were set
 * To guard the chicken from a hungry kite,
 * As place duke Humphrey for the king's protector?
Q. Mar. So the poor chicken should be sure of death.
Suf. Madam, tis true: And wer't not madness then,
 * To make the fox surveyor of the fold?
 * Who being accus'd a crafty murderer,
 * His guilt should be but idly posted over,
 * Because his purpose is not executed.
 * No; let him die, in that he is a fox,
 * By nature prov'd an enemy to the flock,
 * Before his claps be stain'd with crimson blood;
 * As Humphrey, prov'd by reasons, to my liege.⁶

And

⁵ Why York had more reason than the rest for desiring Humphrey's death, is not very clear; he had only decided the deliberation about the regency of France in favour of Somerset. JOHNSON.

York had more reason, because duke Humphrey stood between him and the crown, which he had proposed to himself as the termination of his ambitious views. STEEVENS.

See Sir John Fenn's Observations on the duke of Suffolk's death, in the collection of *The Paston Letters*, Vol. I. p. 48. HENLEY.

⁶ The meaning of the speaker is not hard to be discovered, but his expression is very much perplexed. He means that the fox may be lawfully killed, as being known to be by nature an enemy to sheep, even before he has actually killed them; so Humphrey may be properly destroyed, as being proved by arguments to be the king's enemy, before he has committed any actual crime.

Some may be tempted to read *treasons* for *reasons*, but the drift of the argument is to show that there may be *reason* to kill him before any *treason* has broken out. JOHNSON.

This passage, as Johnson justly observes, is perplexed, but the perplexity arises from an error that ought to be corrected, which it may be by the change of a single letter. What is it that Humphrey proved by reasons to the king?—This line, as it stands, is absolutely nonsense:—But if we read Humphrey's, instead of Humphrey, and *reason* instead of reasons, the letter *s* having been transferred through inadvertency from one word to the other, the meaning of Suffolk will be clearly expressed; and if we enclose also the third line in a parenthesis, the passage will scarcely require either explanation or comment:

No;

- * And do not stand on quillies, how to slay him :
 * Be it by gins, by snares, by subtilty,
 * Sleeping, or waking, 'tis no matter how,
 * So he be dead ; for that is good deceit
 * Which mates him first, that first intends deceit.⁷
 * *Q. Mar.* Thrice-noble Suffolk, 'tis resolutely spoke.
 * *Suf.* Not resolute, except so much were done ;
 * For things are often spoke, and seldom meant :
 * But, that my heart accordeth with my tongue,—
 * Seeing the deed is meritorious,
 * And to preserve my fovereign from his foe,—
 * Say but the word, and I will be his priest.⁸
 * *Car.* But I would have him dead, my lord of Suffolk,
 * Ere you can take due orders for a priest :
 * Say, you consent, and censure well the deed,⁹
 * And I'll provide his executioner,
 * I tender so the safety of my liege.
 * *Suf.* Here is my hand, the deed is worthy doing.
 * *Q. Mar.* And so say I.
 * *York.* And I : and now we three have spoke it,
 * It skills not ² greatly who impugns our doom.

Enter

No ; let him die, in that he is a fox,
 By nature prov'd an enemy to the flock,
 (Before his chaps be stained with crimson blood)
 As Humphrey's prov'd by reason to my liege.

Suffolk's argument is this:—As Humphrey is the next heir to the crown, it is as imprudent to make him protector to the king, as it would be to make the fox surveyor of the fold ; and as we kill a fox before he has actually worried any of the sheep, because we know that by nature he is an enemy to the flock, so we should get rid of Humphrey, because we know that he must be by *reason* an enemy to the king. M. MASON.

⁷ *Mates* him means—that first puts an end to his moving. To *mate* is a term in chess, used when the king is stopped from moving, and an end put to the game. PERCY.

Mates him, means *confounds* him ; from *amahir* or *mater*, French. To *mate* is no term in chess. *Cbeck mate*, the term alluded to, is a corruption of the Persian *schab mat* ; the king is killed. RITSON.

To *mate*, I believe, means here as in many other places in our author's plays, to confound or destroy ; from *matar*, Span. to kill. MALONE.

⁸ I will be the attendant on his last scene ; I will be the last man whom he will see. JOHNSON.

⁹ That is, approve the deed, judge the deed good. JOHNSON.

² It is of no importance. JOHNSON.

Enter a Messenger.

‘ *Mes.* Great lords, from Ireland am I come amain,
 ‘ To signify—that rebels there are up,
 ‘ And put the Englishmen unto the sword :
 * Send succours, lords, and stop the rage betime,
 * Before the wound do grow uncurable ;
 * For, being green, there is great hope of help.

* *Car.* A breach, that craves a quick expedient stop !
 ‘ What counsel give you in this weighty cause ?

‘ *York.* That Somerset be sent as regent thither :
 ‘ ’Tis meet, that lucky ruler be employ’d ;
 ‘ Witness the fortune he hath had in France.

‘ *Som.* If York, with all his far-fet policy,
 ‘ Had been the regent there instead of me,
 ‘ He never would have staid in France so long.

‘ *York.* No, not to lose it all, as thou hast done :
 ‘ I rather would have lost my life betimes,

* Than bring a burden of dishonour home,
 * By staying there so long, till all were lost.
 * Show me one scar character’d on thy skin :
 * Men’s flesh preserv’d so whole, do seldom win.

* *Q. Mar.* Nay then, this spark will prove a raging fire,
 * If wind and fuel be brought to feed it with :—
 * No more, good York ;—sweet Somerset, be still ;—
 * Thy fortune, York, hadst thou been regent there,
 * Might happily have prov’d far worse than his.

York. What, worse than naught ? nay, then a shame
 take all !

‘ *Som.* And, in the number, thee, that wishest shame !

‘ *Car.* My lord of York, try what your fortune is.
 ‘ The uncivil Kernes of Ireland are in arms,
 ‘ And temper clay with the blood of Englishmen :
 ‘ To Ireland will you lead a band of men,
 ‘ Collected choicely, from each county some,
 ‘ And try your hap against the Irishmen ?

* *York.* I will, my lord, so please his majesty.

* *Suf.* Why, our authority is his consent ;
 * And, what we do establish, he confirms :
 * Then, noble York, take thou this task in hand.

‘ *York.*

‘ *York.* I am content: Provide me soldiers, lords,
‘ Whiles I take order for mine own affairs.

‘ *Suf.* A charge, lord York, that I will see perform’d.
‘ But now return we to the false duke Humphrey.

‘ *Car.* No more of him; for I will deal with him,
‘ That, henceforth, he shall trouble us no more.

‘ And so break off; the day is almost spent:

‘ Lord Suffolk, you and I must talk of that event.

‘ *York.* My lord of Suffolk, within fourteen days,

‘ At Bristol I expect my soldiers;

‘ For there I’ll ship them all for Ireland.

‘ *Suf.* I’ll see it truly done, my lord of York.

[*Exeunt all but YORK.*]

‘ *York.* Now, York, or never, steel thy fearful thoughts,
‘ And change misdoubt to resolution:

* Be that thou hop’st to be; or what thou art

* Resign to death, it is not worth the enjoying:

* Let pale-fac’d fear keep with the mean-born man,

* And find no harbour in a royal heart.

* Faster than spring-time showers, comes thought on thought;

* And not a thought, but thinks on dignity.

* My brain, more busy than the labouring spider,

* Weaves tedious snares to trap mine enemies.

* Well, nobles, well; ’tis politickly done,

* To send me packing with an host of men:

* I fear me, you but warm the starved snake,

* Who, cherish’d in your breasts, will sting your hearts.

‘ Twas men I lack’d, and you will give them me:

‘ I take it kindly; yet, be well assur’d

‘ You put sharp weapons in a madman’s hands.

‘ Whiles I in Ireland nourish a mighty band,

* I will stir up in England some black storm,

* Shall blow ten thousand souls to heaven, or hell:

* And this fell tempest shall not cease to rage

* Until the golden circuit on my head,

* Like to the glorious sun’s transparent beams,

* Do calm the fury of this mad-bred flaw.³

‘ And, for a minister of my intent,

‘ I have

³ *Flaw* is a sudden violent gust of wind. JOHNSON.

- * I have seduc'd a head strong Kentishman,
- * John Cade of Ashford,
- * To make commotion, as full well he can,
- * Under the title of John Mortimer.
- * In Ireland have I seen this stubborn Cade
- * Oppose himself against a troop of Kernes; ⁴
- * And fought so long, till that his thighs with darts
- * Were almost like a sharp-quill'd porcupine:
- * And, in the end being rescu'd, I have seen him
- * Caper upright like a wild Mórisco, ⁵
- * Shaking the bloody darts, as he his bells.
- * Full often, like a shag-hair'd crafty kern,
- * Hath he conversed with the enemy;
- * And undiscover'd come to me again,
- * And given me notice of their villainies.
- * This devil here shall be my substitute;
- * For that John Mortimer, which now is dead,
- * In face, in gait, in speech he doth resemble:
- * By this I shall perceive the commons' mind,
- * How they affect the house and claim of York.
- * Say, he be taken, rack'd, and tortured;
- * I know, no pain, they can inflict upon him,
- * Will make him say—I mov'd him to those arms.
- * Say, that he thrive, (as 'tis great like he will,)
 - * Why,

⁴ Light-armed Irish foot-soldiers. STEEVENS.

⁵ A Moor in a military dance, now called Morris, that is, a Moorish dance. JOHNSON.

The *Morris-dance* was the *Tripudium Mauritanicum*, a kind of hornpipe. In the churchwardens' accompts of the parish of St. Helen's in Abington, Berkshire, from the first year of the reign of Philip and Mary, to the thirty-fourth of queen Elizabeth, the *Morrice* bells are mentioned. Anno 1560, the third of Elizabeth,—“For two doffin of *Morres* bells.” As these appear to have been purchased by the community, we may suppose this diversion was constantly practised at their publick festivals. See (in the last octavo edition) the plate of *Morris-dancers* at the end of the first part of *K. Henry IV.* with Mr. Tollet's remarks annexed to it.

STEEVENS.

The editor of *The Sad Shepherd*, 8vo. 1783, p. 255, mentions seeing a company of morrice-dancers from Abington, at Richmond in Surrey, so late as the summer of 1783. They appeared to be making a kind of annual circuit. REED.

- * Why, then from Ireland come I with my strength,
- * And reap the harvest which that rascal sow'd :
- * For, Humphrey being dead, as he shall be,
- * And Henry put apart, the next for me.

[Exit.

SCENE II.

Bury. *A Room in the Palace.**Enter certain Murderers, hastily.*

- * 1. *Mur.* Run to my lord of Suffolk ; let him know,
- * We have despatch'd the duke, as he commanded.
- * 2. *Mur.* O, that it were to do !—What have we done ?
- * Didst ever hear a man so penitent ?

Enter SUFFOLK.

- * 1. *Mur.* Here comes my lord.
- * *Suf.* Now, firs, have you
Despatch'd this thing ?
- * 1. *Mur.* Ay, my good lord, he's dead.
- * *Suf.* Why, that's well said. Go, get you to my house ;
I will reward you for this venturous deed.
- * The king and all the peers are here at hand :—
- * Have you laid fair the bed ? are all things well,
- * According as I gave directions ?
- * 1. *Mur.* 'Tis, my good lord.
- * *Suf.* Away, be gone !

[Exeunt Murderers.

Enter King HENRY, Queen MARGARET, Cardinal BEAUFORT, SOMERSET, Lords, and Others.

- * *K. Hen.* Go, call our uncle to our presence straight :
- * Say, we intend to try his grace to-day,
- * If he be guilty, as 'tis published.
- * *Suf.* I'll call him presently, my noble lord. [Exit.
- * *K. Hen.* Lords, take your places ;—And, I pray you all,
- * Proceed no straiter 'gainst our uncle Gloster,

- Than from true evidence, of good esteem,
- He be approv'd in practice culpable.
- * *Q. Mar.* God forbid, any malice should prevail,
- * That faultless may condemn a nobleman!
- * Pray God, he may acquit him of suspicion!
- * *K. Hen.* I thank thee, Margaret; these words content me much.⁶—

Re-enter SUFFOLK.

- How now? why look'st thou pale? why tremblest thou?
 - Where is our uncle? what is the matter, Suffolk?
 - Suf.* Dead in his bed, my lord; Gloster is dead.
 - * *Q. Mar.* Marry, God forefend!
 - * *Car.* God's secret judgement:—I did dream to-n'ight,
 - * The duke was dumb, and could not speak a word.
- [*The king swoons.*]
- *Q. Mar.* How fares my lord?—Help, lords! the king is dead.

* *Som.*

⁶ *I thank thee, Margaret; &c.]* In former editions:

I thank thee, Nell, these words content me much.

This is king Henry's reply to his wife Margaret. There can be no reason why he should forget his own wife's name, and call her Nell instead of Margaret. As the change of a single letter sets all right, I am willing to suppose it came from his pen thus:

I thank thee. Well, these words content me much.

THEOBALD.

It has been observed by two or three commentators, that it is no way extraordinary the king should forget his wife's name, as it appears in no less than three places that she forgets it herself, calling herself Eleanor. It has also been said, that, if any contraction of the real name is used, it should be *M: g.* All this is very true; but as an alteration must be made, Theobald's is just as good, and as probable, as any other. I have, therefore, retained it, and wish it could have been done with propriety without a note. REED.

Though the king could not well forget his wife's name, either Shakspeare or the transcriber might. That *Nell* is not a mistake of the press for *Well*, is clear from a subsequent speech of the queen's in this scene, where *Eleanor*, the name of the Duchess of Gloster, is again *three times* printed instead of *Margaret*. No reason can be assigned why the proper correction should be made in all those places, and not here. MALONE.

I have admitted Mr. Malone's correction; and yet must remark, that while it is favourable to sense it is injurious to metre. STEEVENS.

* *Som.* Rear up his body; wring him by the nose.⁷

* *Q. Mar.* Run, go, help, help!—O, Henry, ope thine eyes!

* *Suf.* He doth revive again;—Madam, be patient.

* *K. Hen.* O heavenly God!

* *Q. Mar.* How fares my gracious lord?

Suf. Comfort, my sovereign! gracious Henry, comfort!

K. Hen. What, doth my lord of Suffolk comfort me?

Came he right now ⁸ to sing a raven's note,

* Whose dismal tune bereft my vital powers;

And thinks he, that the chirping of a wren,

‘ By crying comfort from a hollow breast,

‘ Can chase away the first-conceived sound?

* Hide not thy poison with such sugar'd words.

* Lay not thy hands on me; forbear, I say;

* Their touch affrights me, as a serpent's sting.

Thou baleful messenger, out of my sight!

‘ Upon thy eye-balls murderous tyranny

‘ Sits, in grim majesty, to fright the world.

‘ Look not upon me, for thine eyes are wounding:—

‘ Yet do not go away;—Come, basilisk,

‘ And kill the innocent gazer with thy sight:

* For in the shade of death I shall find joy;

* In life, but double death, now Gloster's dead.

Q. Mar. Why do you rate my lord of Suffolk thus?

* Although the duke was enemy to him,

* Yet he, most christian-like, laments his death:

* And for myself,—foe as he was to me,

* Might liquid tears, or heart-offending groans,

* Or blood-consuming sighs recall his life,

* I would be blind with weeping, sick with groans,

* Look pale as primrose, with blood-drinking sighs,

* And all to have the noble duke alive.

‘ What know I how the world may deem of me?

‘ For

⁷ As nothing further is spoken either by *Somerſet* or the *Cardinal*, or by any one else to ſhow that they continue in the preſence, it is to be preſumed that they take advantage of the confuſion occaſioned by the King's ſwooning, and ſlip out unperceived. The next news we hear of the *Cardinal*, he is at the point of death. RITSON.

⁸ Juſt now, even now. JOHNSON.

- ‘ For it is known, we were but hollow friends;
 ‘ It may be judg’d, I made the duke away:
 * So shall my name with slander’s tongue be wounded,
 * And princes’ courts be fill’d with my reproach.
 * This get I by his death: Ah me, unhappy!
 * To be a queen, and crown’d with infamy!

‘ *K. Hen.* Ah, woe is me for Gloster, wretched man!

Q. Mar. Be woe for me,⁹ more wretched than he is.

What, dost thou turn away, and hide thy face?

I am no loathsome leper, look on me.

* What, art thou, like the adder, waxen deaf?²

* Be poisonous too, and kill thy forlorn queen.

* Is all thy comfort shut in Gloster’s tomb?

* Why, then dame Margaret was ne’er thy joy:

* Erect his statue then, and worship it,

* And make my image but an alehouse sign.

Was I, for this, nigh wreck’d upon the sea:

‘ And twice by aukward wind from England’s bank

‘ Drove back again unto my native clime?

What boded this, but well-fore-warning wind

Did seem to say,—Seek not a scorpion’s nest,

* Nor set no footing on this unkind shore?

* What did I then, but curs’d the gentle gusts,³

* And he that loos’d them from their brazen caves;

* And bid them blow towards England’s blessed shore,

* Or turn our stern upon a dreadful rock?

* Yet Æolus would not be a murderer,

* But left that hateful office unto thee:

* The pretty vaulting sea refus’d to drown me;

* Knowing, that thou would’st have me drown’d on shore

* With tears as salt as sea through thy unkindness:

* The splitting rocks cow’r’d in the sinking sands,⁴

* And

⁹ That is, Let not woe be to thee for Gloster, but for me. JOHNSON.

² This allusion has been borrowed by many writers from the Proverbs of Solomon, and *Psalms* lviii. STEEVENS.

³ *What did I then, but curs’d the gentle gusts,*] I believe we should read—but curse the gentle gusts. M. MASON.

⁴ The sense seems to be this.—The rocks hid themselves on the sands, which sunk to receive them into their bosom. STEEVENS.

That is, the rocks whose property it is to split, shrunk into the sands, and would not dash me, &c. M. MASON.

- * And would not dash me with their ragged fides,
- * Because thy flinty heart, more hard than they,
- * Might in thy palace perish Margaret.⁵
- * And far as I could ken thy chalky cliffs,
- * When from the shore the tempest beat us back,
- * I stood upon the hatches in the storm :
- * And when the dusky sky began to rob
- * My earnest-gaping sight of thy land's view,
- * I took a costly jewel from my neck,—
- * A heart it was, bound in with diamonds,—
- * And threw it towards thy land ; the sea receiv'd it ;
- * And so, I wish'd, thy body might my heart :
- * And even with this, I lost fair England's view,
- * And bid mine eyes be packing with my heart ;
- * And call'd them blind and dusky spectacles,
- * For loosing ken of Albion's wished coast.
- * How often have I tempted Suffolk's tongue
- * (The agent of thy foul inconstancy,)
- * To fit and witch me, as Ascanius did,
- * When he to madding Dido, would unfold
- * His father's acts, commenc'd in burning Troy ?
- * Am I not witch'd like her ? or thou not false like him ?⁶
- * Ah me, I can no more ! Die, Margaret !
- * For Henry weeps, that thou dost live so long.

Noise within. Enter WARWICK and SALISBURY. The Commons press to the door.

- * *War.* It is reported, mighty sovereign,
- * That good duke Humphrey traitorously is murder'd
- * By Suffolk and the cardinal Beaufort's means.
- * The commons, like an angry hive of bees,
- * That want their leader, scatter up and down,

* And

⁵ The verb *perish* is here used actively. STEEVENS.

⁶ This line, as it stands, is nonsense. We should surely read it thus :—
Am I not witch'd like her ? *Art* thou not false like him ?

M. MASON.

The superfluity of syllables in this line induces me to suppose it stood originally thus :

Am I not witch'd like her ? thou false like him ? STEEVENS.

‘ And care not who they sting in his revenge.
 ‘ Myself have calm’d their splendid mutiny,
 ‘ Until they hear the order of his death.

K. Hen. That he is dead, good Warwick, ’tis too true ;
 But how he died, God knows, not Henry :⁷

‘ Enter his chamber, view his breathless corpse,
 ‘ And comment then upon his sudden death.

War. That I shall do, my liege :—Stay, Salisbury,
 With the rude multitude, till I return.

[Warwick goes into an inner room, and Salisbury retires.

* *K. Hen.* O thou that judgest all things, stay my thoughts;
 * My thoughts, that labour to persuade my soul,
 * Some violent hands were laid on Humphrey’s life!
 * If my suspect be false, forgive me, God ;
 * For judgement only doth belong to thee !
 * Fain would I go to chafe his paly lips
 * With twenty thousand kisses, and to drain⁸
 * Upon his face an ocean of salt tears ;
 * To tell my love unto his dumb deaf trunk,
 * And with my fingers feel his hand unfeeling :
 * But all in vain are these mean obsequies ;
 * And, to survey his dead and earthy image,
 * What were it but to make my sorrow greater ?

*The folding doors of an inner chamber are thrown open, and
 GLOSTER, is discovered dead in his bed: WARWICK and
 Others standing by it.*⁹

* *War.* Come hither, gracious sovereign, view this body.

* *K. Hen.* That is to see how deep my grave is made :

* For,

⁷ The poet commonly uses Henry as a word of three syllables.

JOHNSON.

⁸ This is one of our poet’s harsh expressions. As when a thing is drain’d, drops of water issue from it, he licentiously uses the word here in the sense of *dropping*, or *distilling*. MALONE.

Surely our author wrote *rain*, not *drain*. The discharge of a single letter furnishes what seems to me a necessary emendation. STEEVENS.

⁹ This stage-direction I have inserted as best suited to the exhibition. The stage-direction in the quarto is—“ Warwick draws the curtaines, [i. e. draws them open] and shows Duke Humphrey in his bed.” In the folio ;

* For, with his soul, fled all my worldly solace ;

* For seeing him, I see my life in death.²

‘ *War.* As surely as my soul intends to live

‘ With that dread King, that took our state upon him

‘ To free us from his Father’s wrathful curse,

‘ I do believe that violent hands were laid

‘ Upon the life of this thrice-famed duke.

Suf. A dreadful oath, sworn with a solemn tongue!

‘ What instance gives lord Warwick for his vow?

‘ *War.* See, how the blood is settled in his face!

Oft have I seen a timely-parted ghost,³

‘ Of

folio: “A bed with Gloster’s body put forth.” These are some of the many circumstances which prove, I think, decisively, that the theatres of our author’s time were unfurnished with scenes. In those days, as I conceive, curtains were occasionally hung across the middle of the stage on an iron rod, which, being drawn open, formed a second apartment, when a change of scene was required. The direction in the folio, “to put forth a bed,” was merely to the property-man to thrust a bed forwards behind those curtains, previous to their being drawn open. MALONE.

² Though, by a violent operation, some sense may be extracted from this reading, yet I think it will be better to change it thus:

For seeing him, I see my death in life.

That is, seeing him I live to see my own destruction. Thus it will aptly correspond with the first line:

Come hither, gracious sovereign, view this body.

K. Henry. That is to see how deep my grave is made.

JOHNSON.

Surely the poet’s meaning is obvious as the words now stand.—*I see my life destroyed or endangered by his death.* PERCY.

I think the meaning is, I see my life in the arms of death; I see my life expiring, or rather expired. The conceit is much in our author’s manner. MALONE.

³ All that is true of the body of a dead man is here said by Warwick of the soul. I would read:

Oft have I seen a timely-parted corse.

But of two common words how or why was one changed for the other? I believe the transcriber thought that the epithet *timely-parted* could not be used of the body, but that, as in *Hamlet* there is mention of *peace-parted souls*, so here *timely-parted* must have the same substantive. He removed one imaginary difficulty, and made many real. If the soul is parted from the body, the body is likewise parted from the soul.

I cannot but stop a moment to observe, that this horrible description is scarcely the work of any pen but Shakspeare’s. JOHNSON.

- ' Of ashy semblance, meager, pale, and bloodless,
 ' Being all descended to the labouring heart;⁴
 ' Who, in the conflict that it holds with death,
 ' Attracts the same for aidance 'gainst the enemy;
 ' Which with the heart there cools, and ne'er returneth
 ' To blush and beautify the cheek again.
 ' But, see, his face is black, and full of blood;
 ' His eyeballs further out than when he liv'd,
 ' Staring full ghastly like a strangled man:
 ' His hair uprear'd, his nostrils stretch'd with struggling;
 ' His hands abroad display'd,⁵ as on that grasp'd
 ' And tugg'd for life, and was by strength subdu'd.
 ' Look on the sheets, his hair, you see, is sticking;
 ' His well-proportion'd beard⁶ made rough and rugged,
 ' Like to the summer's corn by tempest lodg'd.
 ' It cannot be, but he was murder'd here;
 ' The least of all these signs were probable.
 ' *Suf.* Why, Warwick, who should do the duke to death?
 ' Myself, and Beaufort, had him in protection;
 ' And we, I hope, sir, are no murderers.
 ' *War.* But both of you were vow'd duke Humphrey's
 foes;
 ' And you, forsooth, had the good duke to keep:
 ' 'Tis

This is not the first time that Shakspeare has confounded the terms that signify *body* and *soul*, together. So, in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*:

“ ———damned *spirits* all

“ That in cross ways and floods have *burial*.”

It is surely the *body* and not the *soul* that is committed to the earth, or whelm'd in the water. The word *ghost*, however, is licentiously used by our ancient writers. STEEVENS.

A *timely*-parted ghost means a *body* that has become inanimate in the common course of nature; to which violence has not brought a *timeless* end. The opposition is plainly marked afterwards, by the words—“ As guilty of duke Humphrey's *timeless* death.” MALONE.

⁴ That is, the blood being all descended, &c; the substantive being comprised in the adjective *bloodless*. M. MASON.

⁵ i. e. the fingers being widely distended. So *adown*, for *down*; *awearry*, for *weary*, &c. MALONE.

⁶ His beard nicely trim'd and adjusted. MALONE.

His *well-proportioned* beard, I believe, means no more than his *beard well proportioned by nature*. STEEVENS.

'Tis like, you would not feast him like a friend ;

And 'tis well seen, he found an enemy.

Q. Mar. Then you, belike, suspect these noblemen

As guilty of duke Humphrey's timeless death.

War. Who finds the heifer dead, and bleeding fresh,

And sees fast by a butcher with an axe,

But will suspect, 'twas he that made the slaughter ?

Who finds the partridge in the puttock's nest,

But may imagine how the bird was dead,

Although the kite soar with unbloodied beak ?

Even so suspicious is this tragedy.

Q. Mar. Are you the butcher, Suffolk ? where's your knife ?

Is Beaufort term'd a kite ? where are his talons ?

Suf. I wear no knife, to slaughter sleeping men ;

But here's a vengeful sword, rusted with ease,

That shall be scoured in his rancorous heart,

That flanders me with murder's crimson badge :—

Say, if thou dar'st, proud lord of Warwickshire,

That I am faulty in duke Humphrey's death.

[*Exeunt Cardinal, Som. and Others.*]

War. What dares not Warwick, if false Suffolk dares him ?

Q. Mar. He dares not calm his contumelious spirit,

Nor cease to be an arrogant controller,

Though Suffolk dare him twenty thousand times.

War. Madam, be still ; with reverence may I say ;

For every word, you speak in his behalf,

Is slander to your royal dignity.

Suf. Blunt-witted lord, ignoble in demeanour !

If ever lady wrong'd her lord so much,

Thy mother took into her blameful bed

Some stern untutor'd churl, and noble stock

Was graft with crabtree slip ; whose fruit thou art,

And never of the Nevils' noble race.

War. But that the guilt of murder bucklers thee,

And I should rob the deathsmen of his fee,

Quitting thee thereby of ten thousand shames,

And that my sovereign's presence makes me mild,

I would, false murderous coward, on thy knee

Make thee beg pardon for thy passed speech,
 And say—it was thy mother that thou meant'st,
 That thou thyself was born in bastardy:
 And, after all this fearful homage done,
 Give thee thy hire, and send thy soul to hell,
 Pernicious bloodsucker of sleeping men!

Suf. Thou shalt be waking, while I shed thy blood,
 If from this presence thou dar'st go with me.

War. Away even now, or I will drag thee hence:

* Unworthy though thou art, I'll cope with thee,

* And do some service to duke Humphrey's ghost.

[*Exeunt SUFFOLK and WARWICK.*

* *K. Hen.* What stronger breastplate than a heart untainted?

* Thrice is he arm'd, that hath his quarrel just;

* And he but naked, though lock'd up in steel,

* Whose conscience with injustice is corrupted.

[*A noise within.*

Q. Mar. What noise is this?

Re-enter SUFFOLK and WARWICK, with their weapons drawn.

* *K. Hen.* Why, how now, lords? your wrathful weapons drawn

* Here in our presence? dare you be so bold?—

* Why what tumultuous clamour have we here?

Suf. The traitorous Warwick, with the men of Bury,
 Set all upon me, mighty sovereign.

Noise of a crowd within. Re-enter SALISBURY.

* *Sal.* Sirs, stand apart; the king shall know your mind.—

[*Speaking to those within.*

Dread lord, the commons send you word by me,
 Unless false Suffolk straight be done to death,
 Or banished fair England's territories,

* 'They will by violence tear him from your palace,

* And torture him with grievous ling'ring death.

They say, by him the good duke Humphrey died;

* 'They say, in him they fear your highness' death;

* And

' And mere instinct of love, and loyalty,—
 ' Free from a stubborn opposite intent,
 ' As being thought to contradict your liking,—
 ' Makes them thus forward in his banishment.
 * They say, in care of your most royal person,
 * That, if your highness should intend to sleep,
 * And charge—that no man should disturb your rest,
 * In pain of your dislike, or pain of death;
 * Yet, notwithstanding such a strait edict,
 * Were there a serpent seen, with forked tongue,
 * That sily glided towards your majesty,
 * It were but necessary you were wak'd;
 * Lest, being suffer'd in that harmful slumber,
 * The mortal worm ⁷ might make the sleep eternal:
 * And therefore do they cry, though you forbid,
 * That they will guard you, whe'r you will, or no,
 * From such fell serpents as false Suffolk is;
 * With whose envenomed and fatal sting,
 * Your loving uncle, twenty times his worth,
 * They say, is shamefully bereft of life.

Commons. [*within.*] An answer from the king, my lord of Salisbury.

Suf. 'Tis like, the commons, rude unpolish'd hinds,
 Could send such message to their sovereign:
 But you, my lord, were glad to be employ'd,
 To show how quaint an orator ⁸ you are:
 But all the honour Salisbury hath won,
 Is—that he was the lord ambassador,
 Sent from a sort ⁹ of tinkers to the king.

Commons. [*within.*] An answer from the king, or we'll all break in.

' *K. Hen.* Go, Salisbury, and tell them all from me,
 ' I thank them for their tender loving care:
 ' And had I not been 'cited so by them.
 ' Yet did I purpose as they do intreat;
 ' For, sure, my thoughts do hourly prophecy
 ' Mischance unto my state by Suffolk's means.

‘ And

⁷ i. e. the *fatal*, the *deadly* worm. STEEVENS.

⁸ *Quaint* for *dextrous*, *artificial*. MALONE.

⁹ —a sort—] Is a company. JOHNSON.

- And therefore,—by his majesty I swear,
- Whose far unworthy deputy I am,—
- He shall not breathe infection in this air²
- But three days longer, on the pain of death.

[Exit SALISBURY.]

• *Q. Mar.* O Henry, let me plead for gentle Suffolk!

• *K. Hen.* Ungentle queen, to call him gentle Suffolk.

- No more, I say; if thou dost plead for him,
- Thou wilt but add increase unto my wrath.
- Had I but said, I would have kept my word;
- But, when I swear, it is irrevocable:—
- * If after three days' space, thou here be'st found
- * On any ground that I am ruler of,
- * The world shall not be ransom for thy life.—
- Come, Warwick, come, good Warwick, go with me;
- I have great matters to impart to thee.

[Exeunt *K. HENRY, WARWICK, Lords, &c.*]

• *Q. Mar.* Mischance, and sorrow, go along with you!

- Heart's discontent, and sour affliction,
- Be playfellow's to keep you company!
- There's two of you; the devil make a third!
- And threefold vengeance tend upon your steps!
- * *Suf.* Cease, gentle queen, these execrations,
- * And let thy Suffolk take his heavy leave.

• *Q. Mar.* Fie, coward woman, and soft-hearted wretch!

- Hast thou not spirit to curse thine enemies?

Suf. A plague upon them! wherefore should I curse them?

Would curses kill, as doth the mandrake's groan,⁴

- I would invent as bitter-searching terms,

* As

² That is, he shall not contaminate this air with his infected breath.

MALONE.

³ In the original play the queen is still more violent:

“Hell-fire and vengeance go along with you;” MALONE.

⁴ The fabulous accounts of the plant called a *mandrake* give it an inferior degree of animal life, and relate, that when it is torn from the ground it groans, and that this groan being certainly fatal to him that is offering such unwelcome violence, the practice of those who gather mandrakes is to tie one end of a string to the plant, and the other to a dog, upon whom the fatal groan discharges its malignity. JOHNSON.

* As curst, as harsh, and horrible to hear,
 Deliver'd strongly through my fixed teeth,
 ' With full as many signs of deadly hate,
 As lean-fac'd Envy in her loathsome cave :
 My tongue should stumble in mine earnest words ;
 Mine eyes should sparkle like the beaten flint ;
 My hair be fix'd on end, as one distract ;
 Ay, every joint should seem to curse and ban :
 And even now my burden'd heart would break,
 Should I not curse them. Poison be their drink !
 Gall, worse than gall, the daintiest that they taste !
 Their sweetest shade, a grove of cypress trees !
 Their chiefest prospect, murdering basilisks !
 Their softest touch, as smart as lizards' stings !
 Their musick, frightful as the serpent's hiss :
 And boding scritch owls make the concert full ?
 All the foul terrors in dark-seated hell —

Q. Mar. Enough, sweet Suffolk ; thou torment'st thyself ;
 * And these dread curses—like the sun 'gainst glass,
 * Or like an overcharged gun,—recoil,
 * And turn the force of them upon thyself.

Suf. You bade me ban, and will you bid me leave ?
 Now, by the ground that I am banish'd from,
 Well could I curse away a winter's night,
 Though standing naked on a mountain top,
 Where biting cold would never let grass grow,
 And think it but a minute spent in sport.

* *Q. Mar.* O, let me entreat thee, cease ! Give me thy
 hand,
 * That I may dew it with my mournful tears ;
 * Nor let the rain of heaven wet this place,

* To

⁵ *Cypress* was employed in the funeral rites of the Romans, and hence is always mentioned as an ill-boding plant. STEEVENS.

⁶ It has been said of the *basilisk* that it has the power of destroying by a glance of its eye. A *lizard* has no sting, but it is quite inoffensive.

STEEVENS.

⁷ This inconsistency is very common in real life. Those who are vexed to impatience, are angry to see others less disturbed than themselves, but when others begin to rave, they immediately see in them what they could not find in themselves, the deformity and folly of useless rage.

JOHNSON.

- * To wash away my woeful monuments.
- * O, could this kiss be printed in thy hand ; [*kisses his hand.*
- * That thou might'st think upon these by the seal,
- * Through whom a thousand sighs are breath'd for thee ! ⁸
- * So, get thee gone, that I may know my grief ;
- * 'Tis but surmis'd whilst thou art standing by,
- * As one that surfeits thinking on a want.
- * I will repeal thee, or, be well assur'd,
- * Adventure to be banished myself :
- * And banished I am, if but from thee.
- * Go, speak not to me ; even now be gone.—
- * O, go not yet !—Even thus two friends condemn'd
- * Embrace, and kiss, and take ten thousand leaves,
- * Loth'er a hundred times to part than die.
- * Yet now farewell ; and farewell life with thee !

Suf. Thus is poor Suffolk ten times banished,
Once by the king, and three times thrice by thee.

- * 'Tis not the land I care for, wert thou hence ;
- * A wilderness is populous enough,
- * So Suffolk had thy heavenly company :
- * For where thou art, there is the world itself,
- * With every several pleasure in the world ;
- * And where thou art not, desolation.
- * I can no more :—Live thou to joy thy life ;
- * Myself no joy in nought, but that thou liv'st.

Enter VAUX.

* *Q. Mar.* Whither goes Vaux so fast ? what news, I
pr'ythee ?

- * *Vaux.* To signify unto his majesty,
That cardinal Beaufort is at point of death :
- * For suddenly a grievous sickness took him,
- * That makes him gasp, and stare, and catch the air,
- * Blaspheming God, and cursing men on earth.
- * Sometime, he talks as if duke Humphrey's ghost
- * Were by his side ; sometime, he calls the king,

And

⁸ That by the impression of my kiss for ever remaining on thy hand thou mightest think on those lips through which a thousand sighs will be breathed for thee. JOHNSON,

And whispers to his pillow, as to him,

* The secrets of his over-charged soul :

‘ And I am sent to tell his majesty,

‘ That even now he cries aloud for him.

‘ *Q. Mar.* Go, tell this heavy message to the king.

[*Exit Vaux;*

‘ Ah me ! what is this world ? what news are these ?

‘ But wherefore grieve I at an hour’s poor loss,⁹

‘ Omitting Suffolk’s exile, my soul’s treasure ?

‘ Why only, Suffolk, mourn I not for thee,

‘ And with the southern clouds contend in tears ;

‘ Theirs for the earth’s increase, mine for my sorrows ?

‘ Now, get thee hence : The king, thou know’st, is coming ;

‘ If thou be found by me, thou art but dead.

‘ *Suf.* If I depart from thee, I cannot live ;

‘ And in thy fight to die, what were it else,

But like a pleasant slumber in thy lap ?

Here could I breathe my soul into the air,

‘ As mild and gentle as the cradle-babe,

Dying with mother’s dug between its lips :

Where, from thy fight,² I should be raging mad,

‘ And cry out for thee to close up mine eyes,

‘ To have thee with thy lips to stop my mouth ;

‘ So shouldst thou either turn my flying soul,

‘ Or I should breathe it so into thy body,

And then it liv’d in sweet Elysium.

To

⁹ She means, I believe, at a loss which any hour spent in contrivance and deliberation will enable her to supply. Or perhaps she may call the sickness of the cardinal the loss of an hour, as it may put some stop to her schemes. JOHNSON.

I believe the poet’s meaning is, *Wherefore do I grieve that Beaufort has died an hour before his time*, who, being an old man, could not have had a long time to live ? STEEVENS.

This certainly may be the meaning ; yet I rather incline to think that the queen intends to say, “ Why do I lament a circumstance, the impression of which will pass away in the short period of an hour ; while I neglect to think on the loss of Suffolk, my affection for whom no time will efface ? ” MALONE.

² In the preambles of almost all the statutes made during the first twenty years of queen Elizabeth’s reign, the word *where* is employed instead of *whereas*. It is so used here. MALONE.

To die by thee, were but to die in jest;
 From thee to die, were torture more than death:
 O, let me stay, befall what may befall.

* *Q. Mar.* Away! though parting be a fretful corrosive,
 * It is applied to a deathful wound.
 * To France, sweet Suffolk: Let me hear from thee;
 * For wherefoe'er thou art in this world's globe,
 I'll have an Iris³ that shall find thee out.

Suf. I go.

Q. Mar. And take my heart with thee.

Suf. A jewel lock'd into the woeful'st cask
 That ever did contain a thing of worth.
 Even as a splitted bark, so sunder we;
 This way fall I to death.

Q. Mar. This way for me.

[*Exeunt, severally.*]

SCENE III.

London. *Cardinal Beaufort's Bed-chamber.*

Enter King HENRY, SALISBURY, WARWICK, and Others.
The Cardinal in bed; Attendants with him.

* *K. Hen.* How fares my lord?⁴ speak, Beaufort, to thy
 sovereign.

* *Car.* If thou be'st death, I'll give thee England's
 treasure,⁵

* Enough

³ Iris was the messenger of Juno. JOHNSON.

⁴ This scene, and that in which the dead body of the duke of Gloster is described, are deservedly admired. MALONE.

⁵ The following passage in Hall's *Chronicle*, Henry VI. fol. 70, b. suggested the corresponding lines to the author of the old play: "During these doynges, Henry Beauford, byshop of Winchester, and called the riche Cardynall, departed out of this worlde.—This man was—haut in stomach and hygh in countenance, ryche above measure of all men, and to fewe liberal; disdaynful to his kynne, and dreadful to his lovers. His covetous insaciabable and hope of long lyfe made hym bothe to forget God, his prynce, and himselfe, in his latter dayes; for Doctor John Baker, his pryvie counsailler and his chapellayn, wrote, that lying on his death-bed, he said these words. 'Why should I dye, having so much riches?'"

- ' Enough to purchase such another island,
 ' So thou wilt let me live, and feel no pain.
 * *K. Hen.* Ah, what a sign it is of evil life,
 * When death's approach is seen so terrible!
 * *War.* Beaufort, it is thy sovereign speaks to thee.
 * *Car.* Bring me unto my trial when you will.
 ' Died he not in his bed? where should he die?
 Can I make men live, whe'r they will or no?—
 * O! torture me no more, I will confesse.—
 ' Alive again? then show me where he is;
 ' I'll give a thousand pound to look upon him.—
 * He hath no eyes, the dust hath blinded them.—
 ' Comb down his hair; look! look! it stands upright,
 ' Like lime-twigs set to catch my winged soul!—
 ' Give me some drink; and bid the apothecary
 ' Bring the strong poison that I bought of him.
 * *K. Hen.* O thou eternal Mover of the heavens,
 * Look with a gentle eye upon this wretch!
 * O, beat away the busy meddling fiend,
 * That lays strong siege unto this wretch's soul,
 * And from his bosom purge this black despair!
 ' *War.* See, how the pangs of death do make him grin.
 * *Sal.* Disturb him not, let him pass peaceably.
 * *K. Hen.* Peace to his soul, if God's good pleasure be!
 ' Lord cardinal, if thou think'st on heaven's blifs,
 ' Hold up thy hand,⁶ make signal of thy hope.—
 ' He dies, and makes no sign; O God, forgive him!
 ' *War.* So bad a death argues a monstrous life.
 ' *K. Hen.*

If the whole realme would save my lyfe, I am able either by pollicie to get it, or by ryches to bye it. Fye, will not death be hyered, nor will money do nothyng? When my nephew of Bedford died, I thought my selfe halfe up the whele, but when I sawe myne other nephew of Gloucester disceased, then I thought my selfe able to be equal with kinges, and so thought to increase my treasure in hope to have worne a trypple croune. But I se nowe the worlde fayleth me, and so I am deceyved; praying you all to pray for me." MALONE.

⁶ When a dying person is incapable of speech, it is usual (in the church of Rome) previous to the administration of the sacraments, to obtain some sign that he is desirous of having them administered. The passage may have an allusion to this practice. C.

- ‘ *K. Hen.* Forbear to judge,⁷ for we are finners all.—
 ‘ Close up his eyes, and draw the curtain close;
 ‘ And let us all to meditation. [*Exeunt.*⁸

ACT IV. SCENE I.

Kent. *The Sea-shore near Dover.*⁹

Firing heard at sea. Then enter from a boat, a Captain, a Master, a Master's-Mate, Walter Whitmore, and Others; with them SUFFOLK, and other Gentlemen prisoners.

- * *Cap.* The gaudy, blabbing,² and remorseful³ day
 * Is crept into the bosom of the sea;

* And

- 7 “Peccantes culpare cave, nam labimur omnes,
 “Aut sumus, aut fuimus, vel possumus esse quod hic est.”

JOHNSON.

⁸ This is one of the scenes which have been applauded by the critics, and which will continue to be admired when prejudices shall cease, and bigotry give way to impartial examination. These are beauties that rise out of nature and of truth; the superficial reader cannot miss them, the profound can image nothing beyond them. JOHNSON.

⁹ The circumstance on which this scene is founded, is thus related by Hall in his Chronicle:—“But fortune wold not that this flagitious person [the Duke of Suffolk, who being impeached by the Commons was banished from England for five years] shoulde so escape; for when he shipped in Suffolk, entendynge to be transported into France, he was encountered with a shippe of warre apperteinyng to the Duke of Excester, the Constable of the Towre of London, called *the Nicholas of the Towre*. The capitaine of the same bark with small fight entered into the duke's shyppe, and perceyving his person present, brought him to Dover rode, and there on the one syde of a cocke-bote, caused his head to be stryken of, and left his body with the head upon the sandes of Dover; which corse was there founde by a chapelayne of his, and conveyed to Wyngfielde college in Suffolke, and there buried.” MALONE.

See the *Paston Letters*, published by Sir John Fenn, second edit. Vol. I. p. 38, Letter X. in which this event is more circumstantially related.

STEEVENS.

² The epithet *blabbing* applied to the day by a man about to commit murder, is exquisitely beautiful. Guilt is afraid of light, considers darkness

- * And now loud-howling wolves arouse the jades
- * That drag the tragick melancholy night;
- * Who with their drowfy, flow, and flagging wings
- * Clip dead men's graves,⁴ and from their misty jaws
- * Breathe foul contagious darkness in the air.
- * Therefore, bring forth the soldiers of our prize;
- * For, whilst our pinnace anchors in the Downs,
- * Here shall they make their ransom on the sand,
- * Or with their blood stain this discolour'd shore.—
- * Master, this prisoner freely give I thee;—
- * And thou that art his mate, make boot of this;—
- * The other, [*pointing to Suffolk,*] Walter Whitmore, is thy share.
- * 1. *Gent.* What is my ransom, master? let me know.
- * *Maſt.* A thousand crowns, or else lay down your head.
- * *Mate.* And so much shall you give, or off goes yours.
- * *Cap.* What, think you much to pay two thousand crowns,
- * And bear the name and port of gentlemen?—
- * Cut both the villains' throats;—for die you shall;
- * The lives of those which we have lost in fight,
- * Cannot be counterpois'd with such a petty sum.⁵
- * 1. *Gent.* I'll give it, sir; and therefore spare my life.
- * 2. *Gent.* And so will I, and write home for it straight.
- * *Whit.* I lost mine eye in laying the prize aboard,
- * And therefore, to revenge it, shalt thou die; [*to Suf.*]
- * And so should these, if I might have my will.
- * *Cap.* Be not so rash; take ransom, let him live.

ness as a natural shelter, and makes night the confidante of those actions which cannot be trusted to the *tell-tale day*. JOHNSON.

³ *Remorseful* is pitiful. STEEVENS.

⁴ The wings of the jades that drag night appears an unnatural image, till it is remembered that the chariot of the night is supposed, by Shakespeare, to be drawn by dragons. JOHNSON.

⁵ The difference between the Captain's present and succeeding sentiments may be thus accounted for. Here, he is only striving to intimidate his prisoners into a ready payment of their ransom. Afterwards his natural disposition inclines him to mercy, till he is provoked by the upbraidings of Suffolk. STEEVENS.

- ' *Suf.* Look on my George, I am a gentleman ;
 ' Rate me at what thou wilt, thou shalt be paid.
 ' *Whit.* And so am I ; my name is—Walter Whitmore.
 ' How now ? why start'st thou ? what, doth death affright ?
 ' *Suf.* Thy name affrights me, in whose sound is death.
 ' A cunning man did calculate my birth,
 ' And told me—that by *Water* I should die :
 ' Yet let not this make thee be bloody-minded ;
 ' Thy name is—*Gualtier*, being rightly founded.
 ' *Whit.* *Gualtier*, or *Walter*, which it is, I care not ;
 ' Ne'er yet did base dishonour blur our name,
 ' But with our sword we wip'd away the blot ;
 ' Therefore, when merchantlike I sell revenge,
 ' Broke be my sword, my arms torn and defac'd,
 ' And I proclaim'd a coward through the world !
 [lays hold on Suffolk.

' *Suf.* Stay, Whitmore ; for thy prisoner is a prince,
 ' The duke of Suffolk, William de la Pole.

' *Whit.* The duke of Suffolk, muffled up in rags !

Suf. Ay, but these rags are no part of the duke ;
 Jove sometime went disguis'd, And why not I ?

Cap. But Jove was never slain, as thou shalt be.

' *Suf.* Obscure and lowly swain, king Henry's blood,
 ' The honourable blood of Lancaster,
 ' Must not be shed by such a jaded groom.
 ' Hast thou not kiss'd thy hand, and held my stirrup ?
 ' Bareheaded plodded by my foot-cloth mule,

' And

' Look on my George,] In the first edition it is *my ring*.

WARBURTON.

A *ring* and a *George* could never have been confounded either by the eye or the ear. So, in the original play the ransom of each of Suffolk's companions is a hundred pounds, but here a thousand crowns.

MALONE.

7 I suppose he means a low fellow, fit only to attend upon horses ; which in our author's time were frequently termed *jades*. The original play has *jady*, which conveys this meaning (the only one that the words seem to afford,) more clearly, *jaded* being liable to an equivocal. *Jaded* groom, however, may mean a groom whom all men treat with contempt ; as worthless as the most paltry kind of horse. MALONE.

A *jaded* groom may signify a groom who has hitherto been treated with no greater ceremony than a horse. STEEVENS.

- ' And thought thee happy when I shook my head ?
 ' How often hast thou waited at my cup,
 ' Fed from my trencher, kneel'd down at the board,
 ' When I have feasted with queen Margaret ?
 * Remember it, and let it make thee crest-fall'n ;
 * Ay, and allay this thy abortive pride : ⁸
 * How in our voiding lobby hast thou stood,
 * And duly waited for my coming forth ?
 ' This hand of mine hath writ in thy behalf,
 ' And therefore shall it charm thy riotous tongue.⁹
 * *Whit.* Speak, captain, shall I stab the forlorn swain ?
 * *Cap.* First let my words stab him, as he hath me.
 * *Suf.* Base slave ! thy words are blunt, and so art thou.
 ' *Cap.* Convey him hence, and on our long-boat's side
 ' Strike off his head.

Suf. Thou dar'st not for thy own.

Cap. Yes, Poole.

Suf. Poole ?

Cap. Poole ? Sir Poole ? lord ?

- ' Ay, kennel, puddle, sink ; whose filth and dirt
 ' Troubles the silver spring where England drinks.
 ' Now will I dam up this thy yawning mouth,
 ' For swallowing the treasure of the realm :
 ' Thy lips, that kiss'd the queen, shall sweep the ground ;
 ' And thou, that smil'dst at good duke Humphrey's death,
 ' Against the senseless winds shalt grin in vain,
 * Who, in contempt, shall hiss at thee again :
 * And wedded be thou to the hags of hell,
 * For daring to affy³ a mighty lord
 * Unto the daughter of a worthless king,
 * Having neither subject, wealth, nor diadem.

* By

⁸ Pride that has had birth too soon, pride issuing before its time.

JOHNSON.

⁹ i. e. restrain thy licentious talk ; compel thee to be silent.

MALONE:

² The dissonance of this broken line makes it almost certain that we should read with a kind of ludicrous climax :

Poole ? Sir Poole ? lord Poole ?

He then plays upon the name *Poole, kennel, puddle.* JOHNSON.

³ To *affy* is to betroth in marriage. STEEVENS.

- * By devilish policy art thou grown great,
 * And, like ambitious Sylla, overgorg'd
 * With gobbets of thy mother's bleeding heart.
 * By thee, Anjou and Maine were sold to France:
 * The false revolting Normans, thorough thee,
 * Disdain to call us lord; and Picardy
 * Hath slain their governors, surpriz'd our forts,
 * And sent the ragged soldiers wounded home.
 * The princely Warwick, and the Nevils all,—
 * Whose dreadful swords were never drawn in vain,—
 * As hating thee, are rising up in arms:
 * And now the house of York—thrust from the crown,
 * By shameful murder of a guiltless king,
 * And lofty proud encroaching tyranny,—
 * Burns with revenging fire; whose hopeful colours
 * Advance with our half-fac'd sun,⁴ striving to shine,
 * Under the which is writ—*Invitis nubibus*.
 * The commons here in Kent are up in arms:
 * And, to conclude, reproach, and beggary,
 * Is crept into the palace of our king,
 * And all by thee:—Away, convey him hence.
 * *Suf.* O that I were a god, to shoot forth thunder
 * Upon these paltry, fervile, abject drudges!
 * Small things make base men proud: 'this villain here,
 * 'Being captain of a pinnace,⁵ threatens more
 * 'Than Bargulus the strong Illyrian pirate.⁶
 * 'Drones suck not eagles' blood, but rob bee-hives:

' It

⁴ "Edward III. bore for his device the rays of the sun dispersing themselves out of a cloud." Camden's *Remaines*. MALONE.

⁵ A *pinnace* did not anciently signify, as at present, a man of war's boat, but a ship of small burthen. STEEVENS.

The complement of men on board a pinnace (or *spiner*) was about twenty-five. See *Paston Letters*, Vol. I. p. 159. HENLEY.

⁶ Mr. Theobald says, "This wight I have not been able to trace, or discover from what legend our author derived his acquaintance with him." And yet he is to be met with in *Tully's Offices*; and the legend is the famous *Theopompus's History*: "*Bargulus, Illyrius latro, de quo est apud Theopompum, magnas opes habuit,*" Lib. II cap. xi. WARBURTON.

Dr. Farmer observes that Shakspeare might have met with this pirate in two translations. Robert Whytinton, 1533, calls him "Bargulus, a pirate upon the see of Illiry;" and Nicholas Grimoald, about twenty-three years afterwards, "Bargulus, the Illyrian robber." STEEVENS.

- ' It is impossible, that I should die
 ' By such a lowly vassal as thyself.
 ' Thy words move rage, and not remorse, in me :⁷
 ' I go of message from the queen to France ;
 ' I charge thee, waft me safely cross the channel.
 ' *Cap.* Walter,—
 ' *Whit.* Come, Suffolk, I must waft thee to thy death.
 * *Suf.* *Gelidus timor occupat artus* :—'tis thee I fear.
 ' *Whit.* Thou shalt have cause to fear, before I leave thee.
 ' What, are ye daunted now ? now will ye stoop ?
 ' *i. Gent.* My gracious lord, entreat him, speak him fair.
 ' *Suf.* Suffolk's imperial tongue is stern and rough,
 ' Us'd to command, untaught to plead for favour.
 ' Far be it, we should honour such as these
 ' With humble suit : no, rather let my head
 ' Stoop to the block, than these knees bow to any,
 ' Save to the God of heaven, and to my king ;
 ' And sooner dance upon a bloody pole,
 ' Than stand uncover'd to the vulgar groom.
 * True nobility is exempt from fear :—
 * More can I bear, than you dare execute.
 ' *Cap.* Hale him away, and let him talk no more.
 ' *Suf.* Come, soldiers, show what cruelty ye can,
 ' That this my death may never be forgot!—
 ' Great men oft die by vile bezonians :⁸
 ' A Roman sworder⁹ and banditto slave,

' Murder'd

⁷ This line Shakspeare has injudiciously taken from the Captain, to whom it is attributed in the original play; and given it to Suffolk; for what *remorse*, that is, *pity*, could Suffolk be called upon to show to his *assailant*; whereas the Captain might with propriety say to his *captive*,—thy haughty language exasperates me, instead of exciting my *compassion*.

MALONE.

Perhaps our author meant (however imperfectly he may have expressed himself) to make Suffolk say—"Your words excite my anger, instead of prompting me to solicit pity." STEEVENS.

⁸ *Bisognoso*, is a mean low man. STEEVENS.

⁹ i. e. Herennius a centurion, and Popilius Laenas, tribune of the soldiers. STEEVENS.

- Murder'd sweet Tully; Brutus' bastard hand²
- Stabb'd Julius Cæsar; savage islanders,
- Pompey the great:³ and Suffolk dies by pirates.

[Exit SUFF. with Whitmore and others.]

Cap. And as for these whose ransom we have set,
It is our pleasure, one of them depart:—
Therefore come you with us, and let him go.

[Exeunt all but the first Gentleman.]

Re-enter WHITMORE, with Suffolk's body.

- Whit. There let his head and lifeless body lie,
 - Until the queen his mistress bury it. [Exit.
 - 1. Gent. O barbarous and bloody spectacle!
 - His body will I bear unto the king:
 - If he revenge it not, yet will his friends;
 - So will the queen, that living held him dear.
- [Exit, with the body.]

SCENE II.

Blackheath.

Enter George Bevis and John Holland.

- Geo. Come, and get thee a sword, though made of a
 - lath; they have been up these two days.
- John.

² Brutus was the son of Servilia, a Roman lady, who had been concubine to Julius Cæsar. STEEVENS.

³ The poet seems to have confounded the story of Pompey with some other. JOHNSON.

This circumstance might be advanced as a slight proof, in aid of many stronger, that our poet was no classical scholar. Such a one could not easily have forgotten the manner in which the life of Pompey was concluded. Pompey, however, is not in the quarto. Spenser likewise abounds with deviations from established history and fable. STEEVENS.

Pompey being killed by Achillas and Septimius at the moment that the Egyptian fishing-boat in which they were, reached the coast, and his head being thrown into the sea, (a circumstance which Shakspeare found in North's translation of Plutarch,) his mistake does not appear more extraordinary than some others which have been remarked in his works.

MALONE.

* *John.* They have the more need to sleep now then.

* *Geo.* I tell thee, Jack Cade the clothier means to dress
* the common wealth, and turn it, and set a new nap upon it.

John. So he had need, for 'tis threadbare. Well, I say, it was
never merry world in England, since gentlemen came up.⁴

* *Geo.* O miserable age! Virtue is not regarded in handy-
* crafts-men.

* *John.* The nobility think scorn to go in leather aprons.

* *Geo.* Nay more, the king's council are no good work-
* men.

* *John.* True; And yet is is said,—Labour in thy voca-
* tion: which is as much as to say, as,—let the magistrates be
* labouring men; and therefore should we be magistrates.

* *Geo.* Thou hast hit it: for there is no better sign of a
* brave mind, than a hard hand.

* *John.* I see them! I see them! There's Best's son, the
* tanner of Wingham;—

* *Geo.* He shall have the skins of our enemies, to make
* dog's leather of.

John. And Dick the butcher,—

* *Geo.* Then is sin struck down like an ox, and iniquity's
* throat cut like a calf.

* *John.* And Smith the weaver:—

* *Geo.* Argo, their thread of life is spun.

* *John.* Come, come, let's fall in with them.

Drum. Enter CADE, DICK the butcher, SMITH, the weaver,
and others in great number.

* *Cade.* We John Cade,⁵ so term'd of our supposed
* father,—

Dick.

⁴ Thus we familiarly say—a fashion comes up. STEEVENS.

⁵ *We John Cade, &c.*] This passage, I think, should be regulated thus:
Cade. We John Cade, so term'd of our supposed father, for our ene-
mies shall fall before us;—

Dick. Or rather of stealing a cade of herrings.

Cade. Inspired with the spirit, &c. TYRWHITT.

In the old play the corresponding passage stands thus:

Cade. I John Cade, so named for my valiancy,

Dick. Or rather for stealing of a cade of sprats.

Dick. Or rather, of stealing a cade of herrings.⁶ [*Aside.*

Cade. —for our enemies shall fall before us,⁷ inspired with the spirit of putting down kings and princes,—Command silence.

Dick. Silence!

Cade. My father was a Mortimer,—

Dick. He was an honest man, and a good bricklayer.

[*Aside.*

Cade. My mother a Plantagenet,—

Dick. I knew her well, she was a midwife.

[*Aside.*

Cade. My wife descended of the Lacies,—

Dick. She was, indeed, a pedlar's daughter, and sold many laces.

[*Aside.*

Smith. But, now of late, not able to travel with her furr'd pack,⁸ she washes bucks here at home.

[*Aside.*

Cade.

The transposition recommended by Mr. Tyrwhitt is so plausible, that I had once regulated the text accordingly. But Dick's quibbling on the word *of* (which is used by Cade, according to the phraseology of our author's time, for *by*, and as employed by Dick signifies—*on account of*;) is so much in Shakspeare's manner, that no change ought, I think, to be made. If the words, "Or rather of stealing," &c. be postponed to—"For our enemies shall fall before us," Dick then, as at present, would assert—that Cade is not so called on account of a particular theft; which indeed would correspond sufficiently with the old play; but the quibble on the word *of*, which appears very like a conceit of Shakspeare, would be destroyed. Cade, as the speeches stand in the folio, proceeds to assign the origin of his name without paying any regard to what Dick has said.

MALONE.

⁶ That is, A barrel of herrings. I suppose the word *keg*, which is now used, is *cade* corrupted. JOHNSON.

A cade is less than a barrel. The quantity it should contain is ascertained by the accounts of the Cellarer of the Abbey of Berking.

"Memorandum that a *barrel* of herryng shold contene a thousand herryngs, and a *cade* of herryng six hundreth, six score to the hundreth." Mon. Ang. I. 83. MALONE.

Nash speaks of having weighed one of Gabriel Harvey's books against a *cade of herrings*, and ludicrously says, "That the rebel Jacke Cade was the first that devised to put redde herrings in *cados*, and from him they have their name." *Praise of the Red Herring*, 1599. *Cade*, however, is derived from *Cadus*, Lat. a cask or barrel. STEEVENS.

⁷ He alludes to his name *Cade*, from *cado*, Lat. *to fall*. He has too much learning for his character. JOHNSON.

⁸ A wallet or knapsack of skin with the hair outward. JOHNSON.

* *Cade.* Therefore am I of an honourable house.

Dick. Ay, by my faith, the field is honourable;⁹ and there was he born, under a hedge; for his father had never a house but the cage.² [*Aside.*

* *Cade.* Valiant I am.

* *Smith.* 'A must needs; for beggary is valiant. [*Aside.*

Cade. I am able to endure much.

Dick. No question of that; for I have seen him whipp'd three market days together. [*Aside.*

Cade. I fear neither sword nor fire.

Smith. He need not fear the sword, for his coat is of proof.³ [*Aside.*

Dick. But, methinks, he should stand in fear of fire, being burnt i'the hand for stealing of sheep. [*Aside.*

Cade. Be brave then; for your captain is brave, and vows reformation. There shall be, in England, seven half-penny loaves sold for a penny: the three hoop'd pot shall have ten hoops;⁴ and I will make it felony, to drink small beer: all the realm shall be in common, and in Cheapside shall my palfrey go to grass. And, when I am king, (as king I will be)—

All. God save your majesty!

* *Cade.* I thank you, good people:—there shall be no money;⁵ all shall eat and drink on my score; and I will apparel

⁹ Perhaps a quibble between *field* in its heraldic, and in its common acceptation, was designed. STEEVENS.

² A cage was formerly a term for a prison. See *Minsheu*, in v. We yet talk of jail *birds*. MALONE.

There is scarce a village in England which has not a temporary place of confinement, still called *The Cage*. STEEVENS.

³ A quibble between two senses of the word; one as being able to resist, the other as being *well-tried*, that is, long worn. HANMER.

⁴ It appears from a passage in *Cynthia's Revels*, by Ben Jonson, that "burning of cans" was one of the offices of a city magistrate. I suppose he means burning such as were not of statutable measure,

STEEVENS.

An anonymous commentator supposes, perhaps with more truth, that "the burning of cans" was, marking them with a red-hot iron, which is still practised by the magistrate in many country boroughs, in proof of *their being* statutable measure.—These *cans*, it should be observed, were of wood. HENLEY.

⁵ To

‘ apparel them all in one livery, that they may agree like
‘ brothers, and worship me their lord.

‘ *Dick.* The first thing we do, let’s kill all the lawyers.

Cade. Nay, that I mean to do. Is not this a lamentable thing, that of the skin of an innocent lamb should be made parchment? that parchment, being scribbled o’er, should undo a man? Some say, the bee stings: but I say, ’tis the bee’s wax; for I did but seal once to a thing, and I was never mine own man since. How now? who’s there?

*Enter some, bringing in the Clerk of Chatham.*⁶

Smith. The clerk of Chatham: he can write and read, and cast accompt.

Cade. O monstrous!

Smith. We took him setting of boy’s copies.⁷

Cade. Here’s a villain!

Smith. H’as a book in his pocket, with red letters in’t.

Cade. Nay, then he is a conjurer.

Dick. Nay, he can make obligations,⁸ and write court-hand.

‘ *Cade.* I am sorry for’t: the man is a proper man, on
‘ mine

⁵ To mend the world by banishing money is an old contrivance of those who did not consider that the quarrels and mischiefs which arise from money, as the sign or ticket of riches, must, if money were to cease, arise immediately from riches themselves, and could never be at an end till every man was contented with his own share of the goods of life.

JOHNSON.

⁶ The person whom Shakspeare makes clerk of Chatham should seem to have been one *Thomas Bayley*, a reputed necromancer, or fortune-teller, at Whitechapel. He had formerly been a bosom friend of Cade’s, and of the same profession. *W. Wyrcester*, p. 471. RITSON.

⁷ We must suppose that Smith had taken the Clerk some time before, and left him in the custody of those who now bring him in. In the old play *Will* the *weaver* enters with the Clerk, though he has not long before been conversing with Cade. Perhaps it was intended that Smith should go out after his speech—ending, “for his coat is of proof:” but no *Exit* is marked in the old copy. It is a matter of little consequence.—It is, I think, most probable that *Will* was the true name of this character, as in the old play, (so Dick, George, John, &c.) and that *Smith*, the name of some low actor, has crept into the folio by mistake.

MALONE.

⁸ —obligations,] That is, bonds. MALONE.

‘ mine honour; unless I find him guilty, he shall not die.—
 ‘ Come hither, firrah, I must examine thee: What is thy
 ‘ name?

Clerk. Emmanuel.

Dick. They use to write it on the top of letters;⁹—
 ‘ Twill go hard with you.

‘ *Cade.* Let me alone:—Dost thou use to write thy name;
 ‘ or hast thou a mark to thyself, like an honest plain-dealing
 ‘ man?

Clerk. Sir, I thank God, I have been so well brought up,
 that I can write my name.

‘ *All.* He hath confess’d:—away with him; he’s a villain,
 ‘ and a traitor.

‘ *Cade.* Away with him, I say: hang him with his pen and
 ‘ inkhorn about his neck. [*Exeunt some with the Clerk.*

Enter MICHAEL.

‘ *Mich.* Where’s our general?

‘ *Cade.* Here I am, thou particular fellow.

‘ *Mich.* Fly, fly, fly! sir Humphrey Stafford and his brother
 ‘ are hard by, with the king’s forces.

‘ *Cade.* Stand, villain, stand, or I’ll fell thee down: He
 ‘ shall be encounter’d with a man as good as himself: He
 ‘ is but a knight, is ‘a?

‘ *Mich.* No.

‘ *Cade.* To equal him, I will make myself a knight pre-
 ‘ sently; Rise up sir John Mortimer. Now have at him.

*Enter sir Humphrey STAFFORD, and William his Brother,
 with drum and forces.*

* *Staf.* Rebellious hinds, the filth and scum of Kent,

* Mark’d for the gallows,—lay your weapons down,

* Home to your cottages, forsake this groom;—

* The king is merciful, if you revolt.

* *W. Staff.* But angry, wrathful, and inclin’d to blood,

* If

⁹ i. e. Of letters missive, and such like publick acts. See Mabillon’s
Diplomata. WARBURTON.

* If you go forward : therefore yield, or die.

Cade. As for these filken-coated slaves, I pass not ;²
It is to you, good people, that I speak,

* O'er whom, in time to come, I hope to reign ;

* For I am rightful heir unto the crown.

* *Staf.* Villain, thy father was a plasterer ;

* And thou thyself, a shearman, Art thou not ?

Cade. And Adam was a gardener.

* *W. Staf.* And what of that ?

Cade. Marry, this :—Edmund Mortimer, earl of March,
Married the duke of Clarence' daughter ; Did he not ?

* *Staf.* Ay, sir.

Cade. By her he had two children at one birth.

W. Staf. That's false.

* *Cade.* Ay, there's the question ; but, I say 'tis true :

* The elder of them, being put to nurse,

* Was by a beggar-woman stol'n away ;

* And, ignorant of his birth and parentage,

* Became a bricklayer, when he came to age :

* His son am I ; deny it, if you can.

Dick. Nay, 'tis too true ; therefore he shall be king.

Smith. Sir, he made a chimney in my father's house, and
the bricks are alive at this day to testify it ; therefore, deny
it not.

* *Staf.* And will you credit this base drudge's words,

* That speaks he knows not what ?

* *All.* Ay, marry, will we ; therefore get ye gone.

W. Staf. Jack Cade, the duke of York hath taught you
this.

* *Cade.* He lies, for I invented it myself. [*Aside.*]
—Go to, firrah, Tell the king from me, that—for his father's sake,
Henry the fifth, in whose time boys went to span-counter for
French crowns,—I am content he shall reign ; but I'll be pro-
tector over him.

* *Dick.* And, furthermore, we'll have the lord Say's
head, for selling the dukedom of Maine.

* *Cade.* And good reason ; for thereby is England maim'd,
and fain to go with a staff, but that my puissance holds it up.
Fellow kings, I tell you, that that lord Say hath gelded the
common-

² I pay them no regard. JOHNSON.

‘ commonwealth,³ and made it an eunuch : and more than
 ‘ that he can speak French, and therefore he is a traitor.

‘ *Staf.* O gross and miserable ignorance !

‘ *Cade.* Nay, answer, if you can : The Frenchmen are
 ‘ our enemies : go to then, I ask but this ; Can he, that
 ‘ speaks with the tongue of an enemy, be a good counsellor,
 ‘ or no ?

* *All.* No, no ; and therefore we’ll have his head.

* *W. Staf.* Well, seeing gentle words will not prevail,
 * Affail them with the army of the king.

‘ *Staf.* Herald, away : and, throughout every town,
 ‘ Proclaim them traitors that are up with Cade ;
 ‘ That those, which fly before the battle ends,
 ‘ May, even in their wives’ and children’s fight,
 ‘ Be hang’d up for example at their doors :—
 ‘ And you, that be the king’s friends, follow me.

[*Exeunt the two STAFFORDS, and forces.*

* *Cade.* And you, that love the commons, follow me.—
 * Now show yourselves men, ’tis for liberty.

* We will not leave one lord, one gentleman :

* Spare none, but such as go in clouted shoon ;

* For they are thrifty honest men, and such

* As would (but that they dare not,) take our parts.

* *Dick.* They are all in order, and march toward us.

* *Cade.* But then are we in order, when we are most out
 * of order. Come, march forward. [*Exeunt.*

SCENE III.

Another Part of Blackheath.

Alarums. The two parties enter, and fight, and both the Staf-
 fords are slain.

‘ *Cade.* Where’s Dick, the butcher of Ashford ?

‘ *Dick.* Here, sir.

‘ *Cade.*

³ — *batb gelded the common-wealth,*] Shakspeare has here transgressed a rule laid down by Tully, *De Oratore* : “ Nolo morte dici Africani castratum esse rempublicam.” The character of the speaker, however, may countenance such indelicacy. In other places our author, less excuseably, talks of gelding purses, patrimonies, and continents.

* *Cade.* They fell before thee like sheep and oxen, and
 * thou behav'dst thyself as if thou hadst been in thine own
 * slaughter-house: therefore thus will I reward thee,—The
 * Lent shall be as long again as it is; and thou shalt have a
 * licence to kill for a hundred lacking one.

* *Dick.* I desire no more.

* *Cade.* And, to speak truth, thou deserv'st no less.
 * This monument of the victory will I bear;⁴ and the bodies
 * shall be dragg'd at my horse' heels, till I do come to Lon-
 * don, where we will have the mayor's sword borne be-
 * fore us.

* *Dick.* If we mean to thrive and do good,⁵ break open
 * the gaols, and let out the prisoners.

* *Cade.* Fear not that, I warrant thee. Come, let's march
 * towards London. [Exeunt.]

SCENE IV.

London. *A Room in the Palace.*

*Enter King HENRY, reading a supplication; the duke of
 BUCKINGHAM, and lord SAY with him: at a distance,
 Queen MARGARET, mourning over SUFFOLK's head.*

* *Q. Mar.* Oft have I heard—that grief softens the
 mind,
 * And makes it fearful and degenerate;
 * Think therefore on revenge, and cease to weep,
 * But who can cease to weep, and look on this?

* Here

⁴ *This monument of the victory will I bear;]* Here Cade must be sup-
 posed to take off Stafford's armour. So, Holinshed:

“Jack Cade, upon his victory against the Staffords, apparelled himself
 in Sir Humphrey's brigandine, set full of guilt nails, and so in some glory
 returned again toward London.” STEEVENS.

*Sir Humphrey Stafford, who was killed at Sevenoke in Cade's rebellion, is
 buried at Bromsgrove in Staffordshire.* VAILLANT.

⁵ I think it should be read thus, *If we mean to thrive, do good; break
 open the gaols, &c.* JOHNSON.

The speaker designs to say—“If we ourselves mean to thrive, and do
 good to others,” &c. The old reading is the true one. STEEVENS.

* Here may his head lie on my throbbing breast :

* But where's the body that I should embrace ?

* *Buck.* What answer makes your grace to the rebels' supplication ?

* *K. Hen.* I'll send some holy bishop to entreat :

* For God forbid, so many simple souls

* Should perish by the sword ! And I myself,

* Rather than bloody war shall cut them short,

* Will parley with Jack Cade their general.——

* But stay, I'll read it over once again.

* *Q. Mar.* Ah, barbarous villains ! hath this lovely face

* Rul'd, like a wandering planet,⁶ over me ;

* And could it not enforce them to relent,

* That were unworthy to behold the same ?

* *K. Hen.* Lord Say, Jack Cade hath sworn to have thy head.

* *Say.* Ay, but I hope, your highness shall have his.

K. Hen. How now, madam ? Still

Lamenting, and mourning for Suffolk's death ?

I fear, my love, if that I had been dead,

Thou wouldest not have mourn'd so much for me.

Q. Mar. No, my love, I should not mourn, but die for thee.

Enter a Messenger.

* *K. Hen.* How now ! what news ? why com'st thou in such haste ?

* *Mes.* The rebels are in Southwark ; Fly, my lord !

* Jack Cade proclaims himself lord Mortimer,

* Descended from the duke of Clarence' house ;

* And calls your grace usurper, openly,

* And vows to crown himself in Westminster.

* His army is a ragged multitude

* Of hinds and peasants, rude and merciless :

* Sir

⁶ Predominated irresistibly over my passions, as the planets over the lives of those that are born under their influence. JOHNSON.

The old play led Shakspeare into this strange exhibition ; a queen with the head of her murdered paramour on her bosom, in the presence of her husband ! MALONE.

- ‘ Sir Humphrey Stafford and his brother’s death
 ‘ Hath given them heart and courage to proceed :
 ‘ All scholars, lawyers, courtiers, gentlemen,
 ‘ They call—false caterpillars, and intend their death.
 * *K. Hen.* O graceless men! they know not what
 they do.
 ‘ *Buck.* My gracious lord, retire to Kenelworth,⁷
 ‘ Until a power be rais’d to put them down.
 * *Q. Mar.* Ah! were the duke of Suffolk now alive,
 * These Kentish rebels would be soon appeas’d.
 ‘ *K. Hen.* Lord Say, the traitors hate thee,
 ‘ Therefore away with us to Kenelworth.
 ‘ *Say.* So might your grace’s person be in danger;
 ‘ The sight of me is odious in their eyes:
 ‘ And therefore in this city will I stay,
 ‘ And live alone as secret as I may.

Enter another Messenger:

- * 2. *Mes.* Jack Cade hath gotten London-bridge; the
 citizens
 * Fly and forsake their houses:
 * The rascal people, thirsting after prey,
 * Join with the traitor; and they jointly swear,
 * To spoil the city, and your royal court.
 * *Buck.* Then linger not, my lord; away, take horse.
 * *K. Hen.* Come, Margaret; God, our hope, will suc-
 cour us.
 * *Q. Mar.* My hope is gone, now Suffolk is deceas’d.
 * *K. Hen.* Farewel, my lord; [*to lord Say.*] trust not
 the Kentish rebels.
 * *Buck.* Trust no body, for fear you be betray’d.
 ‘ *Say.* The trust I have is in mine innocence,
 ‘ And therefore am I bold and resolute. [*Exeunt.*

SCENE

⁷ The old copy—*Killingworth*, which (as Sir William Blackstone ob-
 serves) is still the modern pronunciation. STEEVENS.

In the letter concerning *Q. Elizabeth’s* entertainment at this place, we
 find, “the castle hath name of *Kyllelingwoorth*; but of truth, grounded
 upon faythfull story, *Kenelwoorth*.” FARMER.

SCENE V.

The same. The Tower.

Enter Lord Scales, and Others, on the walls. Then enter certain Citizens, below.

Scales. How now? is Jack Cade slain?

1. Cit. No, my lord, nor likely to be slain; for they have won the bridge, killing all those that withstand them: The lord mayor craves aid of your honour from the tower, to defend the city from the rebels.

Scales. Such aid as I can spare, you shall command; But I am troubled here with them myself, The rebels have assay'd to win the Tower. But get you to Smithfield, and gather head, And thither I will send you Matthew Gough: Fight for your king, your country, and your lives; And so farewell, for I must hence again. [*Exeunt.*]

SCENE VI.

The same. Cannon-Street.

Enter Jack Cade, and his followers. He strikes his staff on London-stone.

Cade. Now is Mortimer lord of this city. And here, sitting upon London-stone, I charge and command, that, of the city's cost, the pissing-conduit run nothing but claret⁸ wine

⁸ This *pissing conduit*, I suppose, was the *Standarde* in Cheape, which, as Stowe relates, "John Wels grocer, maior 1430, caused to be made with a small cesterne for fresh water, hauing one cocke continually running."

RITSON.

Whatever offence to modern delicacy may be given by this imagery, it appears to have been borrowed from the French, to whose entertainments, as well as our streets, it was sufficiently familiar, as I learn from a very curious and entertaining work entitled *Histoire de la vie privée des Français*, par M. le Grand D'Aussi, 3 vols. 8vo. 1782. STEEVENS.

wine this first year of our reign. And now, henceforward, it shall be treason for any that calls me other than—lord Mortimer.

Enter a Soldier, running.

Sol. Jack Cade! Jack Cade!

Cade. Knock him down there.⁹

[*They kill him.*]

* *Smith.* If this fellow be wise, he'll never call you Jack

* *Cade* more; I think, he hath a very fair warning.

Dick. My lord, there's an army gather'd together in Smithfield.

Cade. Come then, let's go fight with them: But, first, go and set London-bridge on fire;² and, if you can, burn down the Tower too. Come, let's away. [*Exeunt.*]

SCENE VII.

The same. Smithfield.

Alarum. Enter, on one side, CADE and his company; on the other, Citizens, and the king's forces, headed by Matthew Gough. They fight; the citizens are routed, and Matthew Gough³ is slain.

Cade. So, firs:—Now go some and pull down the Savoy;⁴ others to the inns of court; down with them all.

Dick.

⁹ So, Holinshed, p. 634: "He also put to execution in Southwark diverse persons, some for breaking his ordinance, and other being his old acquaintance, lest they should bewraie his base lineage, disparaging him for his usurped surname of Mortimer." STEEVENS.

² At that time *London-bridge* was made of wood. "After that, (says Hall) he entered London and cut the ropes of the draw-bridge." The houses on *London-bridge* were in this rebellion burnt, and many of the inhabitants perished. MALONE.

³ "A man of great wit and much experience in feats of chivalrie, the which in continuall warres had spent his time in service of the king and his father." Holinshed, p. 635. STEEVENS.

⁴ This trouble had been saved Cade's reformers by his predecessor Wat Tyler. It was never re-edityed, till Henry VII. founded the hospital.

Dick. I have a suit unto your lordship.

Cade. Be it a lordship, thou shalt have it for that word.

* *Dick.* Only, that the laws of England may come out of your mouth.⁵

* *John.* Mass, 'twill be sore law then; for he was thrust in the mouth with a spear, and 'tis not whole yet. [*Aside.*

* *Smith.* Nay, John, it will be stinking law; for his breath stinks with eating toasted cheese. [*Aside.*

* *Cade.* I have thought upon it, it shall be so. Away, burn all the records of the realm; my mouth shall be the parliament of England.

* *John.* Then we are like to have biting statutes, unless his teeth be pull'd out. [*Aside.*

* *Cade.* And henceforward all things shall be in common,

Enter a Messenger.

* *Mes.* My lord, a prize, a prize! here's the lord Say, which sold the towns in France; * he that made us pay * one and twenty fifteens,⁷ and one shilling to the pound, the * last subsidy.

Enter

⁵ This alludes to what Holinshed has related of *Wat Tyler*, p. 432. "It was reported, indeed, that he should saie with great pride, putting his hands to his lips, that within four daies *all the laws of England should come forth of his mouth.*" TYRWHITT.

⁶ Little more than half a century had elapsed from the time of writing this play, before a similar proposal was actually made in parliament. Bishop Burnet in his life of Sir Matthew Hale says; "Among the other extravagant motions made in this parliament (i. e. one of Oliver Cromwell's) one was to destroy all the records in the Tower, and to settle the nation on a new foundation; so he (Sir M. Hale) took this province to himself, to show the madness of this proposition, the injustice of it, and the mischiefs that would follow on it; and did it with such clearness and strength of reason as not only satisfied all sober persons (for it may be supposed that was soon done) but stopt even the mouths of the frantic people themselves." REED.

⁷ "This capteine (Cade) assured them—if either by force or policie they might get the king and queene into their hands, he would cause them to be honourably used, and take such order for the punishing and reforming of the misdemeanours of their bad councillours, that neither *fifteens* should hereafter be demanded, nor anie impositions or taxes be spoken

Enter George Bevis, with the Lord SAY.

Cade. Well, he shall be beheaded for it ten times.—Ah,
 ‘ thou say, thou serge,⁸ nay, thou buckram lord! now art
 ‘ thou within point-blank of our jurisdiction regal. What
 ‘ canst thou answer to my majesty, for giving up of Nor-
 ‘ mandy unto mounseur Basimecu,⁹ the dauphin of France?
 ‘ Be it known unto thee by these presence, even the presence
 ‘ of lord Mortimer, that I am the besom that must sweep the
 ‘ court clean of such filth as thou art. Thou hast most trai-
 ‘ torously corrupted the youth of the realm, in erecting a
 ‘ grammar-school: and whereas, before, our fore-fathers had
 ‘ no other books but the score and the tally, thou hast caused
 ‘ printing to be used; ² and, contrary to the king, his crown,
 ‘ and dignity, ³ thou hast built a paper-mill. It will be
 ‘ proved to thy face, that thou hast men about thee, that
 ‘ usually talk of a noun, and a verb; and such abominable
 ‘ words, as no christian ear can endure to hear. Thou hast
 ‘ appointed justices of peace, to call poor men before them
 ‘ about matters they were not able to answer. Moreover,
 ‘ thou

spoken of.” Holinshed, Vol. p. 632. A *fifteen* was the fifteenth part of all the moveables or personal property of each subject. MALONE.

⁸ *Say* was the old word for *silk*; on this depends the series of degradation, from *say* to *serge*, from *serge* to *buckram*. JOHNSON.

It appears from Minshew’s Dict. 1617, that *say* was a kind of serge. It is made entirely of wool. There is a considerable manufactory of *say* at Sudbury near Colchester. This stuff is frequently dyed green, and is yet used by some mechanicks in aprons. MALONE.

⁹ Shakspeare probably wrote *Baisermeycu*, or, by a designed corruption, *Basemeycu*, in imitation of his original, where also we find a word half French, half English,—“*Monseieur Buffminecu*.” MALONE.

² Shakspeare is a little too early with this accusation. JOHNSON.

Shakspeare might have been led into this mistake by Daniel, in the sixth book of his *Civil Wars*, who introduces *printing* and *artillery* as contemporary inventions. STEEVENS.

Mr. Meerman, in his *Origines Typographicæ*, hath availed himself of this passage in Shakspeare, to support his hypothesis, that printing was introduced into England (before the time of Caxton) by Frederic Corfellis, a workman from Haerlem, in the time of Henry VI. BLACKSTONE.

³ “Against the peace of the said lord the now king, his crown, and dignity,” is the regular language of indictments. MALONE.

‘ thou hast put them in prison; and, because they could not
 ‘ read, thou hast hang’d them; ⁴ when, indeed, only for that
 ‘ cause they have been most worthy to live. Thou dost ride
 ‘ on a foot-cloth, ⁵ dost thou not?

Say. What of that?

Cade. Marry, thou ought’st not to let thy horse wear a
 cloak, ⁶ when honest men than thou go in their hose and
 doublets.

* *Dick.* And work in their shirt too; as myself, for
 * example, that am a butcher.

Say. You men of Kent,—

Dick. What say you of Kent?

‘ *Say,* Notking but this: ’Tis *bona terra, mala gens.*

‘ *Cade.* Away with him, away with him! he speaks
 * Latin.

* *Say.* Hear me but speak, and bear me where you will.
 ‘ Kent, in the Commentaries Cæsar writ,
 ‘ Is term’d the civil’st place of all this isle:
 ‘ Sweet is the country, because full of riches;
 ‘ The people liberal, valiant, active, wealthy;
 ‘ Which makes me hope you are not void of pity.
 ‘ I sold not Maine, I lost not Normandy;
 * Yet, to recover them, would lose my life.
 * Justice with favour have I always done;
 * Prayers and tears have mov’d me, gifts could never.
 * When have I aught exacted at your hands,
 * Kent to maintain, the king, the realm, and you?
 * Large gifts have I bestow’d on learned clerks,
 * Because my book preferr’d me to the king: ⁷

* And—

⁴ That is, they were hanged because they could not claim the benefit of clergy. JOHNSON.

⁵ A *footcloth* was a horse with housings which reached as low as his feet. STEEVENS.

A *footcloth* was a kind of housing, which covered the body of the horse, and almost reached the ground. It was sometimes made of velvet, and bordered with gold lace. MALONE.

⁶ This is a reproach truly characteristical. Nothing gives so much offence to the lower ranks of mankind, as the sight of superfluities merely ostentatious. JOHNSON.

⁷ This passage I know not well how to explain. It is pointed [in the
 6 old

- * And—seeing ignorance is the curse of God,
- * Knowledge the wing wherewith we fly to heaven,—
- * Unless you be possess'd with devilish spirits,
- * You cannot but forbear to murder me.
- * This tongue hath parley'd unto foreign kings
- * For your behoof,—
- * *Cade.* Tut! when struck'st thou one blow in the field?
- * *Say.* Great men have reaching hands: oft have I struck
- * Those that I never saw, and struck them dead.
- * *Geo.* O monstrous coward! what, to come behind folks?
- * *Say.* These cheeks are pale for watching ⁸ for your good.
- * *Cade.* Give him a box o'the ear, and that will make
- * 'em red again.
- * *Say.* Long sitting to determine poor men's causes
- * Hath made me full of sickness and diseases.
- * *Cade.* Ye shall have a hempen caudle then, and the pap⁹
- * of a hatchet.²

Dick.

old copy] so as to make Say declare that he preferred clerks to maintain Kent and the king. This is not very clear; and, besides, he gives in the following line another reason of his bounty, that learning raised him, and therefore he supported learning. I am inclined to think Kent slipped into this passage by chance, and would read:

When have I aught exacted at your hand,

But to maintain the king, the realm, and you? JOHNSON.

I concur with Dr. Johnson in believing the word *Kent* to have been shuffled into the text by accident. Lord Say, as the passage stands in the folio, not only declares he had preferred men of learning *to maintain Kent, the king, the realm*, but adds tautologically *you*; for it should be remembered that they are Kentish men to whom he is now speaking. I would read, *Bent to maintain, &c.* i. e. *strenuously resolved to the utmost, to, &c.*

STEEVENS.

The punctuation to which Dr. Johnson alludes, is that of the folio:

When have I aught exacted at your hands?

Kent to maintain, the king, the realm, and you,

Large gifts have I bestow'd on learned clerks, &c.

I have pointed the passage differently, the former punctuation appearing to me to render it nonsense. I suspect, however, with the preceding editors, that the word *Kent* is a corruption. MALONE.

⁸ That is, in consequence of watching. MALONE.

⁹ Old copy—the *help* of a hatchet. But we have here, as Dr. Farmer observed

* *Dick.* Why dost thou quiver, man?

* *Say.* The palsy, and not fear, provoketh me.

* *Cade.* Nay, he nods at us; as who should say, I'll be even with you. I'll see if his head will stand steadier on a pole, or no: Take him away, and behead him.

* *Say.* Tell me, wherein I have offended most?

* Have I affected wealth or honour; speak?

* Are my chests fill'd up with extorted gold?

* Is my apparel sumptuous to behold?

* Whom have I injur'd, that ye seek my death?

* These hands are free from guiltless blood-shedding,³

* This breast from harbouring foul deceitful thoughts.

* O, let me live!

* *Cade.* I feel remorse in myself with his words: but I'll

* bridle it; he shall die, an it be but for pleading so well for

* his life.⁴ Away with him! he has a familiar under his

* tongue;⁵ he speaks not o'God's name. 'Go, take him

* away, I say, and strike off his head presently; and then
' break

observed to me, a strange corruption. *The help of a hatchet* is little better than nonsense, and it is almost certain our author originally wrote *pap with a hatchet*; alluding to Lyly's pamphlet with the same title, which made its appearance about the time when this play is supposed to have been written. STEEVENS.

We should certainly read—*the pap of a hatchet*; and are much indebted to Dr. Farmer for so just and happy an emendation. There is no need, however, to suppose any allusion to the title of a pamphlet: It has doubtless been a cant phrase. RITSON.

² I suppose, to cut him down after he has been hanged, or perhaps to cut off his head. The article (*a hatchet*) was supplied by the editor of the second folio. MALONE.

³ I formerly imagined that the word *guiltless* was misplaced, and that the poet wrote—

These hands are guiltless, free from blood-shedding.

But change is unnecessary. *Guiltless* is not an epithet to *blood-shedding*, but to *blood*. These hands are free from shedding *guiltless or innocent blood*.

MALONE.

⁴ This sentiment is not merely designed as an expression of ferocious triumph, but to mark the eternal enmity which the vulgar bear to those of more liberal education and superior rank. The vulgar are always ready to depreciate the talents which they behold with envy, and insult the eminence which they despair to reach. STEEVENS.

⁵ A *familiar* is a daemon who was supposed to attend at call.

STEEVENS.

‘ break into his son-in-law’s house, Sir James Cromer,⁶ and
 ‘ strike off his head, and bring them both upon two poles
 ‘ hither.

‘ *All.* It shall be done.

* *Say.* Ah, countrymen! if when you make your prayers,
 * God should be so obdurate as yourselves,

* How would it fare with your departed souls?

* And therefore yet relent, and save my life.

* *Cade.* Away with him, and do as I command ye.

[*Exeunt some, with Lord SAY.*

‘ The proudest peer in the realm shall not wear a head on his
 ‘ shoulders, unless he pay me tribute; there shall not a maid be
 ‘ married, but she shall pay to me her maidenhead⁷ ere they
 ‘ have it: Men shall hold of me *in capite*; ⁸ and we charge
 ‘ and command, that their wives be as free as heart can wish,
 ‘ or tongue can tell.⁹

‘ *Dick.* My lord, when shall we go to Cheapside, and take
 ‘ up commodities upon our bills?²

‘ *Cade.*

⁶ It was *William Crowmer*, sheriff of Kent, whom Cade put to death. Lord Say and he had been previously sent to the Tower, and both, or at least the former, convicted of treason, at Cade’s mock commission of oyer and terminer at Guildhall. See *W. Wyrcester*, p. 470. *RITSON.*

⁷ Alluding to an ancient usage on which Beaumont and Fletcher have founded their play called *The Custom of the Country*. See Mr. Seward’s note at the beginning of it. See also Cowell’s *Law Dict.* in voce *Marchet*, &c. &c. &c. *STEEVENS.*

Cowell’s account of this custom has received the sanction of several eminent antiquaries; but a learned writer, Sir David Dalrymple, controverts the fact, and denies the actual existence of the custom. See *Annals of Scotland*. Judge Blackstone, in his Commentaries, is of opinion it never prevailed in England, though he supposes it certainly did in Scotland.

REED.

See Blount’s *GLOSSOGRAPHIA*, 8vo, 1681. in v. *Marcheta*. Hector Boethius and Skene both mention this custom as existing in Scotland till the time of Malcolm the Third, A. D. 1057. *MALONE.*

⁸ This equivoque, for which the author of the old play is answerable, is too learned for Cade. *MALONE.*

⁹ After this, in the old play, Robin enters to inform Cade that London bridge is on fire, and Dick enters with a serjeant; i. e. a bailiff; and there is a dialogue consisting of seventeen lines, of which Shakspeare has made no use whatsoever. *MALONE.*

² Perhaps this is an equivoque alluding to the *brown bills*, or halberds, with which the commons were anciently armed. *PERCY.*

* *Cade.* Marry, presently.

* *All.* O brave!

Re-enter Rebels, with the heads of Lord SAY and his son-in-law.

* *Cade.* But is not this braver?—Let them kiss one another,³ for they loved well, when they were alive. Now part them again, lest they consult about the giving up of some more towns in France. Soldiers, defer the spoil of the city until night: for with these borne before us, instead of maces, will we ride through the streets; and, at every corner, have them kiss.—Away! [*Exeunt.*]

S C E N E VIII.

Southwark.

Alarum. Enter CADE, and all his rabblement.

* *Cade.* Up Fish-street! down saint Magnus' corner! kill
* and knock down! throw them into Thames!—

[*A parley sounded, then a retreat.*]

* What noise is this I hear? Dare any be so bold to sound
* retreat or parley, when I command them kill?

Enter BUCKINGHAM, and old CLIFFORD, with forces.

* *Buck.* Ay, here they be that dare, and will disturb thee:
* Know, Cade, we come ambassadors from the king
* Unto the commons, whom thou hast misled;
* And here pronounce free pardon to them all,
* That will forsake thee, and go home in peace.

* *Clif.* What say ye, countrymen? will ye relent,
* And yield to mercy, whilst 'tis offer'd you;
* Or let a rabble lead you to your deaths?

* Who

³ This is from *The Mirror for Magistrates*, in the legend of Jack Cade:

“With these two heads I made a pretty play,

“For pight on poles I bore them though the strete,

“And for my sport made each kisse o'ber swete.” FARMER.

It is likewise found in Holinshed, p. 634: “and as it were in a spite caused them in every street to kisse together.” STEEVENS.

' Who loves the king, and will embrace his pardon,
 ' Fling up his cap, and say—God save his majesty!
 ' Who hateth him, and honours not his father,
 ' Henry the fifth, that made all France to quake,
 ' Shake he his weapon at us, and pass by.

' *All.* God save the king! God save the king!

' *Cade.* What, Buckingham, and Clifford, are ye so brave?
 ' —And you, base peasants, do ye believe him? will you
 ' needs be hang'd with your pardons about your necks?
 ' Hath my sword therefore broke through London Gates,
 ' that you should leave me at the White Hart in Southwark?
 ' I thought, you would never have given out these arms, till
 ' you had recover'd your ancient freedom: but you are all
 ' recreants, and dastards; and delight to live in slavery to the
 ' nobility. Let them break your backs with burdens, take
 ' your houses over your heads, ravish your wives and daughters
 ' before your faces: For me,—I will make shift for one;
 ' and so—God's curse 'light upon you all!

' *All.* We'll follow Cade, we'll follow Cade.

' *Clif.* Is Cade the son of Henry the fifth,
 ' That thus you do exclaim—you'll go with him?
 ' Will he conduct you through the heart of France,
 ' And make the meanest of you earls and dukes?
 ' Alas, he hath no home, no place to fly to;
 ' Nor knows he how to live, but by the spoil,
 ' Unless by robbing of your friends, and us.
 ' Wer't not a shame, that, whilst you live at jar,
 ' The fearful French, whom you late vanquished,
 ' Should make a start o'er seas, and vanquish you?
 ' Methinks, already, in this civil broil,
 ' I see them lording it in London streets,
 ' Crying—*Villageois!* unto all they meet.
 ' Better, ten thousand base-born Cades miscarry,
 ' Than you should stoop unto a Frenchman's mercy.
 ' To France, to France, and get what you have lost;
 ' Spare England, for it is your native coast:
 ' Henry hath money,⁴ you are strong and manly;
 ' God on our side doubt not of victory.

' *All.*

⁴ Dr. Warburton reads—*Henry hath mercy*; but he does not seem to have

* *All.* A Clifford! a Clifford! we'll follow the king, and Clifford.

* *Cade.* Was ever feather so lightly blown to and fro, as this multitude? the name of Henry the fifth hailes them to an hundred mischiefs, and makes them leave me desolate. I see them lay their heads together, to surprize me: my sword make way for me,⁵ for here is no staying.—In despite of the devils and hell, have through the very midst of you! and heavens and honour be witnesses, that no want of resolution in me, but only my followers' base and ignominious treasons, makes me betake me to my heels. [*Exit.*

* *Buck.* What, is he fled? go some, and follow him; And he, that brings his head unto the king, Shall have a thousand crowns for his reward.— [*Exeunt some of them.*

* Follow me, soldiers; we'll devise a mean
* To reconcile you all unto the king. [*Exeunt.*

SCENE IX.

Kenelworth Castle.

Enter King HENRY, Queen MARGARET, and SOMERSET, on the terrace of the Castle.

* *K. Hen.* Was ever king, that joy'd an earthly throne,
* And could command no more content than I?
* No sooner was I crept out of my cradle,
* But I was made a king, at nine months old;⁶

* Was

have attended to the speaker's drift, which is to lure them from their present design by the hope of French plunder. He bids them spare England, and go to France, and encourages them by telling them that all is ready for their expedition; that they have *strength*, and the king has *money*. JOHNSON.

⁵ In the original play Cade employs a more vulgar weapon: "My staff shall make way through the midst of you, and so a pox take you all!"

MALONE.

⁶ So all the historians agree. And yet in Part I. Act III. sc. iv. king Henry is made to say:

"I do

- * Was never subject long'd to be a king,
- * As I do long and wish to be a subject.

Enter BUCKINGHAM and CLIFFORD.

- * *Buck.* Health, and glad tidings, to your majesty!
- * *K. Hen.* Why, Buckingham, is the traitor Cade surpriz'd?
- * Or is he but retir'd to make him strong?

Enter, below, a great number of Cade's followers, with halters about their necks.

- * *Clif.* He's fled, my lord, and all his powers do yield;
- * And humbly thus with halters on their necks
- * Expect your highness' doom, of life, or death.
- * *K. Hen.* 'Then, heaven, set ope thy everlasting gates,
- * To entertain my vows of thanks and praise!—
- * Soldiers, this day have you redeem'd your lives,
- * And shew'd how well you love your prince and country:
- * Continue still in this so good a mind,
- * And Henry, though he be unfortunate,
- * Assure yourselves, will never be unkind:
- * And so, with thanks, and pardon to you all,
- * I do dismiss you to your several countries.
- All.* God save the king! God save the king!

Enter a Messenger.

- * *Mes.* Please it your grace to be advertised,
- * The duke of York is newly come from Ireland:
- * And with a puissant and a mighty power,
- * Of Gallowglasses, and stout Kernes,⁶

* Is

“I do remember how my father said,”
a plain proof that the whole of that play was not written by the same hand as this. BLACKSTONE.

⁶ These were two orders of foot-soldiers among the Irish. STEEVENS.
“The galloglass^e useth a kind of pollax for his weapon. These men are grim of countenance, tall of stature, big of limme, lusty of body, wel and strongly timbered. The kerne is an ordinary soldier, using for weapon his sword

- * Is marching hitherward in proud array ;
- * And still proclaimeth, as he comes along,
- * His arms are only to remove from thee
- * The duke of Somerset, whom he terms a traitor.
- * *K. Hen.* Thus stands my state, 'twixt Cade and York
distress'd ;
- * Like to a ship, that, having 'scap'd a tempest,
- * Is straightway calm'd, and boarded with a pirate :⁷
- * But now is Cade driven back, his men dispers'd ;
- * And now is York in arms, to second him.—
- * I pray thee, Buckingham, go and meet him ;
- * And ask him, what's the reason of these arms.
- * Tell him, I'll send duke Edmund to the Tower ;—
- * And, Somerset, we will commit thee thither,
- * Until this army be dismiss'd from him.
- * *Som.* My lord,
- * I'll yield myself to prison willingly,
- * Or unto death, to do my country good.
- * *K. Hen.* In any case, be not too rough in terms ;
- * For he is fierce, and cannot brook hard language.
- * *Buck.* I will, my lord ; and doubt not so to deal,
- * As all things shall redound unto your good.
- * *K. Hen.* Come, wife, let's in, and learn to govern
better ;
- * For yet may England curse my wretched reign. [*Exeunt.*]

sword and target, and sometimes his peece, being commonly good mark-men. Kerne, [Kigheyren] signifieth a shower of hell, because they are taken for no better than for rake-hells, or the devils blacke garde.' Stanihurst's *Description of Ireland*, Ch viii. f. 28. BOWLE.

⁷ The editions read—*claim'd* ; and one would think it plain enough ; alluding to York's claim to the crown. Cade's headlong tumult was well compared to a *tempest*, as York's premeditated rebellion to a *piracy*. But see what it is to be critical : Mr Theobald says, *claim'd* should be *calm'd*, because a *calm* frequently succeeds a *tempest*. It may be so ; but not here, if the king's word may be taken ; who expressly says, that no sooner Cade was driven back, but York appeared in arms :

But now is Cade driv'n back, his men dispers'd ;

And now is York in arms, to second him. WARBURTON.

SCENE X.

Kent. Iden's Garden.⁷*Enter CADE.*

* *Cade.* Fie on ambition ! fie on myself ; that have a sword,
 * and yet am ready to famish ! These five days have I hid me
 * in these woods ; and durst not peep out, for all the country
 * is lay'd for me ; but now am I so hungry, that if I might
 * have a lease of my life for a thousand years, I could stay no
 * longer. Wherefore, on a brickwall have I climb'd into this
 * garden ; to see if I can eat grass, or pick a sallet another
 * while, which is not amiss to cool a man's stomach this hot
 * weather. And, I think, this word sallet was born to do
 * me good : for, many a time, but for a sallet, my brain-pan⁸
 * had been cleft with a brown bill ; and many a time, when
 * I have

⁷ Holinshed, p. 635, says : "—a gentleman of Kent, named Alexander Eden, awaited so his time, that he tooke the said Cade in a garden in *Suffex*, so that there he was slaine at Hothfield," &c.

Instead of the soliloquy with which the present scene begins, the quarto has only this stage direction. *Enter Jacke Cade at one doore, and at the other M. Alexander Eyden and his men ; and Jack Cade lies down picking of beerber, and eating them.* STEEVENS.

This Iden was, in fact, the new sheriff of Kent, who had followed Cade from Rochester. *W. Wyrcester*, p. 472. RITSON.

⁸ A sallet by corruption from *cælata*, a helmet, (says Skinner,) *quia galeæ cælatae fuerunt.* POPE.

I do not see by what rules of etymology, *sallet* can be formed from *cælata*. Is it not rather a corruption from the French *salut*, taken, I suppose, from the scriptural phrase, the *helmet of salvation* ? *Brain-pan*, for *skull*, occurs, I think in Wicliff's translation of Judges xix. 53.

WHALLEY.

Salade has the same meaning in French, as appears from a line in *La Pucelle d'Orleans* :

" Devers la place arrive un Ecuyer

" Portant *salade*, avec lance dorée." M. MASON.

Minshew conjectures that it is derived "*à salut*, Gal. because it keepeth the head whole from breaking." He adds, "*alias salade dicitur, à G. salade, idem ; utrumque vero celando, quod caput tegit.*"

The word undoubtedly came to us from the French. In the Stat. 4 and 5 Ph and Mary, ch. 2. we find—"twentie haquebuts, and twentie morians or *salets*." MALONE.

- * I have been dry, and bravely marching, it hath served me
- * instead of a quart-pot to drink in; and now the word fallet
- * must serve me to feed on.

Enter IDEN, with Servants.

- * *Iden.* Lord, who would live turmoiled in the court,
- * And may enjoy such quiet walks as these?
- * This small inheritance, my father left me,
- * Contenteth me, and is worth a monarchy.
- * I seek not to wax great by others' waining;
- * Or gather wealth, I care not with what envy;
- * Sufficeth, that I have maintains my state,
- * And sends the poor well pleased from my gate.

- * *Cade.* Here's the lord of the foil come to seize me for a
- * stray, for entering his fee-simple without leave. Ah, villain,
- * thou wilt betray me, and get a thousand crowns of the king
- * for carrying my head to him; but I'll make thee eat iron
- * like an ostridge, and swallow my sword like a great pin,
- * ere thou and I part.

- * *Iden.* Why, rude companion, whatsoe'er thou be,
- * I know thee not; Why then should I betray thee?
- * Is't not enough, to break into my garden,
- * And, like a thief, to come to rob my grounds,
- * Climbing my walls in spite of me the owner,
- * But thou wilt brave me with these saucy terms?

Cade. Brave thee? ay, by the best blood that ever was
broach'd, and beard thee too. Look on me well: I have eat
no meat these five days; yet, come thou and thy five men, and
if I do not leave you all as dead as a door-nail, I pray God,
I may never eat grafs more.

- * *Iden.* Nay, it shall ne'er be said, while England stands,
- * That Alexander Iden, an esquire of Kent,
- * Took odds to combat a poor famish'd man.
- * Oppose thy stedfast-gazing eyes to mine,
- * See if thou canst outface me with thy looks.
- * Set limb to limb, and thou art far the lesser;
- * Thy hand is but a finger to my fist;
- * Thy leg a stick, compared with this truncheon;
- * My foot shall fight with all the strength thou hast;

* And if mine arm be heaved in the air,
 * Thy grave is digg'd already in the earth.
 * As for more words, whose greatness answers words,
 * Let this my sword report what speech forbears.⁹

* *Cade.* By my valour, the most complete champion that
 * ever I heard.—‘ Steel, if thou turn the edge, or cut not out
 * the burly-boned clown in chines of beef ere thou sleep in thy
 * sheath, I beseech God on my knees, thou may’st be turn’d
 * to hobnails, [*They fight. Cade falls.*] O, I am slain!
 * famine, and no other, hath slain me: let ten thousand devils
 * come against me, and give me but the ten meals I have lost,
 * and I’d defy them all. Wither, garden; and be henceforth
 * a burying-place to all that do dwell in this house, because
 * the unconquer’d soul of Cade is fled.

* *Iden.* Is’t Cade that I have slain, that monstrous traitor?
 * Sword, I will hallow thee for this thy deed,
 * And hang thee o’er my tomb, when I am dead: ²
 * Ne’er shall this blood be wiped from thy point;
 * But thou shalt wear it as a herald’s coat,
 * To emblaze the honour that thy master got.

* *Cade.* Iden, farewell; and be proud of thy victory:
 * Tell Kent from me she hath lost her best man, and exhort
 * all the world to be cowards; for I, that never fear’d any,
 * am vanquish’d by famine, not by valour. [*Dies.*

* *Iden.* How much thou wrong’st me,³ heaven be my
 judge.

* Die

⁹ Sir Thomas Hanmer, and, after him, Dr. Warburton, read:

*As for more words, let this my sword report
 (Whose greatness answers words) what speech forbears.*

It seems to be a poor praise of a sword, that *its greatness answers words*, whatever be the meaning of the expression. The old reading, though somewhat obscure, seems to me more capable of explanation. *For more words, whose pomp and tumour may answer words, and only words, I shall forbear them, and refer the rest to my sword.* JOHNSON.

² How Iden was to hang a sword over his own tomb, after he was dead, it is not easy to explain. The sentiment is more correctly expressed in the quarto:

Oh, sword, I’ll honour thee for this, and in my chamber
 Shalt thou hang, as a monument to after age,

For this great service thou hast done to me. STEEVENS.

³ That is, in supposing that I am proud of my victory. JOHNSON.

An

- * Die, damned wretch, the curse of her that bare thee!
- * And as I thrust thy body in with my sword,
- * So wish I, I might thrust thy soul to hell +
- * Hence will I drag thee headlong by the hee's
- * Unto a dunghill, which shall be thy grave,
- * And there cut off thy most ungracious head;
- * Which I will bear in triumph to the king,
- * Leaving thy trunk for crows to feed upon.

[Exit, dragging out the body.]

ACT V. SCENE I.

The same. Fields between Dartford and Blackheath.

The King's Camp on one side. On the other, enter YORK attended, with drum and colours: his forces at some distance.

- * York. From Ireland thus comes York, to claim his right,
- * And pluck the crown from feeble Henry's head:
- * Ring, bells, aloud; burn, bonfires, clear and bright,
- * To entertain great England's lawful king.
- Ah, *sancta majestas!* who would not buy thee dear?
- * Let them obey, that know not how to rule;

* This

An anonymous writer [Mr. Ritson,] suggests that the meaning may be, that Cade wrongs Iden by undervaluing his prowess, and declaring that he was subdued by famine, not by the valour of his adversary.—I think Dr. Johnson's is the true interpretation. MALONE.

+ Not to dwell upon the wickedness of this horrid wish, with which Iden debases his character, the whole speech is wild and confused. To draw a man by the heels, headlong, is somewhat difficult; nor can I discover how the dunghill would be his grave, if his trunk were left to be fed upon by crows. These I conceive not to be the faults of corruption but negligence, and therefore do not attempt correction. JOHNSON.

By *headlong* the poet undoubtedly meant, with his head trailed along the ground. By saying, "the dunghill shall be thy grave," Iden means, the dunghill shall be the place where thy *dead body shall be laid*: the dunghill shall be the *only* grave which thou shalt have. Surely in poetry this is allowable. MALONE.

- This hand was made to handle nought but gold :
- I cannot give due action to my words,
- Except a sword, or scepter, balance it.⁵
- A scepter shall it have, have I a soul ;⁶
- On which I'll toss the flower-de-luce of France.

Enter BUCKINGHAM.

- Whom have we here ? Buckingham, to disturb me ?
- The king hath sent him, sure : I must dissemble.
- *Buck.* York, if thou meanest well, I greet thee well.
- *York.* Humphrey of Buckingham, I accept thy greeting.
- Art thou a messenger, or come of pleasure ?
- *Buck.* A messenger from Henry, our dread liege,
- To know the reason of these arms in peace ;
- Or why, thou—being a subject as I am,—
- Against thy oath and true allegiance sworn,
- Should'st raise so great a power without his leave,
- Or dare to bring thy force so near the court.
- *York.* Scarce can I speak, my choler is so great. }
- O, I could hew up rocks, and fight with flint, }
- I am so angry at these abject terms; }
- And now, like Ajax Telamonius, }
- On sheep or oxen could I spend my fury ! }
- I am far better born than is the king ; }
- More like a king, more kingly in my thoughts : }
- But I must shake fair weather yet a while, }
- Till Henry be more weak, and I more strong.— }
- O Buckingham,

Aside.

⁵ That is, Balance my hand. JOHNSON.

⁶ I read :—*A scepter shall it have, have I a sword.*

York observes that his hand must be employed with a sword or scepter ; he then naturally observes, that he has a sword, and resolves that, if he has a sword, he will have a scepter. JOHNSON.

I rather think York means to say—If I have a *soul*, my hand shall not be without a scepter. STEEVENS.

This certainly is a very natural interpretation of these words, and being no friend to alteration merely for the sake of improvement, we ought, I think, to acquiesce in it. But some difficulty will still remain ; for if we read, with the old copy, *soul*, York threatens to “toss the flower-de-luce of France on his *scepter*,” which sounds but oddly. To

toss

' O Buckingham, I pr'ythee, pardon me,
 ' That I have given no answer all this while;
 ' My mind was troubled with deep melancholy.
 ' The cause why I have brought this army hither,
 ' Is—to remove proud Somerset from the king,
 ' Seditious to his grace, and to the state.

' *Buck.* That is too much presumption on thy part:
 ' But if thy arms be to no other end,
 ' The king hath yielded unto thy demand;
 ' The duke of Somerset is in the Tower.

York. Upon thine honour, is he prisoner?

Buck. Upon mine honour, he is prisoner.

' *York.* Then, Buckingham, I do dismiss my powers.—
 ' Soldiers, I thank you all; disperse yourselves;
 ' Meet me to-morrow in saint George's field,
 ' You shall have pay, and ever thing you wish.—
 * And let my sovereign, virtuous Henry,
 * Command my eldest son,—nay, all my sons,
 * As pledges of my fealty and love,
 * I'll send them all as willing as I live;
 * Lands, goods, horse, armour, any thing I have
 * Is his to use, so Somerset may die.

' *Buck.* York, I commend this kind submission:
 ' We twain will go into his highness' tent.

Enter King HENRY, attended.

' *K. Hen.* Buckingham, doth York intend no harm
 to us,
 ' That thus he marcheth with thee arm in arm?
 * *York.* In all submission and humility,
 * York doth present himself unto your highness.
 * *K. Hen.* Then what intend these forces thou dost
 bring?

York.

tofs it on his *sword*, was a threat very natural for a man who had already triumphed over the French.

However, in the licentious phraseology of our author, York may mean, that he will *wield his sceptre*, (that is, exercise his royal power,) when he obtains it, so as to abase and destroy the French. MALONE.

- *York.* To heave the traitor Somerset from hence?
- And fight against that monstrous rebel, Cade,
- Who since I heard to be discomfited.

Enter IDEN, with Cade's head.

- *Iden.* If one so rude, and of so mean condition,
- May pass into the presence of a king,
- Lo, I present your grace a traitor's head,
- The head of Cade, whom I in combat slew.
- *K. Hen.* The head of Cade?—Great God, how just art thou!—
- O, let me view his visage being dead,
- That living wrought me such exceeding trouble.
- Tell me, my friend, art thou the man that slew him?
- *Iden.* I was, an't like your majesty.
- *K. Hen.* How art thou call'd? and what is thy degree?
- *Iden.* Alexander Iden, that's my name;
- A poor esquire of Kent, that loves his king.
- * *Buck.* So please it you, my lord, 'twere not amiss
- * He were created knight for his good service.
- *K. Hen.* Iden, kneel down; [*he kneels.*] Rise up a knight.
- We give thee for reward a thousand marks;
- And will, that thou henceforth attend on us.
- *Iden.* May Iden live to merit such a bounty,
- And never live but true unto his liege!?
- *K. Hen.* See, Buckingham! Somerset comes with the queen;
- Go, bid her hide him quickly from the duke.

Enter

? Iden has said before :

*Lord! who would live turmoiled in a court,
And may enjoy, &c.*

Shakspeare makes Iden rail at those enjoyments which he supposes to be out of his reach; but no sooner are they offered to him but he readily accepts them. ANONYMOUS.

In Iden's eulogium on the happiness of rural life, and in his acceptance of the honours bestowed by his majesty, Shakspeare has merely followed the old play. MALONE.

Enter Queen MARGARET and SOMERSET.

* *Q. Mar.* For thousand Yorks he shall not hide his head,

* But boldly stand, and front him to his face.

* *York.* How now! Is Somerset at liberty?

* Then, York, unloose thy long-imprison'd thoughts,

* And let thy tongue be equal with thy heart.

* Shall I endure the sight of Somerset?—

* False king! why hast thou broken faith with me,

* Knowing how hardly I can brook abuse?

* King did I call thee? no, thou art not king;

* Not fit to govern and rule multitudes,

* Which dar'st not, no, nor canst not rule a traitor,

* That head of thine doth not become a crown;

* Thy hand is made to grasp a palmer's staff,

* And not to grace an awful princely scepter.

* That gold must round engirt these brows of mine;

* Whose smile and frown, like to Achilles' spear,

* Is able with the change to kill and cure,

* Here is a hand to hold a scepter up,

* And with the same to act controlling laws.

* Give place; by heaven, thou shalt rule no more

* O'er him, whom heaven created for thy ruler.

* *Som.* O monstrous traitor!—I arrest thee, York,

* Of capital treason 'gainst the king and crown:

* Obey, audacious traitor; kneel for grace.

* *York.* Would'st have me kneel? first let me ask of these,

* If they can brook I bow a knee to man.—

* Sirrah, call in my sons to be my bail; ⁸ [*Exit an Attend.*

* I know,

⁸ As these lines stand, I think the sense perplexed and obscure. I have ventured to transpose them. *WARBURTON.*

I believe these lines should be replaced in the order in which they stood till Dr. Warburton transposed them. By *these* York means *his knees*. He peaks, as Mr. Upton would have said, *δεικτικως*: laying his hand upon, or at least pointing to, his knees. *TYRWHITT.*

By *these* York evidently means his sons, whom he had just called for.

Tyrwhitt's

- * I know, ere they will have me go to ward,
- * They'll pawn their swords for my enfranchisement.

* *Q. Mar.* Call hither Clifford; bid him come amain,
[Exit BUCKINGHAM.]

- * To say, if that the bastard boys of York
- * Shall be the surety for their traitor father.
- * *York.* O blood-bespotted Neapolitan,
- * Outcast of Naples, England's bloody scourge!
- * The sons of York, thy betters in their birth,
- * Shall be their father's bail; and bane to those⁹
- * That for my surety will refuse the boys.

Enter EDWARD and RICHARD PLANTAGENET, with forces, at one side; at the other, with forces also, old CLIFFORD and his son.

- * See, where they come; I'll warrant, they'll make it good.

* *Q. Mar.* And here comes Clifford, to deny their bail.

* *Clif.* Health and all happiness to my lord the king!
[Kneels.]

* *York.* I thank thee, Clifford: Say, what news with thee?

- * Nay, do not fright us with an angry look:
- * We are thy sovereign, Clifford, kneel again;
- * For thy mistaking so, we pardon thee.

* *Clif.*

Tyrwhitt's supposition, that he meant to ask his *knees*, whether he should bow his *knees* to any man, is not imagined with his usual sagacity.

M. MASON.

I have no doubt that York means either his sons, whom he mentions in the next line, or his troops, to whom he may be supposed to point. Dr. Warburton transposed the lines, placing that which is now the middle line of the speech at the beginning of it. But, like many of his emendations, it appears to have been unnecessary. The folio reads—of *thee*. The emendation was made by Mr. Theobald. *Sons* was substituted for *son* by the editor of the second folio. The correction is justified both by the context and the old play, “For my enfranchisement,” instead of—of my, &c. was likewise his correction. MALONE.

⁹ Considering how our author loves to play on words similar in their sound, but opposite in their signification, I make no doubt but the author wrote *bail* and *bale*. *Bale* (from whence our common adjective, *haleful*) signifies detriment, ruin, misfortune, &c. THEOBALD.

Bale signifies sorrow. Either word may serve. JOHNSON.

- * *Clif.* This is my king, York, I do not mistake;
 * But thou mistak'st me much, to think I do:—
 * To Bedlam with him; is the man grown mad?
 * *K. Hen.* Ay, Clifford; a bedlam and ambitious
 humour²
 * Makes him oppose himself against his king.
 * *Clif.* He is a traitor, let him to the Tower,
 * And chop away that factious pate of his.
 * *Q. Mar.* He is arrested, but will not obey;
 * His sons, he says, shall give their words for him.
 * *York.* Will you not, sons?
 * *Edw.* Ay, noble father, if our words will serve.
 * *Rich.* And if words will not, then our weapons shall.
 * *Clif.* Why, what a brood of traitors have we here!
 * *York.* Look in a glass, and call thy image so;
 * I am thy king, and thou a false-heart traitor.—
 * Call hither to the stake my two brave bears,
 * That, with the very shaking of their chains,
 * They may astonish these fell lurking curs;
 * Bid Salisbury, and Warwick, come³ to me.

Drums. Enter WARWICK and SALISBURY, with forces.

- * *Clif.* Are these thy bears? we'll bait thy bears to
 death,

* And

² The word *bedlam* was not used in the reign of King Henry the Sixth, nor was Bethlehem Hospital (vulgarly called Bedlam) converted into a house or hospital for lunatics till the reign of king Henry the Eighth, who gave it to the city of London for that purpose. GREY.

Shakspeare was led into this anachronism by the author of the elder play.

MALONE.

It is no anachronism, and Dr. Grey was mistaken. "Next unto the parish of St. Buttolph," says Stow, "is a fayre inne for receipt of travellers: then an *Hospitall* of *S. Mary of Betble*m, founded by Simon Fitz Mary, one of the Sheriffes of London, in the yeare 1246. He founded it to haue beene a priorie of Cannons with brethren and sisters, and king Edward the thirde granted a protection, which I have seene, for the brethren *Milicæ beatæ Mariæ de Betble*m, within the citie of London, the 14 yeare of his raigne. *It was an hospitall for distracted people.*" Survey of London, 1598, p. 127. RITSON.

³ The Nevils, earls of Warwick, had a *bear and ragged staff* for their cognizance. SIR J. HAWKINS.

- * And manacle the bear-ward in their chains,
 * If thou dar'st bring them to the baiting-place.
 * *Rich.* Oft have I seen † a hot o'erweening cur
 * Run back and bite, because he was withheld;
 * Who, being suffer'd ‡ with the bear's fell paw,
 * Hath clapp'd his tail between his legs, and cry'd:
 * And such a piece of service will you do,
 * If you oppose yourselves to match lord Warwick.
 * *Clif.* Hence, heap of wrath, foul indigested lump,
 * As crooked in thy manners as thy shape!
 * *York.* Nay, we shall heat you thoroughly anon.
 * *Clif.* Take heed, lest by your heat you burn yourselves.
 * *K. Hen.* Why, Warwick, hath thy knee forgot to
 bow?—
 * Old Salisbury,—shame to thy silver hair,
 * Thou mad misleader of thy brainfick son!—
 * What, wilt thou on thy death-bed play the ruffian,
 * And seek for sorrow with thy spectacles?
 * O, where is faith? O, where is loyalty?
 * If it be banish'd from the frosty head,
 * Where shall it find a harbour in the earth?—
 * Wilt thou go dig a grave to find out war,
 * And shame thine honourable age with blood?
 * Why art thou old, and want'st experience?
 * Or wherefore dost abuse it, if thou hast it?
 * For shame! in duty bend thy knee to me,
 * That bows unto the grave with mickle age.
 * *Sal.* My lord, I have consider'd with myself
 * The title of this most renowned duke;
 * And in my conscience do repute his grace
 * The rightful heir to England's royal seat.
 * *K. Hen.* Hast thou not sworn allegiance unto me?
 * *Sal.* I have.

* *K. Hen.*

† Bear-baiting was anciently a royal sport. See Stowe's account of Queen Elizabeth's Amusements of this kind; and Langham's *Letter concerning that Queen's Entertainment at Kenelworth Castle*. PERCY.

The one of them has adopted his description from the other.

HENLEY.

‡ Being suffer'd to approach to the bear's fell paw. Such may be the meaning. I am not however sure but the poet meant, being in a state of sufferance or pain. MALONE.

* *K. Hen.* Canst thou dispense with heaven for such an oath?

* *Sal.* It is great sin, to swear unto a sin ;

* But greater sin, to keep a sinful oath.

* Who can be bound by any solemn vow

* To do a murderous deed, to rob a man,

* To force a spotless virgin's chastity,

* To reave the orphan of his patrimony,

* To wring the widow from her custom'd right ;

* And have no other reason for this wrong,

* But that he was bound by a solemn oath ?

* *Q. Mar.* A subtle traitor needs no sophister.

* *K. Hen.* Call Buckingham, and bid him arm himself.

* *York.* Call Buckingham, and all the friends thou hast,

* I am resolv'd for death, or dignity.

* *Clif.* The first I warrant thee, if dreams prove true.

* *War.* You were best to go to bed, and dream again,
To keep thee from the tempest of the field.

Clif. I am resolv'd to bear a greater storm,

Than any thou canst conjure up to-day ;

And that I write upon thy burgonet,⁶

Might I but know thee by thy household badge.

War. Now by my father's badge, old Nevil's crest,

The rampant bear chain'd to the ragged staff,

This day I'll wear aloft my burgonet,

(As on a mountain top the cedar shows,

That keeps his leaves in spite of any storm,)

Even to affright thee with the view thereof.

Clif. And from thy burgonet I'll rend thy bear,

And tread it under foot with all contempt,

* Despight the bearward that protects the bear.

* *Y. Clif.* And so to arms, victorious father,

* To quell the rebels, and their 'complices.

Rich. Fie ! charity, for shame ! speak not in spite,

For you shall sup with *Jesu Christ* to-night.

* *Y. Clif.* Foul stigmatick,⁷ that's more than thou
canst tell.

* *Rich.*

⁶ — burgonet,] Is a helmet. JOHNSON.

⁷ A stigmatick is one on whom nature has set a mark of deformity, a stigma. STEEVENS.

* *Rich.* If not in heaven, you'll surely sup in hell.

[*Exeunt severally.*]

SCENE II.

Saint Albans.

Alarums; Excursions. Enter WARWICK.

War. Clifford of Cumberland, 'tis Warwick calls!
And if thou dost not hide thee from the bear,
Now,—when the angry trumpet sounds alarm,
And dead men's cries do fill the empty air,—
Clifford, I say, come forth and fight with me!
Proud northern lord, Clifford of Cumberland,
Warwick is hoarse with calling thee to arms.

Enter York.

* How now, my noble lord? what, all a-foot?
* *York.* The deadly-handed Clifford slew my steed;
* But match to match I have encounter'd him,
* And made a prey for carrion kites and crows
* Even of the bonny beast he lov'd so well.

Enter CLIFFORD.

* *War.* Of one or both of us the time is come.
York. Hold, Warwick, seek the out some other chace,
For I myself³ must hunt this deer to death.
* *War.* Then, nobly, York; tis for a crown thou fight'st.—
* As I intend, Clifford, to thrive to day,
It grieves my soul to leave thee unassail'd.

[*Exit WARWICK.*]

* *Clif.* What seest thou in me, York? why dost thou pause?
* *York.*

This certainly is the meaning here. A *stigmatick* originally and properly signified a person who has been branded with a hot iron for some crime. See Bullokar's *English Expofitor*, 1616. MALONE.

³ This passage will remind the classical reader of Achilles' conduct in the 22d Iliad, v. 205, where he expresses his determination that Hector should fall by no other hand than his own. STEEVENS.

* The name of valour.—O, let the vile world end,
[*seeing his dead father.*]

* And the premised flames⁷ of the last day
* Knit earth and heaven together!
* Now let the general trumpet blow his blast,
* Particularities and petty sounds
* To cease!⁸—Wast thou ordain'd, dear father,
* To lose thy youth in peace, and to atchieve⁹
* The silver livery of advised age;²
* And, in thy reverence,³ and thy chair-days, thus
* 'To die in ruffian battle?—Even at this sight,
* My heart is turn'd to stone: and, while 'tis mine,
* It shall be stony. York not our old men spares;
* No more will I their babes: tears virginal
* Shall be to me even as the dew to fire;
* And beauty, that the tyrant oft reclaims,
* Shall to my flaming wrath be oil and flax.
* Henceforth, I will not have to do with pity:
* Meet I an infant of the house of York,
* Into as many gobbets will I cut it,
* As wild Medea young Absyrtus did:⁴
* In cruelty will I seek out my fame.
' Come, thou new ruin of old Clifford's house;
[*Taking up the body.*]
' As did Æneas old Anchises bear,

' So

⁷ *Premised*, for sent before their time. The sense is, let the flames reserved for the last day be sent now. WARBURTON.

⁸ *To cease!*] Is to *stop*, a verb active. STEEVENS.

⁹ ——— *to atchieve*—] Is, to obtain. JOHNSON.

² *Advised* is *wise*, *experienced*. MALONE.

Advised is *cautious*, *considerate*. So before in this play:

“And bid me be *advised* how I tread.” STEEVENS.

³ In that period of life which is entitled to the reverence of others. Our author has used the word in the same manner in *As you like it*, where the younger brother says to the elder, (speaking of their father,) “thou art indeed nearer to his *reverence*.” MALONE.

⁴ When Medea fled with Jason from Colchos, she murdered her brother Absyrtus, and cut his body into several pieces, that her father might be prevented for some time from pursuing her. See Ovid. *Trist. Lib. III. El. 9.* MALONE.

- * So bear I thee upon my manly shoulders;
- * But then Æneas bare a living load,
- * Nothing so heavy as these woes of mine. [Exit.

Enter RICHARD PLANTAGENET and SOMERSET fighting, and SOMERSET is killed.

- Rich.* So, liethou there;—
- * For, underneath an alehouse' paltry sign,
 - The Castle in faint Albans, Somerset
 - Hath made the wizard famous in his death.⁵—
 - * Sword, hold thy temper; heart, be wrathful still:
 - * Priests pray for enemies, but princes kill. [Exit.

Alarums. Excursions. Enter King HENRY, Queen MARGARET, and others, retreating.

- * *Q. Mar.* Away, my lord, you are slow; for shame, away!
- * *K. Hen.* Can we outrun the heavens? good Margaret, stay.
- * *Q. Mar.* What are you made of? you'll nor fight, nor fly:
- * Now is it manhood, wisdom, and defence,
- * To give the enemy way; and to secure us
- * By what we can, which can no more but fly. [Alarum afar of.
- * If you be ta'en, we then should see the bottom
- * Of all our fortunes: but if we haply scape,
- * (As well we may, if not through your neglect,)
- * We shall to London get; where you are lov'd;
- * And where this breach, now in our fortunes made,
- * May readily be stopp'd.

⁵ The particle *for* in the second line seems to be used without any very apparent inference. We might read:

Fall'n underneath an alehouse' paltry sign, &c.

Yet the alteration is not necessary; for the old reading is sense, though obscure. JOHNSON.

Enter

Enter young CLIFFORD.

- * *Y. Clif.* But that my heart's on future mischief set,
- * I would speak blasphemy ere bid you fly;
- * But fly you must; uncurable discomfit
- * Reigns in the hearts of all our present parts.⁶
- * Away, for your relief! and we will live
- * To see their day, and them our fortune give:
- * Away, my lord, away! [*Exeunt.*]

SCENE III.

Fields near Saint Albans.

Alarum. Retreat. Flourish; then enter YORK, RICHARD PLANTAGENET, WARWICK, and Soldiers, with drum and colours.

- * *York.* Of Salisbury, who can report of him;
 - * That winter lion, who, in rage, forgets
 - * Aged contusions and all brush of time;⁷
 - * And, like a gallant in the brow of youth,⁸
 - * Repairs him with occasion? this happy day
- * Is

* Should we not read?—*party.* TYRWHITT.

The text is undoubtedly right. So, before:

“Throw in the frozen bosoms of our *part*

“Hot coals of vengeance.”

I have met with *part* for *party* in other books of that time. MALONE.

A hundred instances might be brought in proof that *part* and *party* were synonymously used. But that is not the present question. Mr. Tyrwhitt's ear (like every other accustomed to harmony of versification) must naturally have been shocked by the leonine gingle of *hearts* and *parts*, which is not found in any one of the passages produced by Mr. Malone in defence of the present reading. STEEVENS.

⁷ —brush of time;] Read *bruise* of time. WARBURTON.

The *brush* of time, is the gradual detrition of time. The old reading I suppose to be the true one. STEEVENS.

⁸ The *brow* of youth is an expression not very easily explained. I read *the blow* of youth; the blossom, the spring. JOHNSON.

The *brow* of youth is the *height* of youth, as the *brow* of a hill is its summit. STEEVENS.

- * Is not itself, nor have we won one foot,
- * If Salisbury be lost.
- ‘ *Rich.* My noble father,
- ‘ Three times to-day I help him to his horse,
- ‘ Three times bestrid him,⁹ thrice I led him off,
- ‘ Persuaded him from any further act:
- ‘ But still, where danger was, still there I met him;
- * And like rich hangings in a homely house,
- * So was his will in his old feeble body.
- * But, noble as he is, look where he comes.

Enter SALISBURY.

- ‘ *Sal.* Now, by my sword, well hast thou fought to-day;
- ‘ By the mass, so did we all.—I thank you, Richard:
- ‘ God knows, how long it is I have to live;
- ‘ And it hath pleas’d him, that three times to-day
- ‘ You have defended me from imminent death.—
- * Well, lords, we have not got that which we have;
- * Tis not enough our foes are this time fled,
- * Being opposites of such repairing nature.²
- ‘ *York.* I know, our safety is to follow them;
- ‘ For, as I hear, the king is fled to London,
- ‘ To call a present court of parliament.³

‘ *Let*

⁹ That is, Three times I saw him fallen, and, striding over him, defending him till he recovered. JOHNSON.

Of this act of friendship, which Shakspeare has frequently noticed in other places, no mention is made in the old play, as the reader may find on the opposite page; and its introduction here is one of the numerous minute circumstances, which when united form almost a decisive proof that the piece before us was constructed on foundations laid by a preceding writer. MALONE.

² Being enemies that are likely so soon to rally and recover themselves from this defeat.

To *repair* in our author’s language is, to *renovate*. MALONE.

³ The king and queen left the stage only just as York entered, and have not said a word about calling a parliament. Where then could York hear this?—The fact is, as we have seen, that in the old play the king does say, “he will call a parliament,” but our author has omitted the lines. He has, therefore, here as in some other places, fallen into an impropriety, by sometimes following and at others deserting his original.

MALONE.

• Let us pursue him, ere the writs go forth:—

• What says lord Warwick? shall we after them?

War. After them! nay, before them, if we can.

Now by my faith, lords, 'twas a glorious day:

Saint Albans' battle, won by famous York,

Shall be eterniz'd in all age to come.—

Sound, drums and trumpets;—and to London all:

And more such days as these to us befall! [*Exeunt.*]

KING HENRY VI.

PART III.

SECOND PART

THE HISTORY OF THE
REIGN OF KING HENRY VI.
FROM HIS MARRIAGE TO HIS DEATH.
IN TWO VOLUMES.
BY SAMUEL JOHNSON.
LONDON: Printed by A. MILLAR, in Pall-mall.
MDCCLXXV.

KING HENRY VI.

PART II.

* * The action of this play (which was at first printed under this title, *The true Tragedy of Richard duke of York, and the good King Henry the Sixth; or, The Second Part of the Contention of York and Lancaster*) opens just after the first battle at Saint Albans, [May 23, 1455,] wherein the York faction carried the day; and closes with the murder of king Henry VI. and the birth of prince Edward, afterwards king Edward V. [November 4, 1471,] So that this history takes in the space of full sixteen years. THEOBALD.

I have never seen the quarto copy of the *Second* part of THE WHOLE CONTENTION, &c. printed by *Valentine Simmes* for Thomas Millington, 1600; but the copy printed by W. W. for Thomas Millington, 1600, is now before me; and it is not precisely the same with that described by Mr. Pope and Mr. Theobald, nor does the undated edition (printed in fact, in 1619) correspond with their description. The title of the piece printed in 1600, by W. W. is as follows: *The true Tragedie of Richard Duke of Yorke, and the death of good King Henrie the Sixt: With the whole contention between the two houses Lancaster and Yorke: as it was sundry times acted by the Right Honourable the Earle of Pembroke his Servants. Printed at London by W. W. for Thomas Millington, and are to be sold at his shoppe under St. Peter's Church in Cornewall, 1600.*" On this piece Shakspeare, as I conceive, in 1591 formed the drama before us. MALONE.

The present historical drama was altered by Crowne, and brought on the stage in the year 1680, under the title of *The Miseries of Civil War*. Surely the works of Shakspeare could have been little read at that period; for Crowne, in his prologue, declares the play to be entirely his own composition:

"For by his feeble skill 'tis built alone,

"The divine Shakspeare did not lay one stone."

whereas the very first scene is that of Jack Cade copied almost verbatim from the second part of *K. Henry VI.* and several others from this third part, with as little variation. STEEVENS.

PERSONS REPRESENTED.

King Henry the Sixth:

Edward, *Prince of Wales*, his son.

Lewis XI. *King of France*.

Duke of Somerset.	Duke of Exeter.	Earl of	} <i>Lords on King Henry's side.</i>
Oxford.	Earl of Northumberland.	Earl	
of Westmoreland.	Lord Clifford.		

Richard Plantagenet, *Duke of York*.

Edward, <i>Earl of March</i> , afterwards	King	} <i>his sons.</i>
Edward IV.		

Edmund, *Earl of Rutland*,

George, afterwards *Duke of Clarence*,

Richard, afterwards *Duke of Gloucester*,

Duke of Norfolk

Marquis of Montague,

Earl of Warwick,

Earl of Pembroke,

Lord Hastings,

Lord Stafford,

Sir John Mortimer,

Sir Hugh Mortimer,

Henry, *Earl of Richmond*, a Youth.

Lord Rivers, brother to Lady Grey. Sir Willam Stanley.

Sir John Montgomery. Sir John Somerville. Tutor to

Rutland. Mayor of York. Lieutenant of the Tower. A

Nobleman. Two Keepers. A Huntsman. A son that has

killed his father. A father that has killed his son.

Queen Margaret.

Lady Grey, afterwards queen to Edward IV.

Bona, sister to the French queen.

Soldiers, and other Attendants on King Henry and King
Edward, Messengers, Watchmen, &c.

SCENE, during part of the third act, in France; during all the
rest of the play, in England.

THIRD PART OF
KING HENRY VI.²

ACT I. SCENE I.

London. *The Parliament - House.*

Drums. Some Soldiers of York's party break in. Then, Enter the Duke of YORK, EDWARD, RICHARD, NORFOLK, MONTAGUE, WARWICK, and Others, with white roses in their hats.

War. I wonder, how the king escap'd our hands.

York. While we pursu'd the horsemen of the north,
He flily stole away, and left his men:

Whereat the great lord of Northumberland,

Whose warlike ears could never brook retreat,

' Cheer'd up the drooping army ; and himself,

' Lord Clifford, and lord Stafford, all a-breast,

' Charg'd our main battle's front, and, breaking in,

' Were by the swords of common soldiers slain.³

Edw.

² This play is only divided from the former for the convenience of exhibition ; for the series of action is continued without interruption, nor are any two scenes of any play more closely connected than the first scene of this play with the last of the former. JOHNSON.

³ This is an inadvertency in our author. The elder Clifford was slain by York, and his son lives to revenge his death. M. MASON.

Dr. Percy in a note on the preceding play, has pointed out the inconsistency between this account, and the representation there, Clifford being killed on the stage by the duke of York, the present speaker. Shakspeare was led into this inconsistency by the author of the original plays : if indeed there was but one author, for this circumstance might lead us to suspect that the *first* and *second* part of *The Contention*, &c. were not written by the same hand. — However, this is not decisive ; for the author, whoever he was, might have been inadvertent, as we find Shakspeare undoubtedly was. MALONE.

Edw. Lord Stafford's father, duke of Buckingham,
 ' Is either slain, or wounded dangerous ;
 I cleft his beaver with a downright blow ;
 ' That this is true, father, behold his blood.

[*Showing his bloody sword.*]

Mont. And, brother, here's the earl of Wiltshire's blood,

[*To York, showing his.*]

Whom I encounter'd as the battles join'd.

Rich. Speak thou for me, and tell them what I did.⁴

[*Throwing down the duke of Somerset's head.*]

* *York.* Richard hath best deserv'd of all my sons.—

What, is your grace dead, my lord of Somerset ?

Norfolk. Such hope have all the line of John of Gaunt !

Rich. Thus do I hope to shake king Henry's head.

War. And so do I.—Victorious prince of York,
 Before I see thee seated in that throne

Which now the house of Lancaster usurps,

I vow by heaven, these eyes shall never close.

This is the palace of the fearful king,

' And this the regal seat : possess it, York ;

For this is thine, and not king Henry's heirs'.

York. Assist me then, sweet Warwick, and I will ;

' For hither we have broken in by force.

Norfolk. We'll all assist you ; he, that flies, shall die.

York. Thanks, gentle Norfolk,—Stay by me, my
 lords;—

' And, soldiers, stay, and lodge by me this night.

War. And, when the king comes, offer him no violence,

' Unless he seek to thrust you out by force. [*They retire.*]

* *York.*

⁴ Here, as Mr. Elderton of Salisbury has observed to me, is a gross anachronism. At the time of the first battle of Saint Albans, at which Richard is represented in the last scene of the preceding play to have fought, he was, according to that gentleman's calculation, not one year old, having (as he conceives) been born at Fotheringay castle, October 21, 1454. At the time to which the third scene of the first act of this play is referred, he was, according to the same gentleman's computation, but six years old; and in the fifth act, in which Henry is represented as having been killed by him in the Tower, not more than sixteen and eight months.

For this anachronism the author or authors of the old plays on which our poet founded these two parts of King Henry the Sixth, are answerable.

MALONE.

* *York.* The queen, this day, here holds her parliament;

* But little thinks, we shall be of her council:

* By words, or blows, here let us win our right.

Rich. Arm'd as we are, let's stay within this house.

War. The bloody parliament shall this be call'd,
Unless Plantagenet, duke of York, be king;
And bashful Henry depos'd, whose cowardice
Hath made us by-words to our enemies.

* *York.* Then leave me not, my lords; be resolute;
I mean to take possession of my right.

War. Neither the king, nor he that loves him best,
The proudest he that holds up Lancaster,
Dares stir a wing, if Warwick shake his bells.⁵

* I'll plant Plantagenet, root him up who dares:—
Resolve thee, Richard; claim the English crown.

[Warwick leads York to the throne, who seats himself.]

Flourish. Enter King HENRY, CLIFFORD, NORTHUMBERLAND, WESTMORELAND, EXETER, and Others, with red roses in their hats.

K. Hen. My lords, look where the sturdy rebel sits,
Even in the chair of state! belike, he means,
(Back'd by the power of Warwick, that false peer,)
To aspire unto the crown, and reign as king.—
Earl of Northumberland, he slew thy father;—
And thine, lord Clifford; and you both have vow'd revenge
On him, his sons, his favourites, and his friends.

* *North.* If I be not, heavens, be reveng'd on me!

Clif. The hope thereof makes Clifford mourn in steel.

West. What, shall we suffer this? let's pluck him down:

* My heart for anger burns, I cannot brook it.

K. Hen. Be patient, gentle earl of Westmoreland.

Clif. Patience is for poltroons, and such as he:
He durst not sit there, had your father liv'd.

My

⁵ The allusion is to falconry. The hawks had sometimes little bells hung upon them, perhaps to *dare* the birds; that is, to fright them from rising. JOHNSON.

My gracious lord, here in the parliament
Let us assail the family of York.

North. Well hast thou spoken, cousin; be it so.

K. Hen. Ah, know you not, the city favours them,
And they have troops of soldiers at their beck?

Exe. But, when the duke is slain, they'll quickly fly.

K. Hen. Far be the thought of this from Henry's heart,
To make a shambles of the parliament house!
Cousin of Exeter, frowns, words, and threats,
Shall be the war that Henry means to use.—

[*They advance to the duke.*]

Thou factious duke of York, descend my throne,
And kneel for grace and mercy at my feet;
I am thy sovereign.

York. Thou art deceiv'd, I am thine.

Exe. For shame, come down; he made thee duke of
York.

York. 'Twas my inheritance, as the earldom was.⁶

Exe. Thy father was a traitor to the crown.

War. Exeter, thou art a traitor to the crown,
In following this usurping Henry.

Clif. Whom should he follow, but his natural king?

War. True, Clifford; and that's Richard, duke of York.

K. Hen. And shall I stand, and thou sit in my throne?

York. It must and shall be so. Content thyself.

War. Be duke of Lancaster, let him be king.

West. He is both king and duke of Lancaster;
And that the lord of Westmoreland shall maintain.

War. And Warwick shall disprove it. You forget,
That we are those, which chas'd you from the field,
And slew your fathers, and with colours spread
March'd through the city to the palace gates.

North. Yes, Warwick, I remember it to my grief;
And, by his soul, thou and thy house shall rue it.

West.

⁶ York means, I suppose, that the dukedom of York was his inheritance from his father, as the earldom of March was his inheritance from his mother, Anne Mortimer, the wife of the earl of Cambridge; and by naming the earldom, he covertly asserts his right to the crown; for his title to the crown was not as duke of York, but earl of March.

* *West.* Plantagenet, of thee, and these thy sons,
Thy kinsmen, and thy friends, I'll have more lives,
Than drops of blood were in my father's veins.

* *Clif.* Urge it no more; lest that, instead of words,
I send thee, Warwick, such a messenger,
As shall revenge his death, before I stir.

* *War.* Poor Clifford! how I scorn his worthless threats!

York. Will you, we show our title to the crown?

* If not, our swords shall plead it in the field.

K. Hen. What title hast thou, traitor, to the crown?
Thy father was, as thou art, duke of York;⁷
Thy grandfather, Roger Mortimer, earl of March:
I am the son of Henry the fifth,⁸
Who made the Dauphin and the French to stoop,
And seiz'd upon their towns and provinces.

War. Talk not of France, fith thou hast lost it all.

K. Hen. The lord protector lost it, and not I;
When I was crown'd, I was but nine months old.

Rich. You are old enough now, and yet, methinks, you
lose:—

Father, tear the crown from the usurper's head.

Edw. Sweet father, do so; set it on your head.

Mont. Good brother, [*to York.*] as thou lov'st and
honour'st arms,

Let's fight it out, and not stand cavilling thus.

Rich. Sound drums and trumpets, and the king will fly.

York. Sons, peace!

K. Hen. Peace thou! and give king Henry leave to
speak.

War. Plantagenet shall speak first:—hear him, lords;
And

⁷ This is a mistake, into which Shakspeare was led by the author of the old play. The father of Richard duke of York was earl of Cambridge, and was never duke of York, being beheaded in the life-time of his elder brother Edward duke of York, who fell in the battle of Agincourt. The folio, by an evident error of the press, reads—*My* father. The true reading was furnished by the old play. MALONE.

⁸ The military reputation of Henry the Fifth is the sole support of his son. The name of Henry the Fifth dispersed the followers of Cade.

JOHNSON.

And be you silent and attentive too,
For he, that interrupts him, shall not live.

‘ *K. Hen.* Think’st thou, that I will leave my kingly
throne,

Wherein my grandfire, and my father, sat?

No: first shall war unpeople this my realm;

‘ *Ay*, and their colours—often borne in France;

And now in England, to our heart’s great sorrow,—

Shall be my winding sheet.—Why faint you, lords?

‘ My title’s good, and better far than his.

War. But prove it, Henry, and thou shalt be king.

K. Hen. Henry the fourth by conquest got the crown.

York. ’Twas by rebellion against his king.

K. Hen. I know not what to say; my title’s weak.

Tell me, may not a king adopt an heir?

York. What then?

‘ *K. Hen.* An if he may, then am I lawful king:

‘ For Richard, in the view of many lords,

Resign’d the crown to Henry the fourth;

Whose heir my father was, and I am his.

York. He rose against him, being his sovereign,
And made him to resign his crown perforce.

War. Suppose, my lords, he did it unconstrain’d,
Think you, ’twere prejudicial to his crown?⁹

Exe. No; for he could not so resign his crown,
But that the next heir should succeed and reign.

K. Hen. Art thou against us, duke of Exeter?

Exe. His is the right, and therefore pardon me.

* *York.* Why whisper you, my lords, and answer not?

Exe. My conscience tells me, he is lawful king.

K. Hen. All will revolt from me, and turn to him.

North. Plantagenet, for all the claim thou lay’st,
Think not, that Henry shall be so depos’d.

‘ *War.*

⁹ The phrase *prejudicial to the crown*, if it be right, must mean, detrimental to the general rights of hereditary royalty; but I rather think that the transcriber’s eye caught *crown* from the line below, and that we should read—*prejudicial to his son, to his next heir.* JOHNSON.

Dr. Percy observes on Dr. Johnson’s note, that *son* could not have been the right word, as Richard the Second had no issue; and our author would hardly have used it simply for *heir general*. *Prejudicial to the crown*, is right, i. e. to the prerogative of the crown. STEEVENS.

* *War.* Depos'd he shall be, in despite of all.

North. Thou art deceiv'd : 'tis not thy southern power,
 * Of Essex, Norfolk, Suffolk, nor of Kent,—
 Which makes thee thus presumptuous and proud,—
 Can set the duke up, in despite of me.

Clif. King Henry, be thy title right or wrong,
 Lord Clifford vows to fight in thy defence :

May that ground gape, and swallow me alive,

* Where I shall kneel to him that slew my father !

* *K. Hen.* O Clifford, how thy words revive my heart !

York. Henry of Lancaster, resign thy crown ;—

What matter you, or what conspire you, lords ?

War. Do right unto this princely duke of York
 Or I will fill the house with armed men,
 And, o'er the chair of state, where now he sits,
 Write up his title with usurping blood.

[*He stamps, and the soldiers show themselves.*]

* *K. Hen.* My lord of Warwick, hear but one word ;—

* Let me, for this my life-time, reign as king.

York. Confirm the crown to me, and to mine heirs,
 And thou shalt reign in quiet while thou liv'st.

K. Hen. I am content : Richard Plantagenet,
 Enjoy the kingdom after my decease.

Clif. What wrong is this unto the prince your son ?

War. What good is this to England, and himself ?

West. Base, fearful, and despairing Henry !

* *Clif.* How hast thou injur'd both thyself and us ?

West. I cannot stay to hear these articles.

North. Nor I.

Clif. Come, cousin, let us tell the queen these news.

* *West.* Farewell, faint-hearted and degenerate king,

* In whose cold blood no spark of honour bides.

North. Be thou a prey unto the house of York,

* And die in bands for this unmanly deed !

Clif. In dreadful war may'st thou be overcome !
 Or live in peace, abandon'd, and despis'd !

[*Exeunt* NORTHUMBERLAND, CLIFFORD, *and*
 WESTMORELAND.]

* *War.* Turn this way, Henry, and regard them not.

M 6

Exe.

Exe. They seek revenge.² and therefore will not yield.

K. Hen. Ah, Exeter!

War. Why should you sigh, my lord?

K. Hen. Not for myself, lord Warwick, but my son,
Whom I unnaturally shall disinherit.

But, be it as it may:—I here entail

* The crown to thee, and to thine heirs for ever;

Conditionally, that here thou take an oath

To cease this civil war, and, whilst I live,

To honour me as thy king and sovereign;

* And neither by treason, nor hostility,

* To seek to put me down, and reign thyself.

York. This oath I willingly take, and will perform.

[*Coming from the throne.*

War. Long live king Henry!—Plantagenet embrace
him.

* *K. Hen.* And long live thou, and these thy forward
sons!

York. Now York and Lancaster are reconcil'd.

Exe. Accurs'd be he, that seeks to make them foes!

[*Senet. The lords come forward.*

* *York.* Farewell, my gracious lord; I'll to my castle.³

War. And I'll keep London with my soldiers.

Norf. And I to Norfolk, with my followers.

Mont. And I unto the sea, from whence I came.

[*Exeunt YORK, and his sons, WARWICK, NORFOLK,
MONTAGUE, Soldiers, and Attendants.*

* *K. Hen.* And I, with grief and sorrow, to the court.

Enter Queen MARGARET and the Prince of Wales.

Exe. Here comes the queen, whose looks bewray⁴ her
anger:

I'll steal away.

K. Hen. Exeter, so will I.

[*Going.*

* *Q. Mar.*

² They go away, not because they doubt the justice of this determination, but because they have been conquered, and seek to be revenged. They are not influenced by principle, but passion. JOHNSON.

³ Sandal Castle near Wakefield, in Yorkshire. MALONE.

⁴ i. e. betray, discover. STEEVENS.

* *Q. Mar.* Nay, go not from me; I will follow thee.

K. Hen. Be patient, gentle queen, and I will stay.

* *Q. Mar.* Who can be patient in such extremes?

* Ah, wretched man! 'would I had died a maid,

* And never seen thee, never borne thee son,

* Seeing thou hast prov'd so unnatural a father!

* Hath he deserv'd to lose his birthright thus?

* Hadst thou but lov'd him half so well as I;

* Or felt that pain which I did for him once;

* Or nourish'd him, as I did with my blood;

* Thou wouldst have left thy dearest heart-blood there,

* Rather than made that savage duke thine heir,

* And disinherited thine only son.

* *Prince.* Father, you cannot disinherit me:

* If you be king, why should not I succeed?

* *K. Hen.* Pardon me, Margaret;—pardon me, sweet son;—

* The earl of Warwick, and the duke, enforc'd me.

* *Q. Mar.* Enforc'd thee! art thou king, and wilt be forc'd?

I shame to hear thee speak. Ah, timorous wretch!

Thou hast undone thyself, thy son, and me;

* And given unto the house of York such head,

* As thou shalt reign but by their sufferance.

* To entail him and his heirs unto the crown,

* What is it, but to make thy sepulchre,⁵

* And creep into it far before thy time?

* Warwick is chancellor, and the lord of Calais;

Stern Faulconbridge⁶ commands the narrow seas;

The

⁵ The queen's reproach is founded on a position long received among politicians, that the loss of a king's power is soon followed by loss of life.

JOHNSON.

⁶ The person here meant was Thomas Nevil, bastard son to the lord Faulconbridge, "a man," says Hall, "of no lesse corage then audacitie, who for his euell condicions was such an apte person, that a more meter could not be chosen to set all the worlde in a broyle, and to put the estate of the realme on an yl hazard." He had been appointed by Warwick vice-admiral of the sea, and had in charge so to keep the passage between Dover and Calais, that none which either favoured king Henry or his friends should escape untaken or undrowned: such, at least, were his instructions,

The duke is made protector of the realm;

• And yet shalt thou be safe? * such safety finds

* The trembling lamb, environed with wolves.

• Had I been there, which am a silly woman,

• The soldiers should have tofs'd me on their pikes,

• Before I would have granted to that act.

* But thou preferrest thy life before thine honour:

• And, seeing thou dost, I here divorce myself,

• Both from thy table, Henry, and thy bed,

• Until that act of parliament be repeal'd,

• Whereby my son is disinherited.

The northern lords, that have forsworn thy colours,

Will follow mine, if once they see them spread:

• And spread they shall be; to thy foul disgrace,

• And utter ruin of the house of York.

• Thus do I leave thee:—Come, son, let's away;

• Our army's ready; come, we'll after them,

K. Hen. Stay, gentle Margaret, and hear me speak.

Q. Mar. Thou hast spoke too much already; get thee gone.

K. Hen. Gentle son Edward, thou wilt stay with me?

Q. Mar. Ay, to be murder'd by his enemies.

Prince. When I return with victory from the field,
I'll see your grace: till then, I'll follow her.

Q. Mar. Come, son, away; we may not linger thus.

[*Exeunt Queen MARGARET, and the Prince.*]

• *K. Hen.* Poor queen! how love to me, and to her son,

• Hath made her break out into terms of rage!

• Reveng'd may she be on that hateful duke;

* Whose haughty spirit, winged with desire,

* Will

instructions, with respect to the friends and favourers of King Edward, after the rupture between him and Warwick. On Warwick's death, he fell into poverty, and robbed, both by sea and land, as well friends as enemies. He once brought his ships up the Thames, and with a considerable body of the men of Kent and Essex, made a spirited assault on the city, with a view to plunder and pillage, which was not repelled but after a sharp conflict and the loss of many lives; and, had it happened at a more critical period, might have been attended with fatal consequences to Edward. After roving on the sea some little time longer, he ventured to land at Southampton, where he was taken and beheaded. See *Hall* and *Hollinshead*. RITSON.

* Will cost³ my crown;⁴ and, like an empty eagle,

* Tire on the flesh of me, and of my son!⁵

* The loss of those three lords torments my heart,

* I'll write unto them, and entreat them fair;—

* Come, cousin, you shall be the messenger.⁶

* *Exe.* And I, I hope, shall reconcile them all. [*Exeunt*]

SCENE II.

A Room in Sandal Castle, near Wakefield, in Yorkshire.

Enter EDWARD, RICHARD, and MONTAGUE.

* *Rich.* Brother, though I be youngest, give me leave.

Edw. No, I can better play the orator.

Mont. But I have reasons strong and forcible.

³ Read *coast*, i. e. hover over it. *WARBURTON.*

Dr Warburton's alteration aims at a distinction without a difference, both *cost* and *coast* being ultimately derivations of the same original. *HENLEY.*

The word which Dr. Warburton would introduce, has been supposed to violate the metaphor; nor indeed is *to coast* used as a term of falconry in any of the books professedly written on that subject. *To coast* is a sea-faring expression, and means to keep along shore. We may, however, maintain the integrity of the figure, by inserting the word *cote*, which is used in *Hamlet*, and in a sense convenient enough on this occasion:

“We *coted* them on the way.”

To cote is to come up with, to overtake, to reach.

Mr. Tollet therefore observes, that Dr. Warburton's interpretation may be right, as Holinshed often uses the verb *to coast*, i. e. to hover, or range about any thing. *STEEVENS.*

⁴ i. e. will cost *me* my crown; will induce on me the expence or loss of my crown.” *MALONE.*

Had this been our author's meaning, he would have otherwise formed his verse, and written “cost *me* my crown.” *STEEVENS.*

⁵ *To tire* is to fasten, to fix the talons, from the French *tirer*.

JOHNSON.

To tire is to peck. *STEEVENS.*

⁶ That is, of Northumberland, Westmoreland, and Clifford, who had left him in disgust. *JOHNSON.*

Enter

Enter YORK.

- * York. Why, how now, sons, and brother,⁷ at a strife?
 * What is your quarrel? how began it first?
 * Edw. No quarrel, but a slight contention.
 York. About what?
 * Rich. About that which concerns your grace, and us;
 * The crown of England, father, which is yours.
 * York. Mine, boy? not till king Henry be dead.
 * Rich. Your right depends not on his life, or death.
 * Edw. Now you are heir, therefore enjoy it now:
 * By giving the house of Lancaster leave to breathe,
 * It will outrun you, father, in the end.
 * York. I took an oath, that he should quietly reign.
 * Edw. But, for a kingdom, any oath may be broken:
 * I'd break a thousand oaths, to reign one year.
 * Rich. No; God forbid, your grace should be forsworn.
 * York. I shall be, if I claim by open war.
 * Rich. I'll prove the contrary, if you'll hear me speak.
 * York. Thou canst not, son; it is impossible.
 * Rich.

⁷ —[*sons, and brother,*] I believe we should read—*cousin* instead of *brother*, unless *brother* be used by Shakspeare as a term expressive of endearment, or because they embarked, like brothers, in one cause. Montague was only cousin to York, and in the quarto he is so called. Shakspeare uses the expression, *brother of the war*, in *King Lear*.

STEEVENS.

It should be *sons and brothers*; my *sons*, and *brothers* to each other.

JOHNSON.

Brother is right. In the two succeeding pages York calls Montague *brother*. This may be in respect to their being *brothers of the war*, as Mr. Steevens observes, or of the same council as in *King Henry VIII.* who says to Cranmer, “You are *brother* of us.” Montague was brother to Warwick; Warwick’s daughter was married to a son of York: therefore York and Montague were brothers. But as this alliance did not take place during the life of York, I embrace Mr. Steevens’s interpretation rather than suppose that Shakspeare made a mistake about the time of the marriage. TOLLET.

The third folio reads as Dr. Johnson advises. But as York again in this scene addresses Montague by the title of *brother*, and Montague uses the same to York, Dr. Johnson’s conjecture cannot be right. Shakspeare certainly supposed them to be brothers-in-law. MALONE.

' *Rich.* An oath is of no moment,⁸ being not took
 ' Before a true and lawful magistrate,
 ' That hath authority over him that swears :
 ' Henry had none, but did usurp the place ;
 ' Then, seeing 'twas he that made you to depose,
 ' Your oath, my lord, is vain and frivolous.
 ' Therefore, to arms. * And, father, do but think,
 * How sweet a thing it is to wear a crown ;
 * Within whose circuit is Elysium,
 * And all that poets feign of bliss and joy.
 * Why do we linger thus ? I cannot rest,
 * Until the white rose, that I wear, be dy'd
 * Even in the lukewarm blood of Henry's heart.

' *York.* Richard, enough ; I will be king or die.—
 ' Brother, thou shalt to London presently,
 ' And whet on Warwick to this enterprize.—
 ' Thou, Richard, shalt unto the duke of Norfolk,
 ' And tell him privily of our intent.—
 ' You, Edward, shall unto my lord Cobham,
 With whom the Kentishmen will willingly rise :
 ' In them I trust ; for they are soldiers,
 ' Witty, courteous, liberal, full of spirit.—
 ' While you are thus employ'd, what resteth more,
 ' But that I seek occasion how to rise ;
 ' And yet the king not privy to my drift,
 ' Nor any of the house of Lancaster?

Enter a Messenger.

' But, stay ; What news ? Why com'st thou in such post ?

' *Mes.* The queen, with all the northern earls and lords,⁹
 ' Intend here to besiege you in your castle :

' *She*

⁸ The obligation of an oath is here eluded by very despicable sophistry. A lawful magistrate alone has the power to exact an oath, but the oath derives no part of its force from the magistrate. The plea against the obligation of an oath obliging to maintain a usurper, taken from the unlawfulness of the oath itself in the foregoing play, was rational and just.

JOHNSON.

⁹ I know not whether the author intended any moral instruction, but he that reads this has a striking admonition against that precipitancy by which men often use unlawful means to do that which a little delay would put

‘ She is hard by with twenty thousand men ;

‘ And therefore fortify your hold, my lord.

* *York.* Ay, with my sword. What! think’st thou, that we fear them?—

‘ Edward and Richard, you shall stay with me ;—

‘ My brother Montague shall post to London :

* Let

put honestly in their power. Had York staid but a few moments, he had saved his cause from the stain of perjury. JOHNSON.

It will be no more than justice to York, if we recollect that this scene, so far as respects the oath, and his resolution to break it, proceeds entirely from our author’s imagination. Neither the Earl of March nor Richard was then at Sandal ; the latter being likewise a mere child, barely turned of eight years old. His appearance, therefore, and actions in this, and, at least, the two first acts of the following play, are totally unsupported by history and truth.

It may be likewise observed that the Queen was not actually present at this battle, not returning out of Scotland till some little time after. This insurrection, which the Duke, not in breach of, but in strict conformity with his oath to the King, and in discharge of his duty as protector of the realm, had marched from London to suppress, was headed by the Duke of Somerset, the earl of Northumberland, and the lord Nevil, who in direct violation of a mutual agreement, and before the day prefixed for the battle, fell suddenly upon the duke’s army, made him and Salisbury prisoners, and treated him in the manner here described. See *Whetbamsted*. Salisbury was next day killed at Pontefract by a bastard son of the duke of Exeter, and beheaded, with York, Rutland, and others, after death. *W. Wyrcester.* RITSON.

In October 1460, when it was established in parliament that the duke of York should succeed to the throne after Henry’s death, the duke and his two sons, the earl of March and the earl of Rutland, took an oath to do no act whatsoever that might “ sound to the abridgement of the natural life of King Henry the Sixth, or diminishing of his reign or dignity royal.” Having persuaded the king to send for the queen and the prince of Wales, (who were then in York) and finding that she would not obey his requisition, he on the second of December set out for his castle in Yorkshire, with such military power as he had ; a messenger having been previously dispatched to the earl of March, to desire him to follow his father with all the forces he could procure. The duke arrived at Sandal castle on the 24th of December, and in a short time his army amounted to five thousand men. An anonymous Remarker, [the author of the preceding note,] however, very confidently asserts, that “ this scene, so far as respects York’s oath and his resolution to break it, proceeds entirely from the author’s imagination.” His oath is on record ; and what his resolution was when he marched from London at the head of a large body of men, and sent the message above stated to his son, it is not very difficult to conjecture.

MALONE.

- * Let noble Warwick, Cobham, and the rest,
- * Whom we have left protectors of the king,
- * With powerful policy strengthen themselves,
- * And trust not simple Henry, nor his oaths.
- * *Mont.* Brother, I go; I'll win them, fear it not:
- * And thus most humbly I do take my leave. [Exit.]

Enter Sir John and Sir Hugh MORTIMER.

York. Sir John, and Sir Hugh Mortimer, mine uncles!
 ' You are come to Sandal in a happy hour;
 The army of the queen mean to besiege us.

Sir John. She shall not need, we'll meet her in the field.

York. What, with five thousand men?

Rich. Ay, with five hundred, father, for a need.

A woman's general; What should we fear?
[A march afar off.]

Edw. I hear their drums; Let's set our men in order;
 ' And issue forth, and bid them battle straight.

York. Five men to twenty!—though the odds be great,
 ' I doubt not, uncle, of our victory.

Many a battle have I won in France,

When as the enemy hath been ten to one;

Why should I not now have the like success?

[Alarum. Exeunt.]

SCENE III.

Plains near Sandal Castle.

*Alarums. Excursions. Enter RUTLAND, and his Tutor.**

Rut. Ah, whither shall I fly, to 'scape their hands!
 Ah, tutor! look, where bloody Clifford comes!

Enter CLIFFORD, and Soldiers.

Clif. Chap'ain, away! thy priesthood saves thy life.
 As for the brat of this accursed duke,

Whose

* A priest called Sir Robert Aspull, *Hall. Henry VI. fol. 99. Ritson* 4

Whose father ³ slew my father,—he shall die.

Tut. And I, my lord, will bear him company.

Clif. Soldiers, away with him.

• *Tut.* Ah, Clifford! murder not this innocent child,
• Left thou be hated both of God and man.

[*Exit, forced off by Soldiers.*]

Clif. How now! is he dead already? Or, is it fear,
That makes him close his eyes?—I'll open them.

• *Rut.* So looks the pent-up lion ⁴ o'er the wretch
• That trembles under his devouring paws:
And so he walks, insulting o'er his prey;
• And so he comes, to rend his limbs asunder.—
• Ah, gentle Clifford, kill me with thy sword,
And not with such a cruel threat'ning look.
Sweet Clifford, hear me speak before I die;—
I am too mean a subject for thy wrath,
Be thou reveng'd on men, and let me live.

Clif. In vain thou speak'st, poor boy; my father's blood
Hath stopp'd the passage where thy words should enter.

Rut. Then let my father's blood open it again;
He is a man, and, Clifford, cope with him.

Clif. Had I thy brethren here, their lives, and thine,
Were not revenge sufficient for me:
No, if I digg'd up thy forefathers' graves,
And hung their rotten coffins up in chains,
It could not flake mine ire, nor ease my heart.
The sight of any of the house of York
Is as a fury to torment my soul;
• And till I root out their accursed line,
• And leave not one alive, I live in hell.
Therefore—

[*Lifting his hand.*]

Rut. O, let me pray before I take my death:—
To thee I pray; sweet Clifford, pity me!

Clif. Such pity as my rapier's point affords.

• *Rut.* I never did thee harm; Why wilt thou slay me?

• *Clif.*

³ i. e. the father of which brat, namely the duke of York.

MALONE.

⁴ That is, The lion that hath been long confined without food, and is let out to devour a man condemned. JOHNSON.

Clif. Thy father hath.

Rut.

But 'twas ere I was born.⁵

Thou hast one son, for his sake pity me;
Lest, in revenge thereof,—sith God is just,—
He be as miserably slain as I.

Ah, let me live in prison all my days;
And when I give occasion of offence,
Then let me die, for now thou hast no cause.

Clif. No cause?

Thy father slew my father; therefore die.

[CLIFFORD *slabs him.*

Rut. *Dii faciant, laudis summa sit ista tuæ!*

[*Dies.*

Clif. Plantagenet! I come, Plantagenet!

And this thy son's blood, cleaving to my blade,
Shall rust upon my weapon, till thy blood,
Congeal'd with this, do make me wipe off both.

[*Exit.*

SCENE IV.

The same.

Alarum. Enter YORK.

* *York.* The army of the queen hath got the field:
* My uncles both are slain in rescuing me;⁶
* And all my followers to the eager foe
* Turn back, and fly, like ships before the wind,
* Or lambs pursu'd by hunger-starved wolves.
* My sons—God knows, what hath bechanced them:
But this I know,—they have demean'd themselves
Like men born to renown, by life, or death.

* Three

⁵ Rutland is under a mistake. The battle of St. Alban's, in which old Clifford was slain, happened in 1455; that of Wakefield in 1460. He appears to have been at this time above seventeen years old. RITSON.

The author of the original play appears to have been as incorrect in his chronology as Shakspeare. Rutland was born, I believe, in 1443; according to Hall in 1448; and Clifford's father was killed at the battle of St. Albans, in 1455. Consequently Rutland was then at least seven years old; more probably twelve. The same observation has been made by an anonymous writer. MALONE.

⁶ These were two bastard uncles by the mother's side, Sir John and Sir Hugh Mortimer. See Grafton's *Chronicle*. p. 649. PERCY.

- ' Three times did Richard make a lane to me;
 And thrice cry'd,—*Courage, father! fight it out!*
 ' And full as oft came Edward to my side,
 With purple faulchion, painted to the hilt
 ' In blood of those that had encounter'd him:
 ' And when the hardiest warriors did retire,
 ' Richard cry'd,—*Charge! and give no foot of ground!*
 ' And cry'd—*A crown, or else a glorious tomb!*
 ' *A scepter, or an earthly sepulchre!*
 With this, we charg'd again: but, out, alas!
 ' We bodg'd again;⁷ as I have seen a swan
 ' With bootless labour swim against the tide,
 ' And spend her strength with over-matching waves.
[*A short alarum within.*]
 ' Ah, hark! the fatal followers do pursue;
 ' And I am faint, and cannot fly their fury:
 ' And, were I strong, I would not shun their fury:
 ' The sands are number'd, that make up my life;
 ' Here must I stay, and here my life must end.

*Enter Queen MARGARET, CLIFFORD, NORTHUMBER-
LAND, and Soldiers.*

- ' Come, bloody Clifford,—rough Northumberland,—
 ' I dare your quenchless fury to more rage;
 ' I am your butt, and I abide your shot.

North. Yield to our mercy, proud Plantagenet.

Clif. Ay, to such mercy, as his ruthless arm,
 With downright payment, shew'd unto my father.
 Now Phaeton hath tumbled from his car,

And

⁷ I find *bodgery* used by Nashe in his *Apologie of Pierce Penniless*, 1593, for *botchery*. To *bodge* might therefore mean, (as to *botch* does now) to do a thing imperfectly and awkwardly; and thence to *fail* or *miscarry* in an attempt. Cole in his *Latin Dictionary*, 1679, renders—"To botch or bungle, *opus corrumpere, disperdere.*"

I suspect, however, with Dr. Johnson, that we should read—We *budg'd* again. "To *budge*" Cole renders, *pedem referre*, to retreat; the precise sense required here. MALONE.

I believe that—*we bodg'd* only means, *we made bad or bungling work of our attempt to rally*. A low unskilful tailor is often called a *botcher*.

And made an evening at the noontide prick.⁸

York. My ashes, as the phoenix, may bring forth
‘ A bird that will revenge upon you all:

‘ And, in that hope, I throw mine eyes to heaven,
Scorning whate’er you can afflict me with.

‘ Why come you not? what! multitudes, and fear?

Clif. So cowards fight, when they can fly no further?

‘ So doves do peck the falcon’s piercing talons;

So desperate thieves, all hopeles of their lives,

Breathe out invectives ’gainst the officers.

York. O, Clifford, but bethink thee once again,

‘ And in thy thought o’er-run my former time:

* And, if thou canst for blushing, view this face;

And bite thy tongue, that flanders him with cowardice,

‘ Whose frown hath made thee faint and fly ere this.

Clif. I will not bandy with thee word for word;

But buckle with thee blows, twice two for one. [*Draws.*

Q. Mar. Hold, valiant Clifford! for a thousand causes,

I would prolong a while the traitor’s life:—

Wrath makes him deaf: speak thou, Northumberland.

North. Hold, Clifford; do not honour him so much,

To prick thy finger, though to wound his heart:

What valour were it, when a cur doth grin,

For one to thrust his hand between his teeth,

When he might spurn him with his foot away?

It is war’s prize⁹ to take all vantages;

‘ And ten to one is no impeach of valour.

[*They lay hands on YORK, who struggles.*

Clif. Ay, ay, so strives the woodcock, with the gin.

North. So doth the coney struggle in the net.

[*YORK is taken prisoner.*

York.

⁸ Or, noontide point on the dial. JOHNSON.

⁹ It is war’s prize —] Read—*praise*. WARBURTON.

I think the old reading right, which means, that all ’vantages are in war lawful prize; that is, may be lawfully taken and used. JOHNSON.

To take all advantages, is rather to the discredit than to the praise of war, and therefore Warburton’s amendment cannot be right; nor can I approve of Johnson’s explanation;—it appears to me that—it is *war’s* prize, means merely that it is the estimation of people at war; the settled opinion. M. MASON.

York. So triumph thieves upon their conquer'd booty ;
So true men yield,² with robbers so o'er-match'd.

North. What would your grace have done unto him
now ?

Q. Mar. Brave warriors, Clifford, and Northumber-
land,

Come make him stand upon this molehill here ;

* That raught³ at mountains with out-stretched arms,
Yet parted but the shadow with his hand,—

* What ! was it you, that would be England's king ?

Was't you that revell'd in our parliament,

And made a preachment of your high descent ?

Where are your messes of sons, to back you now ?

The wanton Edward, and the lusty George ?

* And where's that valiant crook-back prodigy,

Dicky your boy, that, with his grumbling voice,

Was wont to cheer his dad in mutinies ?

Or, with the rest, where is your darling Rutland ?

Look, York ; I stain'd this napkin⁴ with the blood

That valiant Clifford, with his rapier's point,

Made issue from the bosom of the boy ;

And, if thine eyes can water for his death,

I give thee this to dry thy checks withal.

* Alas, poor York ! but that I hate thee deadly,

I should lament thy miserable state.

I pr'ythee, grieve, to make me merry, York ;

Stamp, rave, and fret, that I may sing and dance.

What, hath thy fiery heart so parch'd thine entrails,

That not a tear can fall for Rutland's death ?

* Why art thou patient, man ? thou shouldst be mad ;

* And I, to make thee mad, do mock thee thus.

Thou would'st be fee'd, I see, to make me sport ;

York cannot speak, unless he wear a crown.—

A crown for York ;—and, lords, bow low to him.—

Hold

² A true man has been already explained to be an honest man, as opposed to a thief. MALONE.

³ i. e. That *reach'd*. The ancient preterite and participle passive of *reach*. STEEVENS.

⁴ A *napkin* is a handkerchief. JOHNSON.

Hold you his hands, whilst I do set it on.—

[Putting a paper crown on his head.⁵

Ay, marry, fir, now looks he like a king!

Ay, this is he that took king Henry's chair;

And this is he was his adopted heir.—

But how is it, that great Plantagenet

Is crown'd so soon, and broke his solemn oath?

As I bethink me, you should not be king,

Till our king Henry had shook hands with death.⁶

And

⁵ Shakspeare has on this occasion deviated from history, if such of our *English Chronicles* as I have occasionally looked into, may be believed. According to these, the paper crown was not placed on the duke of York's head till after it had been cut off. Rutland likewise was not killed by Clifford, till after his father's death. STEEVENS.

The ingenious commentator is most certainly mistaken. Shakspeare, so far from having deviated from history, has followed it with the utmost precision. *Whethamstede* expressly tells us, that the Lancastrians, in direct breach of a mutual agreement, and before the day appointed for the battle, fell suddenly upon the duke's army, and took him and the earl of Salisbury prisoners; treating both, but especially the duke, in the most shameful manner. Not a single circumstance is omitted, or varied in the scene. It is not, however, imagined that Shakspeare had ever consulted *Whethamstede*: he found the same story no doubt in some old black letter chronicle, which it has not been the writer's fortune to meet with, or he might possibly have it from a popular tradition. RITSON.

According to Hall the paper crown was not placed on York's head till after he was dead; but Holinshed after giving Hall's narration of this business almost *verbatim*, adds,—“Some write, that the duke was taken alive, and in derision caused to stand upon a *mole-hill*, on whose heade they put a garland instead of a crowne, which they had fashioned and made of segges or bulrushes, and having so crowned him with that garlande, they kneeled downe afore him, as the Jewes did to Christe in scorne, saying to him, hayle king without rule, hayle king without heritage, hayle duke and prince without people or possessions. And at length having thus scorned him with these and dyverse other the like despitefull woordes, they stroke off his heade, which (as yee have heard) they presented to the queen.”

Both the chroniclers say, that the earl of Rutland was killed by Clifford *during* the battle of Wakefield; but it may be presumed that his father had first fallen. The earl's tutor probably attempted to save him as soon as the rout began. MALONE.

⁶ On York's return from Ireland, at a meeting of parliament it was settled, that Henry should enjoy the throne during his life, and that York should succeed him. MALONE.

And will you pale ⁷ your head in Henry's glory,
 And rob his temples of the diadem,
 Now in his life, against your holy oath?
 O, 'tis a fault too too unpardonable!—
 Off with the crown; and, with the crown, his head;
 And, whilst we breathe, take time to do him dead.⁸

Clif. That is my office, for my father's sake.

Q. Mar. Nay, stay; let's hear the orisons he makes.

York. She-wolf of France, but worse than wolves of
 France,

‘ Whose tongue more poisons than the adder's tooth!
 How ill-beseeming is it in thy sex,
 To triumph, like an Amazonian trull,
 ‘ Upon their woes, whom fortune captivates?
 But that thy face is, visor-like, unchanging,
 Made impudent with use of evil deeds,
 I would assay, proud queen, to make thee blush:
 To tell thee whence thou cam'st, of whom deriv'd,
 Were shame enough to shame thee, wert thou not shameless.
 Thy father bears the type ⁹ of king of Naples,
 Of both the Sicils, and Jerusalem;
 Yet not so wealthy as an English Yeoman.
 Hath that poor monarch taught thee to insult?
 It needs not, nor it boots thee not, proud queen;
 Unless the adage must be verifi'd,—
 That beggars, mounted, run their horse to death.
 'Tis beauty, that doth oft make women proud;
 But, God he knows, thy share thereof is small:
 'Tis virtue, that doth make them most admir'd;
 The contrary doth make thee wonder'd at:
 'Tis government, that makes them seem divine;²
 The want thereof makes thee abominable:
 Thou art as opposite to every good,
 As the Antipodes are unto us,

Or

⁷ i. e. impale, encircle with a crown. MALONE.

⁸ To kill him. MALONE.

⁹ i. e. the distinguishing mark; an obsolete use of the word.

STEEVENS.

² *Government*, in the language of that time, signified evenness of temper, and decency of manners. JOHNSON.

Or as the south to the septentrion.³
 O, tiger's heart, wrapp'd in a woman's hide!
 How could'st thou drain the life-blood of the child,
 To bid the father wipe his eyes withal,
 And yet be seen to bear a woman's face?
 Women are soft, mild, pitiful, and flexible;
 'Thou stern, obdurate, flinty, rough, remorseless.
 'Bid'st thou me rage? why, now thou hast thy wish:
 'Would'st thou have me weep? why, now thou hast thy will:
 'For raging wind blows up incessant showers,
 And, when the rage allays, the rain begins.
 These tears are my sweet Rutland's obsequies;
 'And every drop cries vengeance for his death,—
 'Gainst thee, fell Clifford,—and thee, false Frenchwoman.
North. Beshrew me, but his passions move me so,
 That hardly can I check my eyes from tears.
York. That face of his the hungry cannibals
 Would not have touch'd, would not have stain'd with
 blood : ⁴

But

³ i. e. the North. *Septentrio*, Lat. STEEVENS.

⁴ So, the second folio nonsensically reads the passage; but the old quarto, &c. of better authority, have it thus :

That face of his the hungry cannibals

Would not have touch'd, would not have stain'd with blood.

And this is sense. Could any one now have believed that an editor of common understanding should reject this, and fasten upon the nonsense of the later edition, only because it afforded matter of conjecture? and yet Mr. Theobald will needs correct, *roses just with blood*, to *roses juic'd with blood*, that is change one blundering editor's nonsense for another's. But if there ever was any meaning in the line, it was thus expressed :

Would not have stain'd the roses just in bud,

And this the Oxford editor hath espoused. WARBURTON.

As, without correction, the words—*the roses just*, do not make good sense, there is very little reason to suspect their being interpolated, and therefore it is most probable they were preserved among the players by memory. The correction is this :

That face of his the hungry cannibals

Would not have touch'd :

Would not have stain'd the roses just i' th' bloom.

The words [*the roses just*] were, I suppose, left out by the first editors, in order to get rid of the superfluous hemistich. MUSGRAVE.

But you are more inhuman, more inexorable,—
 O, ten times more,—than tygers of Hyrcania.
 See, ruthless queen, a hapless father's tears;
 This cloth thou dipp'dst in blood of my sweet boy,
 And I with tears do wash the blood away.
 Keep thou the napkin, and go boast of this:

[*He gives back the handkerchief.*]

And, if thou tell'st the heavy story right,
 Upon my soul, the hearers will shed tears;
 Yea, even my foes will shed fast-falling tears,
 And say,—Alas, it was a piteous deed!—
 'There, take the crown, and, with the crown, my curse;
 And, in thy need, such comfort come to thee,
 As now I reap at thy too cruel hand!—
 Hard-hearted Clifford, take me from the world;
 My soul to heaven, my blood upon your heads!

North. Had he been slaughter-man to all my kin,
 'I should not for my life but weep with him,
 To see how inly sorrow gripes his soul.

Q. Mar. What, weeping-ripe, my lord Northumberland?
 Think but upon the wrong he did us all,
 And that will quickly dry thy melting tears.

Clif. Here's for my oath, here's for my father's death.

[*stabbing him.*]

Q. Mar. And here's to right our gentle-hearted king.

[*stabbing him.*]

York. Open thy gate of mercy, gracious God!

'My soul flies through these wounds to seek out thee.

[*Dies.*]

Q. Mar. Off with his head, and set it on York gates;
 So York may overlook the town of York.⁵

[*Exeunt.*]

ACT

⁵ This gallant nobleman fell by his own imprudence, in consequence of leading an army of only five thousand men to engage with twenty thousand, and not waiting for the arrival of his son the earl of March, with a large body of Welchmen. He and Cicely his wife, with his son Edmond earl of Rutland, were originally buried in the chancel of Fotheringay church; and (as Peacham informs us in his *Complete Gentleman*, 4to. 1627,) "when the chancel in that furie of knocking churches and sacred monuments in the head, was also felled to the ground," they were removed into the churchyard; and afterwards "lapped in lead they were buried

ACT II. SCENE I.

A Plain near Mortimer's cross in Herefordshire.

Drums. Enter EDWARD, and RICHARD, with their forces, marching.

* *Edw.* I wonder, how our princely father 'scap'd ;
 * Or whether he be 'scap'd away, or no,
 * From Clifford's and Northumberland's pursuit ;
 * Had he been ta'en, we should have heard the news ;
 * Had he been slain, we should have heard the news ;
 * Or, had he 'scap'd, methinks, we should have heard
 * The happy tidings of his good escape.—
 * How fares my brother ? why is he so sad ?

Rich. I cannot joy, until I be resolv'd
 Where our right valiant father is become.
 * I saw him in the battle range about ;
 * And watch'd him, how he singled Clifford forth.
 * Methought, he bore him ⁶ in the thickest troop,
 As doth a lion in a herd of neat :
 * Or as a bear, encompass'd round with dogs ;
 * Who having pinch'd a few, and made them cry,
 * The rest stand all aloof, and bark at him.
 * So far'd our father with his enemies ;
 * So fled his enemies my warlike father ;
 * Methinks, 'tis prize enough to be his son.⁷

See,

in the church by the commandment of Queen Elizabeth ; and a mean monument of plaister wrought with the trowel erected over them, very homely, and far unfitting so noble princes."

" I remember, (adds the same writer,) Master Creuse, a gentleman and my worthy friend, whodwelt in the college at the same time, told me, that their coffins being opened, their bodies appeared very plainly to be discerned, and withall that the dutchess Cicely had about her necke, hanging in a filke ribband, a pardon from Rome, which, penned in a very fine Roman hand, was as faire and fresh to be read, as it had been written yesterday." This *pardon* was probably a dispensation which the duke procured, from the oath of allegiance that he had sworn to Henry in St. Paul's church on the 10th of March, 1452. MALONE.

⁶ i. e. he demeaned himself. MALONE.

⁷ The old quarto reads—*pride*, which is right, for *ambition*, i. e. We need not aim at any higher glory than this. WARBURTON.

N. 3.

I believe

See, how the morning opes her golden gates,
And takes her farewell of the glorious sun! ⁸

* How well resembles it the prime of youth,

* Trimm'd like a younker, prancing to his love?

Edw. Dazzle mine eyes, or do I see three suns? ⁹

Rich. Three glorious suns, each one a perfect sun;
Not separated with the racking clouds,²
But sever'd in a pale clear-shining sky.

See, see! they join, embrace, and seem to kiss,

As if they vow'd some league inviolable:

Now are they but one lamp, one light, one sun.

In this the heaven figures some event.

* *Edw.* 'Tis wondrous strange, the like yet never
heard of.

I think, it cites us, brother, to the field;

That we, the sons of brave Plantagenet,

* Each one already blazing by our meeds,³

Should, notwithstanding, join our lights together,

* And over-shine the earth, as this the world.

* Whate'er it bodes, henceforward will I bear

Upon my target three fair shining suns.

* *Rich.* Nay, bear three daughters;—by your leave I
speak it,

* You love the breeder better than the male.

Enter

I believe *prize* is the right word. Richard's sense is, though we have missed the *prize* for which we fought, we have yet an honour left that may content us. JOHNSON.

Prize, if it be the true reading, I believe, here means *privilege*.

MALONE.

⁸ Aurora takes for a time her farewell of the sun, when she dismisses him to his diurnal course. JOHNSON.

⁹ This circumstance is mentioned both by Hall and Holinshed: “—— at which tyme the *son* (as some write) appeared to the earle of March like *three sunnes*, and sodainely joyned altogether in one, uppon whiche sight hee tooke such courage, that he fiercely setting on his enemies put them to flight; and for this cause menne ymagined that he gave the sun in his full bryghtnesse for his badge or cognisance.” These are the words of Holinshed. MALONE.

² i. e. the clouds in rapid, tumultuary motion. STEEVENS.

³ Illustrious and shining by the armorial ensigns granted us as *meeds* of our great exploits. *Meed* likewise is *Merit*. It might be plausibly read: — *blazing by our deeds*. JOHNSON.

Johnson's

Enter a Messenger.

* But what art thou, whose heavy looks foretel
* Some dreadful story hanging on thy tongue?

Mef. Ah, one that was a woful looker on,
When as the noble duke of York was slain,
* Your princely father, and my loving lord.

* *Edw.* O, speak no more! ⁴ for I have heard too much.

* *Rich.* Say how he died, for I will hear it all.

* *Mef.* Environed he was with many foes;
* And stood against them as the hope of Troy

* Against the Greeks, that would have enter'd Troy.

* But Hercules himself must yield to odds;

* And many strokes, though with a little axe,

* Hew down and fell the hardest-timber'd oak.

* By many hands your father was subdu'd;

* But only slaughter'd by the ireful arm

* Of unrelenting Clifford, and the queen:

* Who crown'd the gracious duke, in high despight;

* Laugh'd in his face: and, when with grief he wept,

* The ruthless queen gave him, to dry his cheeks,

* A napkin steeped in the harmless blood

* Of sweet young Rutland, by rough Clifford slain:

* And, after many scorns, many foul taunts,

* They took his head, and on the gates of York

* They set the same; and there it doth remain,

* The saddest spectacle that e'er I view'd.

Edw. Sweet duke of York, our prop to lean upon;

* Now thou art gone, we have no staff, no stay!—

* O Clifford, boist'rous Clifford, thou hast slain

* The flower of Europe for his chivalry;

* And treacherously hast thou vanquish'd him,

* For, hand to hand, he would have vanquish'd thee!—

Now my soul's palace is become a prison:

* Ah,

Johnson's first explanation of this passage is not right. *Meed* here means *merit*. M. MASON.

⁴ The generous tenderness of Edward, and savage fortitude of Richard, are well distinguished by their different reception of their father's death.

JOHNSON.

' Ah, would she break from hence! that this my body
 ' Might in the ground be closed up in rest:
 ' For never henceforth shall I joy again,
 ' Never, O never, shall I see more joy.

' *Rich.* I cannot weep; for all my body's moisture
 Scarce serves to quench my furnace-burning heart:
 * Nor can my tongue unload my heart's great burden;
 * For self-same wind, that I should speak withal,
 * Is kindling coals, that fire all my breast,
 * And burn me up with flames, that tears would quench.
 * To weep, is to make less the depth of grief:
 * Tears, then, for babes; blows, and revenge, for me!—
 ' Richard, I bear thy name, I'll venge thy death,
 ' Or die renowned by attempting it.

Edw. His name that valiant duke hath left with thee;
 ' His dukedom and his chair with me is left.

Rich. Nay, if thou be that princely eagle's bird,
 Show thy descent by gazing 'gainst the sun:
 For chair and dukedom, throne and kingdom say;
 Either that is thine, or else thou wert not his.

March. Enter WARWICK and MONTAGUE, with forces.⁵

War. How now, fair lords? What fare? what news abroad?

' *Rich.* Great lord of Warwick, if we should recount
 Our baleful news, and, at each word's deliverance,
 Stab poniards in our flesh, till all were told,
 The words would add more anguish than the wounds.
 O valiant lord, the duke of York is slain.

Edw. O Warwick! Warwick! that Plantagenet,
 Which held thee dearly, as his soul's redemption,
 Is by the stern lord Clifford done to death.⁶

War. Ten days ago I drown'd these news in tears;
 And now, to add more measure to your woes,
 I come to tell you things since then befall'n.

After

⁵ This meeting was at Chipping-Norton. *W. Wyrcester*, p. 848.

RITSON.

⁶ *Done to death* for *killed*, was a common expression long before Shakespeare's time. GRAY.

Spenser mentions a plague "which many did to dye." JOHNSON.

After the bloody fray at Wakefield fought,
 Where your brave father breath'd his latest gasp,
 Tidings, as swiftly as the posts could run,
 Were brought me of your loss, and his depart.
 I then in London, keeper of the king,
 Muster'd my soldiers, gather'd flocks of friends,
 And very well appointed, as I thought,
 March'd towards saint Alban's to intercept the queen,
 Bearing the king in my behalf along :
 For by my scouts I was advertis'd,
 That she was coming with a full intent
 To dash our late decree in parliament,
 ' Touching king Henry's oath, and your succession;
 Short tale to make,—we at saint Alban's met,
 Our battles join'd, and both sides fiercely fought :
 But, whether 'twas the coldness of the king,
 Who look'd full gently on his warlike queen,
 That robb'd my soldiers of their hated spleen ;
 Or whether 'twas report of her success ;
 Or more than common fear of Clifford's rigour,
 ' Who thunders to his captives—blood and death,
 I cannot judge : but, to conclude with truth,
 Their weapons like to lightning came and went ;
 Our soldiers'—like the night-owl's lazy flight,
 ' Or like a lazy thresher with a flail,—
 Fell gently down, as if they struck their friends.
 I cheer'd them up with justice of our cause,
 With promise of high pay, and great rewards ;
 But all in vain ; they had no heart to fight,
 And we, in them, no hope to win the day,
 So that we fled ; the king, unto the queen ;
 Lord George your brother, Norfolk, and myself,
 In haste, post-haste, are come to join with you ;

For

7 This image is not very congruous to the subject, nor was it necessary to the comparison, which is happily enough completed by the thresher.

JOHNSON.

Dr. Johnson objects to this comparison as incongruous to the subject ; but I think, unjustly. Warwick compares the languid blows of his soldiers, to the lazy strokes which the wings of the owl give to the air in its flight, which is remarkably slow. M. MASON.

For in the marches here, we heard, you were,
Making another head to fight again.

‘ *Edw.*⁴ Where is the duke of Norfolk, gentle Warwick ?
And when came George from Burgundy to England ?

‘ *War.* Some fix miles off the duke is with the foldiers :
And for your brother,—he was lately sent
From your kind aunt, duchefs of Burgundy,
‘ With aid of foldiers to this needful war.⁵

Rich. ’Twas odds, belike, when valiant Warwick fled :
Oft have I heard his praises in purfuit,
But ne’er, till now, his scandal of retire.

War. Nor now my scandal, Richard, doft thou hear :
For thou fhalt know, this ftrong right hand of mine
Can pluck the diadem from faint Henry’s head,
And wring the awful fcepter from his fift ;
Were he as famous and as bold in war,
As he is fam’d for mildnefs, peace, and prayer.

Rich. I know it well, lord Warwick : blame me not ;

’Tis

⁴ The exact ages of the duke of York’s children, introduced in the prefent play, will beft prove how far our author has, either intentionally or otherwife, deviated, in this particular, from hiftorical truth.

Edward, earl of March, afterward duke of York, and king of England, his *second* fon, was born at Rouen, on Monday the 27th or 28th of April, 1442 ; Edmund, earl of Rutland, his *third* fon, at the fame place, on Monday the 17th of May, 1443 ; George of York, afterward duke of Clarence, his *sixth* fon, in Dublin, on Tuefday the 21ft of October, 1449 ; and Richard of York, afterward duke of Glofter, and king of England, his *eighth* fon, at Fotheringay, on Monday the 2d of October, 1452, Henry, the *first* fon born in 1441, William, the *fourth*, in 1447. John, the *fifth*, in 1448, and Thomas the feventh, in 1451, died young. He had likewise four daughters. The battle of Wakefield was fought the 29th of December, 1460, when Edward, of course, was in his *nineteenth* year, Rutland in his *eighteenth*, George in his *twelfth*, and Richard in his *ninth*.

RITSON.

⁵ This circumftance is not warranted by hiftory. Clarence and Glofter (as they were afterwards created) were fent into Flanders immediately after the battle of Wakefield, and did not return until their brother Edward got poffeffion of the crown. Befides, Clarence was not now more than twelve years old.

Ifabel, duchefs of Burgundy, whom Shakspeare calls the duke’s aunt, was daughter of John I. king of Portugal, by Philippa of Lancafter, eldeft daughter of John of Gaunt. They were, therefore, no more than third coufins. RITSON.

'Tis love, I bear thy glories, makes me speak.
 But, in this troublous time, what's to be done?
 Shall we go throw away our coats of steel,
 And wrap our bodies in black mourning gowns,
 Numb'ring our Ave-Maries with our beads?
 Or shall we on the helmets of our foes
 Tell our devotion with revengeful arms?
 If for the last, say—Ay, and to it, lords.

War. Why, therefore Warwick came to seek you out;
 And therefore comes my brother Montague.
 Attend me, lords. The proud insulting queen,
 With Clifford, and the haught Northumberland,⁶
 And, of their feather, many more proud birds,
 Have wrought the easy-melting king, like wax.
 He swore consent to your succession,
 His oath enrolled in the parliament;
 And now to London all the crew are gone,
 To frustrate both his oath, and what beside
 May make against the house of Lancaster.

' Their power, I think, is thirty thousand strong:
 Now, if the help of Norfolk, and myself,
 With all the friends that thou, brave earl of March,
 Amongst the loving Welchmen canst procure,
 ' Will but amount to five and twenty thousand,
 Why, *Via!* to London will we march amain;
 And once again bestride our foaming steeds,
 ' And once again cry—Charge upon our foes!
 But never once again turn back, and fly.

Rich. Ay, now methinks, I hear great Warwick speak:
 Ne'er may he live to see a sunshine day,
 ' That cries—Retire, if Warwick bid him stay.

Edw. Lord Warwick, on thy shoulder will I lean;
 ' And when thou fail'st, (as God forbid the hour!)
 Must Edward fall, which peril heaven forbend!

War. No longer earl of March, but duke of York;
 ' The next degree is, England's royal throne:

For

⁶ So, Grafton in his *Chronicle* says, p. 417: "—— the lord Henry Percy, whom the Scottes for his *baut* and valiant courage called sir Henry Hotspurre." PERCY.

For king of England shalt thou be proclaim'd
 In every borough as we pass along ;
 And he, that throws not up his cap for joy,
 * Shall for the fault make forfeit of his head.
 King Edward,—valiant Richard,—Montague,—
 Stay we no longer dreaming of renown,
 * But sound the trumpets, and about our task.

* *Rich.* Then, Clifford, were thy heart as hard as steel,
 * (As thou hast shown it flinty by thy deeds,)
 * I come to pierce it,—or to give thee mine.
 * *Edw.* Then strike up, drums;—God, and saint George,
 for us !

Enter a Messenger.

War. How now ? What news ?

Mes. The duke of Norfolk sends you word by me,
 The queen is coming with a puissant host ;
 And craves your company for speedy counsel.

* *War.* Why then it forts,⁷ brave warriors : Let's away.

[*Exeunt.*]

SCENE II.

Before York.

*Enter King HENRY, Queen MARGARET, the Prince of Wales,
 CLIFFORD, and NORTHUMBERLAND, with forces.*

Q. Mar. Welcome, my lord, to this brave town of York.
 Yonder's the head of that arch-enemy,
 That fought to be encompass'd with your crown :
 * Doth not the object cheer your heart, my lord ?

* *K. Hen.* Ay, as the rocks cheer them that fear their
 wreck ;—

To see this sight, it irks my very soul.—
 Withhold revenge, dear God ! 'tis not my fault,
 Nor wittingly have I infring'd my vow.

Clif. My gracious liege, this too much lenity
 And harmful pity, must be laid aside.

To whom do lions cast their gentle looks ?
 Not to the beast that would usurp their den.
 Whose hand is that, the forest bear doth lick ?

Not

⁷ Why then things are as they should be. JOHNSON.

Not his, that spoils her young before her face.
 Who 'scapes the lurking serpent's mortal sting?
 Not he, that sets his foot upon her back.
 The smallest worm will turn, being trodden on;
 ' And doves will peck, in safeguard of their brood.
 Ambitious York did level at thy crown,
 Thou smiling, while he knit his angry brows:
 He, but a duke, would have his son a king,
 And raise his issue, like a loving fire;
 Thou, being a king, blest'd with a goodly son,
 Didst yield consent to disinherit him,
 ' Which argued thee a most unloving father.
 Unreasonable creatures feed their young:
 And though man's face be fearful to their eyes,
 Yet, in protection of their tender ones,
 Who hath not seen them (even with those wings
 ' Which sometime they have us'd with fearful flight,)
 Make war with him that climb'd unto their nest,
 Offering their own lives in their young's defence,
 For shame, my liege, make them your precedent!
 Were it not pity, that this goodly boy
 Should lose his birthright by his father's fault;
 And long hereafter say unto his child,—
What my great-grandfather and grandfire got,
My careless father fondly gave away?
 Ah, what a shame were this! Look on the boy;
 And let his manly face, which promiseth
 Successful fortune, steel thy melting heart,
 To hold thine own, and leave thine own with him.
K. Hen. Full well hath Clifford play'd the orator,
 Inferring arguments of mighty force.
 ' But, Clifford, tell me, didst thou never hear,—
 That things ill-got had ever bad success?⁸
 And happy always was it for that son,
 Whose father⁹ for his hoarding went to hell?

I'll

⁸ The proverb quoted by his majesty on this occasion, seems to militate directly against his own argument, and shows that things ill got might have good success. M. MASON.

⁹ Alluding to a common proverb:

Happy the child whose father went to the devil. JOHNSON.

I'll leave my son my virtuous deeds behind;
 And 'would, my father had left me no more!
 For all the rest is held at such a rate,
 ' As brings a thousand-fold more care to keep,
 ' Than in possession any jot of pleasure.
 Ah, cousin York! 'would thy best friends did know,
 ' How it doth grieve me that thy head is here!

Q. Mar. My lord, cheer up thy spirits; our foes are
 nigh,

' And this soft courage makes your followers faint.
 ' You promis'd knighthood to our forward son;
 ' Unsheath your sword, and dub him presently.—
 Edward, kneel down.

K. Hen. Edward Plantagenet, arise a knight;
 And learn this lesson,—Draw thy sword in right.

Prince. My gracious father, by your kingly leave,
 I'll draw it as apparent to the crown,
 And in that quarrel use it to the death.

Clif. Why, that is spoken like a toward prince.

Enter a Messenger.

Mes. Royal commanders, be in readiness:
 ' For, with a band of thirty thousand² men,
 Comes Warwick, backing of the duke of York;
 And, in the towns as they do march along,
 Proclaims him king, and many fly to him:

' Darraign³ your battle, for they are at hand.

Clif. I would, your highness would depart the field;
 The queen hath best success when you are absent.

Q. Mar. Ay, good my lord, and leave us to our fortune.

K. Hen. Why, that's my fortune too; therefore I'll stay.

North. Be it with resolution then to fight.

Prince. My royal father, cheer these noble lords,
 And hearten those that fight in your defence;
 Unsheath your sword, good father; cry, *Saint George!*

² The quarto reads *fifty thousand*. STEEVENS.

³ That is, *Range* your host, put your host in order. JOHNSON.

March. Enter EDWARD, GEORGE, RICHARD, WARWICK, NORFOLK, MONTAGUE, and Soldiers.

‘ *Edw.* Now, perjur’d Henry! wilt thou kneel for grace,
‘ And set thy diadem upon my head;
* Or bide the mortal fortune of the field?

Q. Mar. Go rate thy minions, proud insulting boy!
‘ Becomes it thee to be thus bold in terms,
‘ Before thy sovereign, and thy lawful king?

Edw. I am his king, and he shall bow his knee;
I was adopted heir by his consent:

Since when, his oath is broke;⁴ for, as I hear,
You—that are king, though he do wear the crown,—
Have caus’d him, by new act of parliament,
‘ To blot out me, and put his own son in.

‘ *Clif.* And reason too;
Who should succeed the father, but the son?

‘ *Rich.* Are you there, butcher?—O, I cannot speak!

‘ *Clif.* Ay, crook-back; here I stand, to answer thee,
‘ Or any he the proudest of thy fort.

Rich. ’Twas you that kill’d young Rutland, was it not?

Clif. Ay, and old York, and yet not satisfy’d.

Rich. For God’s sake, lords, give signal to the fight.

War. What say’st thou, Henry, wilt thou yield the crown?

‘ *Q. Mar.* Why, how now, long-tongu’d Warwick? dare
you speak?

When you and I met at saint Alban’s last,
Your legs did better service than your hands.⁵

War. ’Then ’twas my turn to fly, and now ’tis thine.

Clif. You said so much before, and yet you fled.

War. ’Twas not your valour, Clifford, drove me thence.

‘ *North.*

⁴ Edward’s argument is founded on the following article in the compact entered into by Henry and the duke of York, which the author found in Hall’s Chronicle, but which I believe made no part of that agreement: “Provided alwaye, that if the king did closely or apertly studie or go about to breake or alter this agreement, or to compass or imagine the death or destruction of the sayde duke or his bloud, then he *to forget the crowne,* and the duke of Yorke to take it.” If this had been one of the articles of the compact, the duke having been killed at Wakefield, his eldest son would have now a title to the crown MALONE.

⁵ An allusion to the proverb, “One pair of heels is worth two pair of hands.” SKEEVENS.

North. No, nor your manhood, that durst make you stay.

Rich. Northumberland, I hold thee reverently ;—
Break off the parley ; for scarce I can refrain
The execution of my big-swoln heart
Upon that Clifford, that cruel child-killer.

Clif. I slew thy father : Call'st thou him a child ?

Rich. Ay, like a dastard, and a treacherous coward,
As thou didst kill our tender brother Rutland ;
But, ere sun-set, I'll make thee curse the deed.

K. Hen. Have done with words, my lords, and hear me
speak.

Q. Mar. Defy them then, or else hold close thy lips.

K. Hen. I pr'ythee, give no limits to my tongue ;
I am a king, and privileg'd to speak.

Clif. My liege, the wound, that bred this meeting here,
Cannot be cur'd by words ; therefore be still.

Rich. Then, executioner, unsheath thy sword :
By him that made us all, I am resolv'd,⁶

That Clifford's manhood lies upon his tongue.

Edw. Say, Henry, shall I have my right, or no ?
A thousand men have broke their fasts to-day,
That ne'er shall dine, unless thou yield the crown.

War. If thou deny, their blood upon thy head ;
For York in justice puts his armour on.

Prince. If that be right, which Warwick says is right,
There is no wrong, but every thing is right.

Rich. Whoever got thee, there thy mother stands ;
For, well I wot, thou hast thy mother's tongue.

Q. Mar. But thou art neither like thy fire nor dam ;
But like a foul misshapen stigmatick,⁷
Mark'd by the destinies to be avoided,

As venom toads, or lizards' dreadful stings.⁸

Rich. Iron of Naples, hid with English gilt,⁹

Whose

⁶ It is my firm persuasion ; I am no longer in doubt. JOHNSON.

⁷ "A stigmatic," says J. Bullokar in his *English Expofitor*, 1616, "is a notorious lewd fellow, which hath been burnt with a hot iron, or beareth other marks about him as a token of his punishment." STEEVENS.

⁸ This is the second time that Shakspeare has armed the lizard (which in reality has no such defence) with a sting ; but great powers seem to have been imputed to its looks. STEEVENS.

⁹ Gilt is a superficial covering of gold. STEEVENS.

Whose father bears the title of a king,
(As if a channel should be call'd the sea,²)

* Sham'st thou not, knowing whence thou art extraught,

* To let thy tongue detect³ thy base-born heart?

Edw. A wisp of straw⁴ were worth a thousand crowns,
To make this shameless callet know herself.⁵—

* Helen of Greece was fairer far than thou,

* Although thy husband may be Menelaus;⁶

* And ne'er was Agamemnon's brother wrong'd

* By that false woman, as this king by thee.

* His father revell'd in the heart of France,

And tam'd the king, and made the Dauphin stoop;

And, had he match'd according to his state,

He might have kept that glory to this day:

But, when he took a beggar to his bed,

And grac'd thy poor fire with his bridal day;

* Even then that sunshine brew'd a shower for him,

* That wash'd his father's fortunes forth of France,

And heap'd sedition on his crown at home.

* For

² A *channel*, in our author's time, signified what we now call a *kennel*.

MALONE.

Kennel is still pronounced *channel* in the North. RITSON.

³ To show thy meanness of birth by the indecency of language with which thou railest at my deformity. JOHNSON.

⁴ I suppose, for an instrument of correction that might disgrace, but not hurt her. JOHNSON.

I believe that a *wisp* signified some instrument of correction used in the time of Shakspeare. Barrett in his *Alvearie, or Quadruple Dictionary*, 1580, interprets the word *wispe* by *peniculus* or *σπογγος*, which signify any thing to wipe or cleanse with; a cook's linen apron, &c. Pewter is still scoured by a *wispe of straw*, or *bay*. Perhaps Edward means one of these *wisps*, as the denotement of a menial servant. Barrett adds, that, like a *wase*, it signifies “a wreath to be laied under the vessel that is borne upon the head, as women use.” If this be its true sense, the prince may think that such a *wisp* would better become the head of Margaret, than a *crown*. It appears, however, from a passage in Thomas Drant's translation of the seventh satire of *Horace*, 1567, that a *wispe* was the punishment of a scold.

STEEVENS.

⁵ *Callet*, a lewd woman, a drab, perhaps so called from the French *calote*, which was a sort of head-dress worn by country girls. GREY.

⁶ i. e. a cuckold. So, in *Troilus and Cressida*, Thersites, speaking of *Menelaus*, calls him “—the goodly transformation of Jupiter there,—the primitive statue and oblique memorial of cuckolds.” STEEVENS.

‘ For what hath broach’d this tumult, but thy pride ?
 Hadst thou been meek, our title still had slept ;
 And we, in pity of the gentle king,
 Had slipp’d our claim until another age.

‘ *Geo.* But, when we saw our sunshine made thy spring,
 ‘ And that thy summer bred us no increase,⁷
 We set the axe to thy usurping root :
 And though the edge hath something hit ourselves,
 ‘ Yet, know thou, since we have begun to strike,
 ‘ We’ll never leave, till we have hewn thee down,
 Or bath’d thy growing with our heated bloods.

Edw. And, in this resolution, I defy thee ;
 Not willing any longer conference,
 Since thou deny’st the gentle king to speak.—
 Sound trumpets !—let our bloody colours wave !—
 And either victory, or else a grave.

Q. Mar. Stay, Edward.

Edw. No, wrangling woman ; we’ll no longer stay :
 These words will cost ten thousand lives to-day. [*Exeunt.*]

SCENE III.

A field of battle⁸ between Towton and Saxton in Yorkshire.

Alarums. Excursions. Enter WARWICK.

‘ *War.* Forspent with toil, as runners with a race,
 I lay me down a little while to breathe :

For

⁷ When we saw that by favouring thee we made thee grow in fortune, but that we received no advantage from thy fortune flourishing by our favour, we then resolved to destroy thee, and determined to try some other means, though our first efforts have failed. JOHNSON.

⁸ We should read near *Towton*. Shakspeare has here, perhaps, intentionally thrown three different actions into one. The Lord Fitzwater, being stationed by king Edward, to defend the pass of Ferrybridge, was assaulted by the Lord Clifford, and immediately slain, “ and with hym, “ says Hall, the bastard of Salisbury, brother to the earl of Warwycke, a “ valeaunt yong gentleman, and of great audacitie. When the earl of “ Warwycke,” adds he, “ was informed of this feate, he lyke a man “ desperated, mounted on his hackeney, and came blowing to kyng “ Edward, sayng : Syr, I praye God have mercy of their soules, which “ in the beginning of your enterpryse hath lost their lyfes, and because I “ se no succors of the world, I remit the vengeance and punishment to “ God

For strokes receiv'd, and many blows repaid,
Have robb'd my strong-knit sinews of their strength,
' And, spite of spite, needs must I rest a while.

Enter EDWARD, running.

Edw. Smile, gentle heaven! or strike, ungentle death!
' For this world frowns, and Edward's sun is clouded.

War. How now, my lord? what hap? what hope of good?

Enter GEORGE.

* *Geo.* Our hap is loss, our hope but sad despair;
' Our ranks are broke, and ruin follows us;
' What counsel give you? whither shall we fly?
' *Edw.* Bootless is flight, they follow us with wings;
' And weak we are, and cannot shun pursuit.

Enter RICHARD.

' *Rich.* Ah, Warwick, why hast thou withdrawn thyself?
' Thy brother's blood the thirsty earth hath drunk,⁹
' Broach'd

" God our Creator and Redeemer; and with that lighted doune, and slewe
" his horse with his swourde, sayng: let them flye that wyl, for surely
" I wil tarye with him that wil tarye with me, and kissed the crosse of
" his swourde." Clifford, in his retreat, was beset with a party of
Yorkists, when "eyther," says the historian, "for heat or payne,
" putting of his gorget, sodainly with an arrowe (as some say) without an
" hedde [he] was striken into the throte, and incontinent rendered his
" spirite, and the erle of Westmerlandes brother, and almost all his com-
" pany were thare slayn, at a place called Dinting-dale, not farr frō Tow-
" ton." In the afternoon of the next day (Palm Sunday eve 1461) on a
plain field between Towton and Saxton, joined the main battles which
continued engaged that night, and the greater part of the following day:
upwards of 30,000 men, all English (including many of the nobility and
the flower of the gentry, especially of the northern parts) being slain on
both sides. This battle, says Carte, "decided the fate of the house of
" Lancaster, overturning in one day an usurpation strengthened by sixty-
" two years continuance, and established Edward on the throne of
" England." RITSON.

An authentick copy of king Edward's account of this battle, together
with a list of the noblemen and knights who were slain in it, may be seen
in Sir John Fenn's Collection of *The Paston Letters*, Vol. I. p. 216, &c.

HENLEY.

⁹ This passage, from the variation of the copies, gave me no little per-
plexity.

- * Broach'd with the steely point of Clifford's lance :
- * And, in the very pangs of death, he cry'd,—
- * Like to a dismal clangour heard from far,—
- * *Warwick, revenge! brother, revenge my death!*
- * So underneath the belly of their steeds,
- * That stain'd their fetlocks in his smoking blood,
- * The noble gentleman gave up the ghost.
- * *War.* Then let the earth be drunken with our blood :
- I'll kill my horse, because I will not fly.
- * Why stand we like soft-hearted women here,
- * Wailing our losses, whiles the foe doth rage;
- * And look upon,² as if the tragedy
- * Were play'd in jest by counterfeiting actors?
- * Here on my knee I vow to God above,
- * I'll never pause again, never stand still,
- * Till either death hath clos'd these eyes of mine,
- * Or fortune given me measure of revenge.

Edw.

plexity. The old quarto applies this description to the death of Salisbury, Warwick's father. But this was a notorious deviation from the truth of history. For the earl of Salisbury in the battle at Wakefield, wherein Richard duke of York lost his life, was taken prisoner, beheaded at Pomfret, and his head, together with the duke of York's, fixed over York gates. Then the only brother of Warwick, introduced in this play, is the marquess of Montacute (or Montague, as he is called by our author): but he does not die till ten years after, in the battle at Barnet; where Warwick likewise was killed. The truth is, the brother here mentioned is no person in the drama, and his death is only an accidental piece of history. Consulting the Chronicles, upon this action at Ferrybridge, I find him to have been a natural son of Salisbury (in that respect a brother to Warwick), and esteemed a valiant young gentleman. THEOBALD.

In this line, of which there is no trace in the original play, Shakspeare had probably the sacred writings in his thoughts: "And now art thou cursed from the *earth*, which hath opened her mouth to receive thy brother's blood." GENESIS, iv. 11.

The old play (as Theobald has observed) applies this description to the death of Salisbury, contrary to the truth of history, for that nobleman was taken prisoner at the battle of Wakefield, and afterwards beheaded at Pomfret. But both Hall and Holinshed, in nearly the same words, relate the circumstance on which this speech as exhibited in the *folio*, is founded; and from the latter our author undoubtedly took it. In this action at Ferrybridge, which happened on the 28th of March 1461, the day before the great battle of Towton, Lord Clifford was killed. The author of this play has blended the two actions together. MALONE.

² And are mere spectators. MALONE.

Edw. O Warwick, I do bend my knee with thine;
 ' And, in this vow, do chain my soul to thine.—
 * And, ere my knee rise from the earth's cold face,
 * I throw my hands, mine eyes, my heart to thee,
 Thou setter up and plucker down of kings!
 ' Beseeching thee,³—if with thy will it stands,
 ' That to my foes this body must be prey,—
 ' Yet that thy brazen gates of heaven may ope,
 ' And give sweet passage to my sinful soul!—
 ' Now, lords, take leave 'untill we meet again,
 Where-e'er it be, in heaven, or on earth.

' *Rich.* Brother, give me thy hand;—and, gentle War-
 wick,
 ' Let me embrace thee in my weary arms:—
 ' I, that did never weep, now melt with woe,
 ' That winter should cut off our spring-time so.
 ' *War.* Away, away! Once more, sweet lords, farewell.
 ' *Geo.* Yet let us all together to our troops,
 ' And give them leave to fly that will not stay;
 And call them pillars, that will stand to us;
 ' And, if we thrive, promise them such rewards
 ' As victors wear at the Olympian games:
 * This may plant courage in their quailing⁴ breasts;
 * For yet is hope of life, and victory.—
 * Fore-slow no longer,⁵ make we hence amain. [*Exeunt.*]

SCENE IV.

The same. Another part of the field.

Excursions. Enter RICHARD and CLIFFORD.

' *Rich.* Now, Clifford, I have singled thee alone:
 ' Suppose, this arm is for the duke of York,
 ' And this for Rutland; both bound to revenge,
 ' Wert thou environ'd with a brazen wall.

Clif. Now, Richard, I am with thee here alone:
 This is the hand, that stabb'd thy father York;
 And this the hand, that slew thy brother Rutland;

And

³ That is, beseeching the divine power. MALONE.

⁴ i. e. sinking into dejection. STEEVENS.

⁵ To fore-slow is to be dilatory, to loiter. STEEVENS.

And here's the heart, that triumphs in their death,
 And cheers these hands, that slew thy fire and brother,
 To execute the like upon thyself;
 And so, have at thee.

[*They fight. Warwick enters; Clifford flies.*

* *Rich.* Nay, Warwick, single out some other chace;
 * For I myself will hunt this wolf to death. [Exeunt.

SCENE V.

Another part of the field.

Alarum. Enter King HENRY.

* *K. Hen.* This battle fares like to the morning's war,
 * When dying clouds contend with growing light;
 * What time the shepherd, blowing of his nails,
 * Can neither call it perfect day, nor night.
 * Now sways it this way, like a mighty sea,
 * Forc'd by the tide to combat with the wind;
 * Now sways it that way, like the self-same sea
 * Forc'd to retire by fury of the wind;
 * Sometime the flood prevails; and then, the wind;
 * Now, one the better: then, another best;
 * Both tugging to be victors, breast to breast,
 * Yet neither conqueror, nor conquered:
 * So is the equal poise of this fell war.
 * Here on this molehill will I sit me down.
 * To whom God will, there be the victory!
 * For Margaret my queen, and Clifford too,
 * Have chid me from the battle; swearing both,
 * They prosper best of all when I am thence.
 * 'Would I were dead! if God's good will were so:
 * For what is in this world, but grief and woe?
 * O God! methinks, it were a happy life,⁶
 * To be no better than a homely swain;
 * To sit upon a hill, as I do now,
 * To carve out dials quaintly, point by point,

* Thereby

⁶ This speech is mournful and soft, exquisitely suited to the character of the king, and makes a pleasing interchange, by affording, amidst the tumult and horror of the battle, an unexpected glimpse of rural innocence & pastoral tranquillity. JOHNSON.

* Thereby to see the minutes how they run:
 * How many make the hour full complete,
 * How many hours bring about the day,
 * How many days will finish up the year,
 * How many years a mortal man may live.
 * When this is known, then to divide the times:
 * So many hours must I tend my flock;
 * So many hours must I take my rest;
 * So many hours must I contemplate;
 * So many hours must I sport myself;
 * So many days my ewes have been with young;
 * So many weeks ere the poor fools will yeau;
 * So many years⁸ ere I shall sheer the fleece:
 * So many minutes, hours, days, weeks, months, and years,
 * Pass'd over to the end they were created,
 * Would bring white hairs unto a quiet grave.
 * Ah, what a life were this! how sweet! how lovely!
 * Gives not the hawthorn bush a sweeter shade
 * To shepherds, looking on their silly sheep,
 * Than doth a rich embroider'd canopy
 * To kings, that fear their subjects' treachery?
 * O, yes, it doth; a thousand fold it doth.
 * And to conclude,—the shepherd's homely curds,
 * His cold thin drink out of his leather bottle,
 * His wonted sleep under a fresh tree's shade,
 * All which secure and sweetly he enjoys,
 * Is far beyond a prince's delicates,
 * His viands sparkling in a golden cup,
 * His body couched in a curious bed,
 * When care, mistrust, and treason wait on him.

Alarum. Enter a Son that has killed his Father,⁹ dragging in the dead body.

Son. Ill blows the wind, that profits no-body.—

' This man, whom hand to hand I slew in fight,

' May

⁷ *Poor fool*, it has already been observed, is an expression of tenderness, often used by our author. MALONE.

⁸ i. e. the years which must elapse between the time of the yeauing of the ewes, and the lambs arriving to such a state as to admit of being shorn. MALONE.

⁹ These

- * May be possessed with some store of crowns :
 * And I, that haply take them from him now,
 * May yet ere night yield both my life and them
 * To some man else, as this dead man doth me.—
 * Who's this ?—O God ! it is my father's face,
 * Whom in this conflict I unawares have kill'd.
 * O heavy times, begetting such events !
 * From London by the king was I press'd forth ;
 * My father, being the earl of Warwick's man,
 * Came on the part of York, press'd by his master ;
 * And I, who at his hands receiv'd my life,
 * Have by my hands of life bereaved him.—
 * Pardon me, God, I knew not what I did !—
 And pardon, father, for I knew not thee !—
 * My tears shall wipe away these bloody marks ;
 * And no more words, till they have flow'd their fill.
 * *K. Hen.* O piteous spectacle ! O bloody times !
 Whilst lions war, and battle for their dens,
 * Poor harmless lambs abide their enmity.—
 * Weep, wretched man, I'll aid thee tear for tear ;
 * And let our hearts, and eyes, like civil war,
 * Be blind with tears, and break o'ercharg'd with grief.²

Enter a Father, who has killed his Son, with the body in his arms.

- * *Fath.* Thou that so stoutly hast resisted me,
 * Give me thy gold, if thou hast any gold ;
 * For I have bought it with an hundred blows.—
 * But let me see :—is this our foeman's face ?
 * Ah, no, no, no, it is mine only son !—
 * Ah, boy, if any life be left in thee,
 * Throw up thine eye ; see, see, what showers arise,
 * Blown with the windy tempest of my heart,
 * Upon

⁹ These two horrible incidents are selected to show the innumerable calamities of civil war. JOHNSON.

In the battle of Constantine and Maxentius, by Raphael, the second of these incidents is introduced on a similar occasion. STEEVENS.

² The meaning is here inaccurately expressed. The king intends to say that the state of their hearts and eyes shall be like that of the kingdom in a civil war, all shall be destroyed by power formed within themselves.

* Upon thy wounds, that kill mine eye and heart!—

* O, pity, God, this miserable age!—

* What stratagems,³ how fell, how butcherly,

* Erroneous, mutinous, and unnatural,

* This deadly quarrel daily doth beget!—

* O boy, thy father gave thee life too soon,

* And hath bereft thee of thy life too late! ⁴

K. Hen. Woe above woe! grief more than common
grief!

* O, that my death would stay these ruthless deeds!—

* O pity, pity, gentle heaven, pity!—

The red rose and the white are on his face,

The fatal colours of our striving houses:

* The one, his purple blood right well resembles;

* The other, his pale cheeks, methinks, present:

Wither one rose and let the other flourish!

* If

³ Stratagem seems to stand here only for an event of war, or may intend snares and surprizes. JOHNSON.

Stratagem is used by Shakspeare not merely to express the events and surprizes of war.—The word means in this place some *dreadful event*, as it does also in the second part of Henry IV. where Northumberland says:

“ ——— Every minute now

“ Should be the father of some *stratagem*.” M. MASON.

⁴ Because had he been born later, he would not now have been of years to engage in this quarrel. WARBURTON.

i. e. He should have done it by not bringing thee into being, to make both father and son thus miserable. This is the sense, such as it is, of the two lines; however, an indifferent sense was better than none, as it is brought to by the Oxford editor, by reading the lines thus:

O boy! thy father gave thee life too late,

And hath bereft thee of thy life too soon. WARBURTON.

I rather think the meaning of the line, *And hath bereft thee of thy life too soon*, to be this: Thy father exposed thee to danger by giving thee life too soon, and hath bereft thee of life by living himself too long. JOHNSON.

Too late, without doubt, means *too recently*. The memory of thy virtues and thy hapless end is too recent, to be thought of without the deepest anguish. MALONE.

The present reading appears to be far the more eligible. Had the son been younger, he would have been precluded from the levy that brought him into the field; and had the father recognized him before the mortal blow, it would not have been too late to have saved him from death.

HENLEY.

‘ If you contend, a thousand lives must wither.

Son. How will my mother, for a father’s death,
Take on with me,⁵ and ne’er be satisfy’d?

Fath. How will my wife, for slaughter of my son,
‘ Shed seas of tears, and ne’er be satisfy’d?

‘ *K. Hen.* How will the country, for these woeful
chances,

‘ Mis-think the king, and not be satisfy’d?

‘ *Son.* Was ever son, so ru’d a father’s death?

‘ *Fath.* Was ever father, so bemoan’d his son?

‘ *K. Hen.* Was ever king, so griev’d for subjects’ woe?

‘ Much is your sorrow; mine, ten times so much.

‘ *Son.* I’ll bear thee hence, where I may weep my fill.

[*Exit, with the body.*]

* *Fath.* These arms of mine shall be thy winding-sheet;

* My heart, sweet boy, shall be thy sepulchre;

* For from my heart thine image ne’er shall go.

* My fighting breast shall be thy funeral bell;

* And so obsequious will thy father be,⁶

* Sad for the loss of thee, having no more,

* As Priam was for all⁷ his valiant sons,

I’ll bear thee hence; and let them fight that will,

For I have murder’d where I should not kill.

[*Exit, with the body.*]

‘ *K. Hen.* Sad-hearted men, much overgrown with care,

‘ Here sits a king more woful than you are.

*Alarums. Excursions. Enter Queen MARGARET, Prince of
Wales, and EXETER.*

‘ *Prince.* Fly, father, fly! for all your friends are fled,

‘ And Warwick rages like a chafed bull:

‘ Away! for death doth hold us in pursuit.

Q. Mar.

⁵ Be enraged at me. MALONE.

To take on is a phrase still in use among the vulgar, and signifies—to
persist in clamorous lamentation. STEEVENS.

⁶ Obsequious is here careful of obsequies, or of funeral rites. JOHNSON.

⁷ I having but one son, will grieve as much for that one, as Priam, who
had many, could grieve for many. JOHNSON.

* *Q. Mar.* Mount you, my lord, towards Berwick post
again :

* Edward and Richard, like a brace of greyhounds
* Having the fearful flying hare in sight,
* With fiery eyes, sparkling for very wrath,
* And bloody steel grasp'd in their ireful hands,
* Are at our backs ; and therefore hence again.

Exe. Away ! for vengeance comes along with them :

* Nay, stay not to expostulate, make speed ;
Or else come after, I'll away before.

* *K. Hen.* Nay, take me with thee, good sweet Exeter ;
* Not that I fear to stay, but love to go
* Whither the queen intends. Forward ; away ! [*Exeunt.*

S C E N E VI.

The same.

A loud alarm. Enter CLIFFORD, wounded.

* *Clif.* Here burns my candle out, ay, here it dies,
Which, while it lasted, gave king Henry light.
O, Lancaster ! I fear thy overthrow,
More than my body's parting with my soul.
My love, and fear, glew'd many friends to thee ;
* And, now I fall, thy tough⁸ commixtures melt.
Impairing Henry, strength'ning mis-proud York,
The common people swarm like summer flies :
And whither fly the gnats, but to the sun ?
And who shines now, but Henry's enemies ?
O Phœbus ! hadst thou never given consent⁹
That Phaeton should check thy fiery steeds,
Thy burning car never had scorched the earth :
And, Henry, hadst thou sway'd as kings should do,
Or as thy father, and his father, did,
Giving no ground unto the house of York,
* They never then had sprung like summer flies ;

* I, and

⁸ Perhaps better, *the tough commixture.* JOHNSON.

⁹ The duke of York had been entrusted by Henry with the reins of government both in Ireland and France ; and hence perhaps was taught to aspire to the throne. MALONE.

' I, and ten thousand in this luckless realm,
 Had left no mourning widows for our death,
 And thou this day hadst kept thy chair in peace.
 For what doth cherish weeds, but gentle air?
 ' And what makes robbers bold, but too much lenity?
 Bootless are complaints, and cureless are my wounds;
 ' No way to fly, nor strength to hold out flight:²
 The foe is merciless, and will not pity;
 For, at their hands, I have deserv'd no pity.
 ' The air hath got into my deadly wounds,
 And much effuse of blood doth make me faint:—
 Come, York, and Richard, Warwick, and the rest;
 ' I stabb'd your fathers' bosoms, split my breast. [*He faints.*

*Alarum and retreat. Enter EDWARD, GEORGE, RICHARD,
 MONTAGUE, WARWICK, and Soldiers.*

' *Edw.* Now breathe we, lords;³ good fortune bids us
 pause,
 ' And smooth the frowns of war with peaceful looks.—
 * Some troops pursue the bloody-minded queen;—
 ' That led calm Henry, though he were a king,
 ' As doth a sail, fill'd with a fretting gust,
 ' Command an argosy to stem the waves.
 ' But think you, lords, that Clifford fled with them?
War. No, 'tis impossible he should escape:
 For, though before his face I speak the words,
 Your brother Richard mark'd him for the grave:
 ' And,

² This line is clear and proper as it is now read; yet perhaps an opposition of images was meant, and Clifford said:

No way to fly, nor strength to hold out fight. JOHNSON.

The sense of the original reading is—No way to fly, nor with strength sufficient left to sustain myself in flight, if there were. STEEVENS.

³ This battle, in which the house of York was victorious, was fought on a plain between Towton and Saxton, on the 29th of March, (Palm Sunday) 1461. The royal army consisted, according to Hall, of about forty thousand men; and the young duke of York's forces were 48,760. In this combat, which lasted fourteen hours, and in the actions of the two following days, thirty-six thousand seven hundred and seventy-six persons are said to have been killed; the greater part of whom were undoubtedly Lancastrians. MALONE.

‘ And, wheresoe’er he is, he’s surely dead.

[CLIFFORD groans, and dies.]

Edw. Whose soul is that which takes her heavy leave?

Rich. A deadly groan like life and death’s departing.⁴

Edw. See who it is: and, now the battle’s ended,
If friend, or foe, let him be gently us’d.

‘ *Rich.* Revok e that doom of mercy, for ’tis Clifford;
‘ Who not contented that he lopp’d the branch
‘ In hewing Rutland when his leaves put forth,
‘ But set his murdering knife unto the root
‘ From whence that tender spray did sweetly spring,
‘ I mean, our princely father, duke of York.

War. From off the gates of York fetch down the head,
Your father’s head, which Clifford placed there:

‘ Instead whereof, let this supply the room;
Measure for measure must be answered.

Edw. Bring forth that fatal scritch-owl to our house,
‘ That nothing sung but death to us and ours:
‘ Now death shall stop his dismal threatening sound,
‘ And his ill-boding tongue no more shall speak.

[Attendants bring the body forward.]

War. I think his understanding is bereft:—
Speak, Clifford, dost thou know who speaks to thee?—
Dark cloudy death o’ershades his beams of life,
And he nor sees, nor hears us what we say.

Rich. O, ’would he did! and so, perhaps, he doth;
‘ ’Tis but his policy to counterfeit,
‘ Because he would avoid such bitter taunts
‘ Which in the time of death he gave our father.

Geo. If so thou think’st, vex him with eager words.⁵

Rich. Clifford, ask mercy, and obtain no grace.

Edw. Clifford, repent in bootless penitence.

War. Clifford, devise excuses for thy faults.

Geo.

⁴ Sir Thomas Hanmer reads, *like life in death departing*; which Dr. Warburton has received. JOHNSON.

Departing for *separation*. MALONE.

There is no occasion for correction. “ ’Till death us depart” was the expression in the old *Marriage Service*. FARMER.

⁵ Sour words; words of asperity. JOHNSON.

Geo. While we devise fell tortures for thy faults.

* *Rich.* Thou didst love York, and I am son to York.

Edw. Thou pitied'st Rutland, I will pity thee.

Geo. Where's captain Margaret, to fence you now?

War. They mock thee, Clifford! swear as thou wast wont.

* *Rich.* What, not an oath? nay, then the world goes hard,

* When Clifford cannot spare his friends an oath:—

I know by that, he's dead; And, by my soul,

* If this right hand would buy two hours' life,

That I in all despite might rail at him,

* This hand should chop it off; and with the issuing blood

Stifle the villain, whose unstaunched thirst

York and young Rutland could not satisfy.

War. Ay, but he's dead: Off with the traitor's head,
And rear it in the place your father's stands.—

And now to London with triumphant march,

There to be crowned England's royal king.

* From whence shall Warwick cut the sea to France,

And ask the lady Bona for thy queen:

So shalt thou sinew both these lands together;

* And, having France thy friend, thou shalt not dread

The scatter'd foe, that hopes to rise again;

For though they cannot greatly sting to hurt,

Yet look to have them buz, to offend thine ears.

First, will I see the coronation;

* And then to Britany I'll cross the sea,

To effect this marriage, so it please my lord.

Edw. Even as thou wilt, sweet Warwick, let it be:

* For on thy shoulder do I build my seat;

* And never will I undertake the thing,

* Wherein thy council and consent is wanting.—

* Richard, I will create thee duke of Gloster;—

* And George, of Clarence;—Warwick, as ourself,

* Shall do, and undo, as him pleaseth best.

Rich. Let me be duke of Clarence; George, of Gloster;
For Gloster's dukedom is too ominous.⁶

War. Tut, that's a foolish observation;

Richard,

⁶ Alluding, perhaps, to the deaths of Thomas of Woodstock, and Humphrey, dukes of Gloster. STEEVENS.

Richard, be duke of Gloster : Now to London,
To see these honours in possession.

[*Exeunt.*]

ACT III. SCENE I.

A Chase in the North of England.

Enter two Keepers,⁷ with cross-bows in their hands.

‘ 1. *Keep.* Under this thick-grown brake⁸ we’ll shroud
ourselves :

‘ For

⁷ In the folio, instead of *two keepers*, we have, through negligence, the names of the persons who represented these characters; *Sinklo*, and *Humphrey*. MALONE.

Dr. Grey observes from Hall and Holinshed, that the name of the person who took *King Henry*, was *Cantlowe*.

I learn also from one of the Paston Letters, Vol. I. p. 249, that Giles *Senclowe* was among the persons then in Scotland with the queen.

STEEVENS.

One Giles *Santlowe*, esquire, is among those attainted by king Edward’s first parliament, and may possibly be here meant, but no person of that name seems to have been any way concerned in the capture of the late king; who, according to W. Wyrcester, was actually taken in *Lancashire*, by two knights named *John Talbois* and *Richard Tunstall*,—July, 1464. Drummond of Hawthornden observes, it was recorded “that a son of Sir *Edward Talbott* apprehended him as he sat at dinner at *Wadding-ton-hall*; and like a common malefactor, with his legs under the horse’s belly, guarded him toward London.” It is a more certain fact, which I have from records in the Duchy Office, that king Edward granted to Sir *James Harrington* a rent-charge of one hundred pounds out of his lordship of *Rowland* in *Lancashire*, in recompence of his great and laborious diligence about the capture and detention of the king’s great traitor, rebel and enemy, lately called *Henry the sixth*, made by the said *James*; and likewise annuities to *Richard Talbot*, *Thomas Talbot*, esquires,—*Talbot*, and—*Livesey*, for their services in the same capture. See also Rymer’s *Fœdera*, xi. 548. *Henry* had been for some time harboured by *James Maychell* of *Crakenthorpe*, *Westmoreland*. *Ib.* 575. It seems clear, however, that the present scene is to be placed near the Scottish border. The king himself says :

“From Scotland am I stoln, even of pure love;”

And Hall (and Holinshed after him) tells us “He was no sooner entered [into England], but he was knowen and taken of one *Cantlowe*, and brought toward the king.” RITSON.

⁸ A *brake* anciently signified a thicket. STEEVENS.

- * For through this laund² anon the deer will come ;
 * And in this covert will we make our stand,
 * Culling the principal of all the deer.
 * 2. *Keep*. I'll stay above the hill, so both may shoot.
 * 1. *Keep*. That cannot be; the noise of thy cross-bow³
 * Will scare the herd, and so my shoot is lost.
 * Here stand we both, and aim we at the best :
 * And, for the time shall not seem tedious,
 * I'll tell the what befell me on a day,
 * In this self-place where now we mean to stand.
 * 2. *Keep*. Here comes a man, let's stay till he be past.

Enter King HENRY, disguised, with a prayer-book.

- K. Hen.* From Scotland am I stol'n, even of pure love,
 * To greet mine own land with my wishful sight.
 * No Harry, Harry, 'tis no land of thine ;
 * Thy place is fill'd, thy scepter wrung from thee,
 * Thy balm wash'd off,⁴ wherewith thou wast anointed :
 No bending knee will call thee Cæsar now,
 * No humble suitors press to speak for right,
 * No, not a man comes for redress of thee ;
 For how can I help them, and not myself ?

- * 1. *Keep*. Ay, here's a deer whose skin's a keeper's fee :
 * This is the *quondam* king;⁵ let's seize upon him.

* *K. Hen.*

² *Laund* means the same as *lawn*; a plain extended between woods.

STEEVENS.

This explanation accords with the site of Laund Abbey in Leicestershire. NICHOLS.

³ The poet appears not to have forgot the secrets of his former profession. STEEVENS.

⁴ This is an image very frequent in the works of Shakspeare. So, again, in this scene :

I was anointed king.

It is common in these plays to find the same images, whether jocular or serious, frequently recurring. JOHNSON.

⁵ *Quondam* had not in Shakspeare's time uniformly acquired a ludicrous sense. "Make them *quondams* (says *Latimer* in one of his sermons) out with them, cast them out of their office." And in another place. "He will have every man a *quondam*, as he is. As for my *quondamship* I thank God that he gaue me the grace to come by it, by so honest a meanes as I did; I thanke him for mayne owne *quondamship*, and as for them I will not

* *K. Hen.* Let me embrace these four adversities ;

* For wise men say, it is the wisest course.

* 2. *Keep.* Why linger we ? let us lay hands upon him.

* 1. *Keep.* Forbear a while ; we'll hear a little more.

* *K. Hen.* My queen, and son, are gone to France for aid ;

And, as I hear, the great commanding Warwick

Is thither gone, to crave the French king's sister

To wife for Edward : If this news be true,

Poor queen, and son, your labour is but lost ;

For Warwick is a subtle orator,

And Lewis a prince soon won with moving words.

By this account, then, Margaret may win him ;

For she's a woman to be pity'd much :

* Her sighs will make a battery in his breast ;

* Her tears will pierce into a marble heart ;

* The tiger will be mild, while she doth mourn ;

* And Nero will be tainted with remorse,

* To hear, and see, her plaints, her brinish tears.

* Ay, but she's come to beg ; Warwick, to give :

She, on his left side, craving aid for Henry ;

He, on his right, asking a wife for Edward.

She weeps, and says—her Henry is depos'd ;

He smiles, and says—his Edward is install'd ;

* That she, poor wretch, for grief can speak no more :

* Whiles Warwick tells his title, smooths the wrong,

* Inferreth arguments of mighty strength ;

* And, in conclusion, wins the king from her,

* With promise of his sister, and what else,

* To strengthen and support king Edward's place.

* O Margaret, thus 'twill be ; and thou, poor soul,

* Art then forsaken, as thou went'st forlorn.

2. *Keep.* Say, what art thou, that talk'st of kings and queens ?

* *K. Hen.* More than I seem, and less than I was born to :

* A man

not haue them made *quondams*, if they discharge their office. I would

haue them doe their duty. I would haue no more *quondams*, as God

help me." fol. 53. HOLT WHITE.

* The piety of Henry scarce interests us more for his misfortunes, than this his constant solicitude for the welfare of his deceitful queen.

STEEVENS.

‘ A man at least, for less I should not be ;

And men may talk of kings, and why not I ?

‘ 2. *Keep.* Ay, but thou talk’st as if thou wert a king.

‘ *K. Hen.* Why, so I am, in mind ;⁷ and that’s enough.

2. *Keep.* But, if thou be a king, where is thy crown ?

K. Hen. My crown is in my heart, not on my head ;

* Not deck’d with diamonds, and Indian stones,

* Nor to be seen : ‘ My crown is call’d content ;

‘ A crown it is, that seldom kings enjoy.

‘ 2. *Keep.* Well, if you be a king crown’d with content,
Your crown content, and you, must be contented

‘ To go along with us : for, as we think,

‘ You are the king, king Edward hath depos’d ;

‘ And we his subjects, sworn in all allegiance,

‘ Will apprehend you as his enemy.

* *K. Hen.* But did you never swear, and break an oath ?

* 2. *Keep.* No, never such an oath ; nor will not now.

* *K. Hen.* Where did you dwell, when I was king of
England ?

* 2. *Keep.* Here in this country, where we now remain.

* *K. Hen.* I was anointed king at nine months old ;

* My father, and my grandfather, were kings ;

* And you were sworn true subjects unto me :

* And, tell me then, have you not broke your oaths ?

* 1. *Keep.* No ;

For we were subjects, but while you were king.

* *K. Hen.* Why, am I dead ? do I not breathe a man ?

* Ah, simple men, you know not what you swear.

* Look, as I blow this feather from my face,

* And as the air blows it to me again,

* Obeying with my wind when I do blow,

* And yielding to another when it blows,

* Commanded always by the greater gust ;

* Such is the lightness of you common men.

* But do not break your oaths ; for, of that sin

* My mild entreaty shall not make you guilty.

* Go

⁷ There seems to be an allusion to a line in an old song,

“ My mind to me a kingdom is.” MALONE.

See Dr. Percy’s *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry*. STEEVENS.

- * Go where you will, the king shall be commanded ;
- * And be you kings ; command, and I'll obey.
- * 1. *Keep.* We are true subjects to the king, king Edward.
- * *K. Hen.* So would you be again to Henry,
- * If he were seated as king Edward is.
- 1. *Keep.* We charge you, in God's name, and in the king's,
- To go with us unto the officers.
- * *K. Hen.* In God's name, lead ; your king's name be obey'd :
- * And what God will, that let your king perform ;
- * And what he will, I humbly yield unto. [*Exeunt.*]

SCENE II.

London. *A Room in the Palace.*

Enter King EDWARD, GLOSTER, CLARENCE, and Lady GREY.

- * *K. Edw.* Brother of Gloster, at saint Albans' field
- * This lady's husband, sir John Grey,⁸ was slain,
- His lands then seiz'd on by the conqueror :
- Her suit is now, to repossess those lands ;
- * Which we in justice cannot well deny,
- Because in quarrel of the house of York
- * The worthy gentleman did lose his life.⁹

Gl.

⁸ It was hitherto falsely printed *Richard.* POPE.

Sir John Grey was slain at the second battle of St. Albans' fighting on the side of King Henry. MALONE.

⁹ This is in every particular a falsification of history. Sir John Grey, as has been already observed, fell in the second battle of Saint Albans, which was fought on Shrove-Tuesday, Feb. 17, 1460-1, fighting on the side of king *Henry* ; and so far is it from being true that his lands were seized by the conqueror, (*Queen Margaret.*) that they were in fact seized by the very person who now speaks, after his great victory at Towton, on the 29th of March, 1461. The present scene is laid in 1464.

Shakspeare in new moulding this play followed implicitly his author, (for these five lines, with only a slight variation in the third, and fifth, are found in the old play,) without giving himself the trouble to examine the history ; but a few years afterwards, when he had occasion to write his *Richard III.* and was not warped by a preceding misrepresentation of another writer, he stated from the chronicles this matter truly as it was ;

Glo. Your highness shall do well, to grant her suit ;

* It were dishonour, to deny it her.

K. Edw. It were no less ; but yet I'll make a pause.

* *Glo.* Yea ! it is so ? [*Aside to Clar.*]

I see, the lady hath a thing to grant,
Before the king will grant her humble suit.

Clar. He knows the game ; How true he keeps the wind ?

[*Aside.*]

Glo. Silence!

[*Aside.*]

* *K. Edw.* Widow, we will consider ² of your suit ;

* And come some other time, to know our mind.

* *L. Grey.* Right gracious lord, I cannot brook delay :

* May it please your highness to resolve me now ;

* And what your pleasure is, shall satisfy me.

* *Glo.* [*Aside.*] Ay, widow ? then I'll warrant you all
your lands,

* An if what pleases him, shall pleasure you.

* Fight closer, or, good faith, you'll catch a blow.

* *Clar.* I fear her not, unless she chance to fall. [*Aside.*]

* *Glo.* God forbid that ! for he'll take vantages. [*Aside.*]

* *K. Edw.* How many children hast thou, widow ? tell
me.

Clar. I think, he means to beg a child of her. [*Aside.*]

Glo. Nay, whip me then ; he'll rather give her two.

[*Aside.*]

L. Grey. Three, my most gracious lord.

Glo. You shall have four, if you'll be rul'd by him.

[*Aside.*]

* *K. Edw.* 'Twere pity, they should lose their father's
land.

L. Grey. Be pitiful, dread lord, and grant it then.

K. Edw. Lords, give us leave ; I'll try this widow's wit.

Glo. Ay, good leave have you ; for you will have leave,

* Till youth take leave, and leave you to the crutch.

[*Gloster and Clarence retire to the other side.*]

* *K. Edw.*

and this is one of the numerous circumstances that prove incontestably, in my apprehension, that he was not the original author of this and the preceding play. MALONE.

² This is a very lively and spritely dialogue ; the reciprocation is quicker than is common in Shakspeare. JOHNSON.

* *K. Edw.* Now tell me, madam, do you love your children?

* *L. Grey.* Ay, full as dearly as I love myself.

* *K. Edw.* And would you not do much to do them good?

* *L. Grey.* To do them good, I would sustain some harm.

* *K. Edw.* Then get your husband's lands, to do them good.

* *L. Grey.* Therefore I came unto your majesty.

K. Edw. I'll tell you how these lands are to be got.

* *L. Grey.* So shall you bind me to your highness' service.

* *K. Edw.* What service wilt thou do me, if I give them?

* *L. Grey.* What you command, that rests in me to do.

* *K. Edw.* But you will take exceptions to my boon.

* *L. Grey.* No, gracious lord, except I cannot do it.

* *K. Edw.* Ay, but thou canst do what I mean to ask.

* *L. Grey.* Why, then I will do what your grace commands.

* *Glo.* He plies her hard; and much rain wears the marble. [*Aside.*]

* *Clar.* As red as fire! nay, then her wax must melt.

[*Aside.*]

L. Grey. Why stops my lord? shall I not hear my task?

K. Edw. An easy task; 'tis but to love a king.

L. Grey. That's soon perform'd, because I am a subject.

K. Edw. Why then, thy husband's lands I freely give thee.

L. Grey. I take my leave, with many thousand thanks.

Glo. The match is made; she seals it with a curt'fy.

* *K. Edw.* But stay thee, 'tis the fruits of love I mean.

* *L. Grey.* The fruits of love I mean, my loving liege.

* *K. Edw.* Ay, but, I fear me, in another sense.

What love, think'st thou, I sue so much to get?

* *L. Grey.* My love till death, my humble thanks, my prayers;

* That love, which virtue begs, and virtue grants.

K. Edw. No, by my troth, I did not mean such love.

* *L. Grey.*

* *L. Grey.* Why, then you mean not as I thought you did.

* *K. Edw.* But now you partly may perceive my mind.

* *L. Grey.* My mind will never grant what I perceive

* Your highness aims at, if I aim aright.

K. Edw. To tell thee plain, I aim to lie with thee.

* *L. Grey.* To tell you plain, I had rather lie in prison.

K. Edw. Why, then thou shalt not have thy husband's lands.

L. Grey. Why, then mine honesty shall be my dower ;
For by that loss I will not purchase them.

* *K. Edw.* Therein thou wrong'st thy children mightily.

L. Grey. Herein your highness wrongs both them and me.

But, mighty lord, this merry inclination

* Accords not with the sadness³ of my suit ;

Please you dismiss me, either with ay, or no.

K. Edw. Ay ; if thou wilt say ay, to my request :
No ; if thou dost say no, to my demand.

L. Grey. Then, no, my lord. My suit is at an end.

* *Glo.* The widow likes him not, she knits her brows.

Clar. He is the bluntest wooer in Christendom. [*Aside.*]

* *K. Edw.* [*Aside.*] Her looks do argue her replete with
modesty ;

* Her words do show her wit incomparable ;

* All her perfections challenge sovereignty :

One way, or other, she is for a king ;

And she shall be my love, or else my queen.—

Say, that king Edward take thee for his queen ?

L. Grey. 'Tis better said than done, my gracious lord :
I am a subject fit to jest withal,
But far unfit to be a sovereign.

K. Edw. Sweet widow, by my state I swear to thee,
I speak no more than what my soul intends ;
And that is, to enjoy thee for my love.

L. Grey. And that is more than I will yield unto ;

* I know, I am too mean to be your queen ;

And yet too good to be your concubine.

K. Edw. You cavil, widow ; I did mean, my queen.

L. Grey.

³ i. e. seriousness. STEEVENS.

L. Grey. 'Twill grieve your grace, my sons should call you—father.

K. Edw. No more, than when my daughters call thee mother.

Thou art a widow,⁴ and thou hast some children;
And, by God's mother, I, being but a bachelor,
Have other some: why, 'tis a happy thing
To be the father unto many sons.

* Answer no more, for thou shalt be my queen.

Glo. The ghostly father now hath done his shrift. [*Aside.*

Clar. When he was made a shriver, 'twas for shift.

[*Aside.*

K. Edw. Brothers, you muse what chat we two have had.

* *Glo.* The widow likes it not, for she looks sad.

K. Edw. You'd think it strange if I should marry her.

Clar. To whom, my lord?

K. Edw. Why, Clarence, to myself.

Glo. That would be ten days' wonder, at the least.

Clar. That's a day longer than a wonder lasts.

* *Glo.* By so much is the wonder in extremes.

K. Edw. Well, jest on, brothers: I can tell you both,
Her suit is granted for her husband's lands.

Enter a Nobleman.

Nob. My gracious lord, Henry your foe is taken,

* And brought your prisoner to your palace gate.

* *K. Edw.* See, that he be convey'd unto the Tower:—

* And go we, brothers, to the man that took him,

* To question of his apprehension.—

* Widow, go you along;—Lords, use her honourable.

[*Exeunt King EDWARD, Lady GREY, CLARENCE, and Lord.*

Glo. Ay, Edward will use women honourably.

* Would he were wasted, marrow, bones, and all,

* That from his loins no hopeful branch may spring,

* To cross me from the golden time I look for!

* And

⁴ This is part of the king's reply to his mother in Stowe's *Chronicle*:
“That she is a widow, and hath already children; by God's blessed lady I am a bachelor, and have some too, and so each of us hath a prooffe that neither of us is like to be barrain;” &c. STEEVENS.

‘ And yet, between my soul’s desire, and me,
 * (The lustful Edward’s title buried,)
 ‘ Is Clarence, Henry, and his son young Edward,
 ‘ And all the unlook’d-for issue of ther bodies,
 ‘ To take their rooms, ere I can place myself :
 A cold premeditation for my purpose !
 * Why, then I do but dream on sovereignty ;
 * Like one that stands upon a promontory,
 * And spies a far-off shore where he would tread,
 * Wishing his foot were equal with his eye ;
 * And chides the sea that funders him from thence,
 * Saying—he’ll lade it dry to have his way :
 * So do I wish the crown, being so far off ;
 * And so I chide the means that keep me from it ;
 * And so I say—I’ll cut the causes off,
 * Flattering me with impossibilities.—
 * My eye’s too quick, my heart o’erweans too much,
 * Unless my hand and strength could equal them.
 * Well, say there is no kingdom then for Richard ;
 * What other pleasure can the world afford ?
 ‘ I’ll make my heaven in a lady’s lap,
 ‘ And deck my body in gay ornaments,
 And witch sweet ladies with my words and looks.
 ‘ O miserable thought ! and more unlikely,
 ‘ Than to accomplish twenty golden crowns !
 Why, love forswore me in my mother’s womb :
 ‘ And, for I should not deal in her soft laws,
 ‘ She did corrupt frail nature with some bribe,
 ‘ To shrink mine arm up like a wither’d shrub ;
 ‘ To make an envious mountain on my back,
 Where sits deformity to mock my body ;
 ‘ To shape my legs of an unequal size ;
 * To disproportion me in every part,
 * Like to a chaos, or an unlick’d bear whelp,⁵
 * That carries no impression like the dam.
 And am I then a man to be belov’d ?

‘ O, mon-

⁵ It was an opinion which, in spite of its absurdity, prevailed long, that the bear brings forth only shapeless lumps of animated flesh, which she licks into the form of bears. It is now well known that the whelps of the bear are produced in the same state with those of other creatures.

* O, monstrous fault, to harbour such a thought !
 * Then, since this earth affords no joy to me,
 * But to command, to check, to o'erbear such
 * As are of better person than myself,⁶
 * I'll make my heaven—to dream upon the crown ;
 * And, whiles I live, to account this world but hell,
 * Until my mishap'd trunk that bears this head,
 * Be round impaled with a glorious crown.⁷
 * And yet I know not how to get the crown,
 * For many lives stand between me and home :
 * And I,—like one lost in a thorny wood,
 * That rents the thorns, and is rent with the thorns ;
 * Seeking a way, and straying from the way ;
 * Not knowing how to find the open air,
 * But toiling desperately to find it out,—
 * Torment myself to catch the English crown :
 * And from that torment I will free myself,
 * Or hew my way out with a bloody axe.
 Why, I can smile, and murder while I smile ;
 * And cry, content, to that which grieves my heart ;
 * And wet my cheeks with artificial tears,
 * And frame my face to all occasions.
 * I'll drown more sailors than the mermaid shall ;
 * I'll slay more gazers than the basilisk ;
 * I'll

⁶ Richard speaks here the language of nature. Whoever is stigmatized with deformity has a constant source of envy in his mind, and would counter-balance by some other superiority those advantages which he feels himself to want. Bacon remarks that the deformed are commonly daring ; and it is almost proverbially observed that they are ill-natured. The truth is, that the deformed, like all other men, are displeased with inferiority, and endeavour to gain ground by good or bad means, as they are virtuous or corrupt. JOHNSON.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
⁷ Until my mishap'd trunk that bears this head,
 Be round impaled, &c.] A transposition seems to be necessary :

1 2 8 5 7 3 4 6
 “ Until my head, that this mishap'd trunk bears.”

Otherwise the *trunk that bears the head* is to be encircled with the crown, and not the *head* itself. STEEVENS.

Sir T. Hanmer reads as Mr. Steevens recommends. I believe our author is answerable for this inaccuracy. MALONE.

—impaled—] i. e. encircled. STEEVENS.

* I'll play the orator as well as Nestor,
 * Deceive more sily than Ulysses could,
 * And, like a Sinon, take another Troy :
 I can add colours to the cameleon ;
 * Change shapes, with Proteus, for advantages,
 * And set the murd'rous Machiavel to school.³
 Can I do this, and cannot get a crown ?
 * Tut ! were it further off, I'll pluck it down.

[Exit.]

SCENE III.

France. *A Room in the Palace.*

Flourish. Enter LEWIS the French King, and Lady BONA, attended ; the King takes his state. Then enter Queen MARGARET, Prince EDWARD her Son, and the Earl of OXFORD.

K. Lew. Fair queen of England, worthy Margaret,

[rising.]

* Sit down with us ; it ill befits thy state,
 * And birth, that thou should'st stand, while Lewis doth sit.

* *Q. Mar.* No, mighty king of France ; now Margaret
 Must strike her sail, and learn a while to serve,
 * Where kings command. I was, I must confess,
 * Great Albion's queen in former golden days :
 * But now mischance hath trod my title down,
 * And with dishonour laid me on the ground ;
 * Where I must take like feat unto my fortune,
 * And to my humble feat conform myself.

* *K. Lew.* Why, say, fair queen, whence springs this
 deep despair ?

* *Q. Mar.*

³ As this is an anachronism, and the old quarto reads :

And set the aspiring Catiline to school, —.

I don't know why it should not be preferred. **WARBURTON.**

This is not the first proof I have met with, that Shakspeare, in his attempts to familiarize ideas, has diminished their propriety.

STEEVENS.

Cataline first occurred to the author of the old play, who was probably a scholar ; and *Machiavel*, who is mentioned in various books of our author's age, as the great exemplar of profound politicians, naturally was substituted by Shakspeare in his room. See this play, P. I. Act V. sc. iv :

“ Alençon ! that notorious *Machiavel* !” **MALONE.**

* *Q. Mar.* From such a cause as fills mine eyes with tears,
* And stops my tongue, while heart is drown'd in cares.

* *K. Lew.* Whate'er it be, be thou still like thyself,
* And fit thee by our side : yield not thy neck
[*Seats her by him.*

- * To fortune's yoke, but let thy dauntless mind
- * Still ride in triumph over all mischance.

* Be plain, queen Margaret, and tell thy grief;
* It shall be eas'd, if France can yield relief.

* *Q. Mar.* Those gracious words revive my drooping thoughts,

* And give my tongue-ty'd forrows leave to speak.

* Now, therefore, be it known to noble Lewis,—

* That Henry, sole possessor of my love,

* Is, of a king, become a banish'd man,

* And forc'd to live in Scotland a forlorn;

* While proud ambitious Edward, duke of York,

* Ufurps the regal title, and the feat

* Of England's true-anointed lawful king.

* This is the cause, that I, poor Margaret,—

* With this my son, prince Edward, Henry's heir,—

* Am come to crave thy just and lawful aid;

And, if thou fail us, all our hope is done :

* Scotland hath will to help, but cannot help;

* Our people and our peers are both misled,

* Our treasure seiz'd, our soldiers put to flight,

* And, as thou see'st, ourselves in heavy plight.

* *K. Lew.* Renowned queen, with patience calm the storm,

* While we bethink a means to break it off.

* 2. Mar. The more we stay, the stronger grows our foe.

* *K. Lew.* The more I stay, the more I'll succour thee.

* *Q. Mar.* O, but impatience waiteth on true forrow :

* And see, where comes the breeder of my sorrow.

Enter WARWICK, 9 attended.

* *K. Lerw.* What's he, approacheth boldly to our
presence?

2. Mar.

2 This nobleman's embassy and commission, the insult he receives by
the

Q. Mar. Our earl of Warwick, Edward's greatest friend.

K. Lew. Welcome, brave Warwick! What brings thee to France?

[*Descending from his state. Queen MARGARET rises.*]

* *Q. Mar.* Ay, now begins a second storm to rise;

* For this is he, that moves both wind and tide.

* *War.* From worthy Edward, king of Albion,
My lord and sovereign, and thy vowed friend,
I come,—in kindness, and unfeigned love,—
First, to do greetings to thy royal person;
And, then, to crave a league of amity;
And, lastly, to confirm that amity
With nuptial knot, if thou vouchsafe to grant
That virtuous lady Bona, thy fair sister,
To England's king in lawful marriage.

* *Q. Mar.* If that go forward, Henry's hope is done.

War. And, gracious madam, [*to BONA.*] in our king's
behalf,

* I am commanded, with your leave and favour,

Humbly

the king's hasty marriage, and his consequent resolution to avenge it, with the capture, imprisonment, and escape of the king, Shakspeare, it is true, found in Hall and Holinshed; but later, as well as earlier writers, of better authority, incline us to discredit the whole; and to refer the rupture between the king and his political creator, to causes which have not reached posterity, or to that jealousy and ingratitude so natural, perhaps, to those who are under obligations too great to be discharged.

There needs no other proof how little our common histories are to be depended upon than this fabulous story of Warwick and the lady Bona. The king was privately married to lady Elizabeth Widvile in 1463, and in February 1465 Warwick actually stood sponsor to the princess Elizabeth their first child. What secretly displeased him was, 1. the king's marrying one of the queen's sisters to the duke of Buckingham; 2. his conferring the office of lord treasurer (which he had taken from the lord Montjoy) upon lord Rivers, the queen's brother; 3. his making a match between the son and heir of the lord Herbert and another of the queen's sisters; and between that nobleman's daughter and the young lord Lisle; and creating young Herbert knight and lord of Dunstar; 4. his making a match between Sir Thomas Grey, the queen's son, and lady Ann daughter and heiress of the duke of Exeter, the king's niece, who had been talked of as a wife for the earl of Northumberland, Warwick's brother. See *Wilhelmi Wyrcester Annales*, which are unfortunately defective from the beginning of November 1468, at which time no open rupture had taken place between the king and Warwick, who, for any thing that appears to the contrary, were, at least, upon speaking terms. RITSON.

Humbly to kiss your hand, and with my tongue
To tell the passion of my sovereign's heart;
Where fame, late entering at his heedful ears,
Hath plac'd thy beauty's image, and thy virtue.

Q. Mar. King Lewis,—and lady Bona,—hear me speak,
‘ Before you answer Warwick. His demand
* Springs not from Edward's well-meant honest love,
* But from deceit, bred by necessity:
* For how can tyrants safely govern home,
* Unless abroad they purchase great alliance?
* To prove him tyrant, this reason may suffice,—
* That Henry liveth still: but were he dead,
* Yet here prince Edward stands, king Henry's son.
* Look therefore, Lewis, that by this league and marriage
* Thou draw not on thy danger and dishonour:
* For though usurpers sway the rule awhile,
* Yet heavens are just, and time suppresseth wrongs.

War. Injurious Margaret!

Prince. And why not queen?

War. Because thy father Henry did usurp;
And thou no more art prince, than she is queen.

Oxf. Then Warwick disannuls great John of Gaunt,
Which did subdue the greatest part of Spain;
And, after John of Gaunt, Henry the fourth,
‘ Whose wisdom was a mirror to the wisest;
And, after that wise prince, Henry the fifth,
Who by his prowess conquered all France:
From these our Henry lineally descends.

War. Oxford, how haps it, in this smooth discourse,
You told not, how Henry the sixth hath lost
All that which Henry the fifth had gotten?
Methinks, these peers of France should smile at that.
But for the rest,—You tell a pedigree
Of threescore and two years; a silly time
To make prescription for a kingdom's worth.

‘ *Oxf.* Why, Warwick, canst thou speak against thy liege,
‘ Whom thou obeyed'st thirty and six years,
And not bewray thy treason with a blush?

War. Can Oxford, that did ever fence the right,
Now buckler falsehood with a pedigree?

For

For shame, leave Henry, and call Edward king.

‘ *Oxf.* Call him my king, by whose injurious doom

‘ My elder brother, the lord Aubrey Vere,

Was done to death? and more than so, my father,

Even in the downfall of his mellow’d years,

‘ When nature brought him to the door of death?

No, Warwick, no; while life upholds this arm,

This arm upholds the house of Lancaster.

War. And I the house of York.

K. Lew. Queen Margaret, prince Edward, and Oxford,

‘ Vouchsafe, at our request, to stand aside,

‘ While I use further conference with Warwick.

* *Q. Mar.* Heavens grant that Warwick’s words bewitch
him not!

[Retiring with the PRINCE and OXFORD.]

‘ *K. Lew.* Now, Warwick, tell me, even upon thy conscience,

‘ Is Edward your true king? for I were loath,

‘ To link with him that were not lawful chosen.⁴

War. Thereon I pawn my credit and mine honour.

K. Lew. But is he gracious in the people’s eye?

War. The more, that Henry was unfortunate.⁵

‘ *K. Lew.* Then further,—all dissembling set aside,

‘ Tell me for truth the measure of his love

‘ Unto our sister Bona.

War.

Such it seems,

As

4 Here we have another instance of an impropriety into which Shakspeare has fallen by sometimes following and sometimes deserting his original. After Lewis has asked in the old play whether Henry was *lawful heir* to the crown of England, and has been answered in the affirmative; he next inquires whether he is *gracious*, that is, a favourite with the people. Shakspeare has preserved this latter question, though he made a variation in the former; not adverting that after a man has been *chosen* by the voices of the people to be their king, it is quite superfluous to ask whether he is popular or no.—Edward was in fact *chosen* king, both by the parliament and by a large body of the people assembled in St. John’s fields. See Fabian, who wrote about fifty years after the time, p. 472. MALONE.

I do not perceive the impropriety of the king’s question, or the cogency of the remark founded on it. Is it impossible that a king, elected by his people, should soon afterwards become unpopular? STEEVENS.

5 He means, that Henry was unsuccessful in war, having lost his dominions in France, &c. MALONE.

As may beseem a monarch like himself.
 Myself have often heard him say, and swear,—
 That this his love was an eternal plant;⁶
 Whereof the root was fix'd in virtue's ground,
 The leaves and fruit maintain'd with beauty's sun;
 Exempt from envy, but not from disdain,⁷
 Unless the lady Bona quit his pain.

K. Lew. Now, sister, let us hear your firm resolve.

Bona. Your grant, or your denial, shall be mine:—
 Yet I confess, [*to War.*] that often ere this day,
 When I have heard your king's desert recounted,
 Mine ear hath tempted judgement to desire.

* *K. Lew.* Then, Warwick, thus,—Our sister shall be
 Edward's;

* And now forthwith shall articles be drawn
 * 'Touching the jointure that your king must make,
 * Which with her dowry shall be counterpois'd :
 Draw near, queen Margaret; and be a witness,
 That Bona shall be wife to the English king.

Prince. To Edward, but not to the English king.

* *Q. Mar.* Deceitful Warwick! it was thy device
 * By this alliance to make void my suit;
 * Before thy coming, Lewis was Henry's friend.

* *K. Lew.*

⁶ The old quarto reads rightly *eternal*; alluding to the plants of Paradise.
 WARBURTON.

In the language of Shakspeare's time, by an *eternal* plant was meant what we now call a *perennial* one. STEEVENS.

The folio reads—an *external* plant; but as that word seems to afford no meaning, and as Shakspeare has adopted every other part of this speech as he found it in the old play, without alteration, I suppose *external* was a mistake of the transcriber or printer, and have therefore followed the reading of the quarto. MALONE.

⁷ Envy is always supposed to have some fascinating or blasting power; and to be out of the reach of envy is therefore a privilege belonging only to great excellence. I know not well why *envy* is mentioned here, or whose *envy* can be meant; but the meaning is, that his love is superior to *envy*, and can feel no blast from the lady's *disdain*. Or, that, if Bona refuse to *quit* or *requite* his pain, his love may turn to *disdain*, though the consciousness of his own merit will exempt him from the pangs of *envy*.

JOHNSON.

I believe *envy* is in this place, as in many others, put for *malice* or *hatred*. His situation places him above these, though it cannot secure him from female *disdain*. STEEVENS.

- * *K. Lew.* And still is friend to him and Margaret :
 * But if your title to the crown be weak,—
 * As may appear by Edward's good success,—
 * Then 'tis but reason, that I be releas'd
 * From giving aid, which late I promised.
 * Yet shall you have all kindness at my hand,
 * That your estate requires, and mine can yield.

War. Henry now lives in Scotland, at his ease ;
 Where having nothing, nothing he can lose.
 And as for you yourself, our *quondam* queen,—
 You have a father able⁸ to maintain you ;
 And better 'twere, you troubled him than France.

- * *Q. Mar.* Peace, impudent and shameless Warwick,
 peace ;
 * Proud setter-up and puller-down of kings !
 * I will not hence, till with my talk and tears,
 * Both full of truth, I make king Lewis behold
 * Thy sly conveyance,⁹ and thy lord's false love ;
 * For both of you are birds of self-same feather.

[*A horn sounded within.*

K. Lew. Warwick, this is some post to us, or thee.

Enter a Messenger.

Mes. My lord ambassador, these letters are for you ;
 Sent from your brother, Marquis Montague.—
 These from our king unto your majesty.—
 And, madam, these for you ; from whom I know not.

[*To Margaret. They all read their letters.*

Oxf. I like it well, that our fair queen and mistress
 Smiles at her news, while Warwick frowns at his.

Prince. Nay, mark, how Lewis stamps as he were nettled :
 * I hope, all's for the best.

* *K. Lew.* Warwick, what are thy news ? and yours, fair
 queen ?

* *Q. Mar.* Mine, such as fill my heart with unhop'd joys.

War. Mine, full of sorrow and heart's discontent.

K. Lew.

⁸ This seems ironical. The poverty of Margaret's father is a very frequent topic of reproach. JOHNSON.

⁹ Conveyance is *juggling*, and thence is taken for artifice and fraud.

JOHNSON.

K. Lew. What! has your king marry'd the lady Grey?

‘ And now, to sooth your forgery and his,²

‘ Sends me a paper to persuade me patience?

‘ Is this the alliance that he seeks with France?

‘ Dare he presume to scorn us in this manner?

* *Q. Mar.* I told your majesty as much before:

This proveth Edward's love, and Warwick's honesty.

War. King Lewis, I here protest,—in sight of heaven,
And by the hope I have of heavenly blifs,—

That I am clear from this misdeed of Edward's;

No more my king, for he dishonours me;

But most himself, if he could see his shame.—

Did I forget, that by the house of York

My father came untimely to his death?³

Did I let pass the abuse done to my niece?

Did I impale him with the regal crown?

Did I put Henry from his native right;

‘ And am I guerdon'd⁴ at the last with shame?

* Shame on himself! for my desert is honour.

* And, to repair my honour lost for him,

* I here renounce him, and return to Henry:

‘ My noble queen, let former grudges pass,

And henceforth I am thy true servitor;

I will revenge his wrong to lady Bona,

And replant Henry in his former state.

‘ *Q. Mar.* Warwick, these words have turn'd my hate to
love:

‘ And

² To soften it, to make it more endurable: or perhaps, to sooth us, and to prevent our being exasperated by your forgery and his. MALONE.

³ Warwick's father came untimely to his death, being taken at the battle of Wakefield, and beheaded at Pomfret. But the author of the old play imagined he fell at the action at Ferry-bridge, and has in a former scene, to which this line refers, (See p. 283, n. 9.) described his death as happening at that place. Shakspeare very properly rejected that description of the death of the earl of Salisbury, of whose death no mention is made in this play, as it now stands; yet he has inadvertently retained this line which alludes to a preceding description that he had struck out; and this is another proof of his falling into inconsistencies, by sometimes following, and sometimes deserting, his original. MALONE.

⁴ i. e. rewarded. STEEVENS.

‘ And I forgive and quite forget old faults,
 ‘ And joy that thou becom’st king Henry’s friend.

War. So much his friend, ay, his unfeigned friend,
 That, if king Lewis vouchsafe to furnish us
 With some few bands of chosen soldiers,
 I’ll undertake to land them on our coast,
 And force the tyrant from his seat by war.

’Tis not his new-made bride shall succour him:

* And as for Clarence,—as my letters tell me,
 * He’s very likely now to fall from him;
 * For matching more for wanton lust than honour,
 * Or than for strength and safety of our country.

* *Bona.* Dear brother, how shall Bona be reveng’d,
 * But by thy help to this distressed queen?

* *Q. Mar.* Renowned prince, how shall poor Henry
 live,

* Unless thou rescue him from foul despair?

* *Bona.* My quarrel, and this English queen’s, are one.

* *War.* And mine, fair lady Bona, joins with yours.

* *K. Lew.* And mine, with hers, and thine, and Marga-
 ret’s.

Therefore, at last, I firmly am resolv’d,
 You shall have aid.

* *Q. Mar.* Let me give humble thanks for all at once.

Q. Lew. Then England’s messenger, return in post;
 And tell false Edward, thy supposed king,—
 That Lewis of France is sending over maskers,
 To revel it with him and his new bride:

* Thou seest what’s past, go fear thy king⁵ withal.

Bona. Tell him, In hope he’ll prove a widower, shortly,
 I’ll wear the willow garland for his sake.

Q. Mar. Tell him, my mourning weeds are laid aside,
 And I am ready to put armour on.⁶

War. Tell him from me, That he hath done me wrong;
 And therefore I’ll uncrown him, ere’t be long.

There’s

⁵ That is, *fright* thy king. JOHNSON.

⁶ It was once no unusual thing for queens themselves to appear in armour at the head of their forces. The suit which Elizabeth wore, when she rode through the lines at Tilbury to encourage the troops, on the approach of the armada, may be seen still in the Tower. STEEVENS.

There's thy reward ;⁷ be gone. [Exit Mes.]

K. Lew. But, Warwick, thou,
And Oxford, with five thousand men,
Shall cross the seas, and bid false Edward battle :⁸

* And, as occasion serves, this noble queen

* And prince shall follow with a fresh supply.

‘ Yet, ere thou go, but answer me one doubt :—

‘ What pledge have we of thy firm loyalty ?

War. This shall assure my constant loyalty ;—

That if our queen and this young prince agree,

I'll join mine eldest daughter, and my joy,

To him forthwith⁹ in holy wedlock bands.

‘ *Q. Mar.* Yes, I agree, and thank you for your motion :—

‘ Son

⁷ Here we are to suppose that, according to ancient custom, Warwick makes a present to the herald or messenger, whom the original copies call—a *Post*. STEEVENS.

⁸ This phrase is common to many of our ancient writers. STEEVENS.

⁹ Surely this is a mistake of the copyist's. Hall, in the ninth year of *K. Edward IV.* says, “ Edward prince of Wales wedded Anne *second* daughter to the earl of Warwick.” And the duke of Clarence was in love with the *elder*, the lady Isabel ; and in reality was married to her five years before prince Edward took the lady Anne to wife. And, in *King Richard the Third*, Gloster, who married this lady Anne when a widow, says :

“ For then I'll marry Warwick's *youngest* daughter

“ What though I kill'd her husband and her father ?”

i. e. prince Edward, and king Henry VI. her father-in-law. See likewise Holinshed, in his *Chronicle*, p. 671 and 674. THEOBALD.

This is a departure from the truth of history, for Edward prince of Wales (as Mr. Theobald has observed) was married to Anne, the *second* daughter of the earl of Warwick.

But notwithstanding this, his reading [*youngest* daughter] has, I think, been improperly adopted by the subsequent editors ; for though in fact the duke of Clarence married Isabella, the *eldest* daughter of Warwick, in 1468, and Edward prince of Wales married Anne, his *second* daughter, in 1470 ; *neither* of his daughters was married at the time when Warwick was in France negotiating a marriage between Lady Bona and his king : so that there is no inconsistency in the present proposal. Supposing, however, that the original author of this play made a mistake, and imagined that the *youngest* daughter of Warwick was married to Clarence, I apprehend, he, and not his editor, ought to answer for it.

This is one of the numerous circumstances which prove that Shakspeare was not the *original* author of this play ; for though here, as in a former passage, he has followed the old drama, when he afterwards wrote his *King Richard*

- * Son Edward, she is fair and virtuous,
- * Therefore delay not, give thy hand to Warwick;
- * And, with thy hand, thy faith irrevocable,
- * That only Warwick's daughter shall be thine.
- * *Prince.* Yes, I accept her, for she well deserves it;
- * And here, to pledge my vow, I give my hand.

[*He gives his hand to Warwick.*]

- * *K. Lew.* Why stay we now? These soldiers shall be levy'd,
- * And thou, lord Bourbon, our high admiral,
- * Shall waft them over with our royal fleet.—
- * I long, till Edward fall by war's mischance,
- * For mocking marriage with a dame of France.

[*Exeunt all but Warwick.*]

War. I came from Edward as ambassador,
 But I return his sworn and mortal foe :
 Matter of marriage was the charge he gave me,
 But dreadful war shall answer his demand.
 Had he none else to make a stale, but me?
 Then none but I shall turn his jest to sorrow.
 I was the chief that rais'd him to the crown,
 And I'll be chief to bring him down again :
 Not that I pity Henry's misery,
 But seek revenge on Edward's mockery.

[*Exit.*]

ACT IV. SCENE I.

London. *A Room in the Palace.*

*Enter GLOSTER, CLARENCE, SOMERSET, MONTAGUE,
 and Others.*

- * *Glo.* Now tell me, brother Clarence, what think you
- * Of this new marriage with the lady Grey?

- * Hath not our brother made a worthy choice?

- * *Clar.* Alas, you know, 'tis far from hence to France;

- * How could he stay till Warwick made return?

- * *Som.* My lords, forbear this talk; here comes the king.

Flourish.

Richard III. and found it necessary to consult the ancient historians, he represented Lady Anne, as she in fact was, the widow of Edward, prince of Wales, and the *youngest* daughter of the earl of Warwick. MALONE.

Is it improbable then that Shakspeare should have become more accurate as he grew older? Might he not, previous to the composition of a later play, have furnished himself with that knowledge of history which was wanting in his dramatick performance of an earlier date? STEEVENS.

Flourish. Enter King Edward, attended; Lady Grey, as Queen; PEMBROKE, STAFFORD, HASTINGS, and Others.

* *Glo.* And his well-chosen bride.

* *Clar.* I mind to tell him plainly what I think.

* *K. Edw.* Now, brother of Clarence, how like you our choice,

* That you stand penfive, as half malcontent?

* *Clar.* As well as Lewis of France, or the earl of Warwick;

* Which are so weak of courage, and in judgement,

* That they'll take no offence at our abuse.

* *K. Edw.* Suppose, they take offence without a cause,

* They are but Lewis and Warwick; I am Edward,

* Your king and Warwick's, and must have my will.

* *Glo.* And shall have your will, because our king:

* Yet hasty marriage seldom proveth well.

* *K. Edw.* Yea, brother Richard, are you offended too?

* *Glo.* Not I:

* No; God forbid, that I should wish them sever'd

* Whom God hath join'd together: ay, and 'twere pity,

To funder them that yoke so well together.

* *K. Edw.* Setting your scorns, and your mislike, aside,

* Tell me some reason, why the lady Grey

* Should not become my wife, and England's queen:—

* And you too, Somerset, and Montague,

* Speak freely what you think.

* *Clar.* Then this is my opinion,—that king Lewis

* Becomes your enemy, for mocking him

* About the marriage of the lady Bona.

* *Glo.* And Warwick, doing what you gave in charge,

* Is now dishonoured by this new marriage.

* *K. Edw.* What, if both Lewis and Warwick be appeas'd,

* By such invention as I can devise?

* *Mont.* Yet to have join'd with France in such alliance,

* Would more have strengthen'd this our common-wealth

* 'Gainst foreign storms, than any home-bred marriage.

* *Hast.* Why, knows not Montague, that of itself

* England is safe, if true within itself?

* *Mont.* Yes; but the safer, when 'tis back'd with France.

- * *Hast.* 'Tis better using France, than trusting France :
- * Let us be back'd with God, and with the seas,²
- * Which he hath given for fence impregnable,
- * And with their helps only defend ourselves ;
- * In them, and in ourselves, our safety lies.
- Clar.* For this one speech, lord Hastings well deserves
- To have the heir of the lord Hungerford.
- *K. Edw.* Ay, what of that ? it was my will, and grant ;
- * And, for this once, my will shall stand for law.
- *Glo.* And yet, methinks, your grace hath not done well,
- To give the heir and daughter of lord Scales
- Unto the brother of your loving bride ;
- She better would have fitted me, or Clarence :
- But in your bride you bury brotherhood.
- *Clar.* Or else you would not have bestow'd the heir³
- Of the lord Bonville on your new wife's son,
- And leave your brothers to go speed elsewhere.
- K. Edw.* Alas, poor Clarence ! is it for a wife,
- That thou art malcontent ? I will provide thee.
- *Clar.* In choosing for yourself, you show'd your judgement :
- Which being shallow, you shall give me leave
- To play the broker in mine own behalf ;
- And to that end, I shortly mind to leave you.
- *K. Edw.* Leave me, or tarry, Edward will be king,
- And not be ty'd unto his brother's will.
- *Q. Eliz.* My lords, before it pleas'd his majesty
- To raise my state to title of a queen,
- Do me but right, and you must all confess
- That I was not ignoble of descent,⁴

* And

² This has been the advice of every man who in any age understood and favoured the interest of England. JOHNSON.

³ It must be remembered, that till the Restoration, the heiresses of great estates were in the wardship of the king, who in their minority gave them up to plunder, and afterwards matched them to his favourites. I know not when liberty gained more than by the abolition of the court of wards. JOHNSON.

⁴ Her father was sir Richard Widville, knight, afterwards earl of Rivers ; her mother, Jaqueline, Duchess dowager of Bedford, who was daughter to Peter of Luxemburgh, earl of Saint Paul, and widow of John duke of Bedford, brother to King Henry V. MALONE.

- * And meaner than myself have had like fortune.
- * But as this title honours me and mine,
- * So your dislikes, to whom I would be pleasing,
- * Do cloud my joys with danger and with sorrow.

* *K. Edw.* My love, forbear to fawn upon their frowns :
 ' What danger, or what sorrow can befall thee,
 ' So long as Edward is thy constant friend,
 ' And their true sovereign, whom they must obey ?
 ' Nay, whom they shall obey, and love thee too,
 ' Unless they seek for hatred at my hands :
 ' Which if they do, yet will I keep thee safe,
 ' And they shall feel the vengeance of my wrath.

* *Glo.* I hear, yet say not much, but think the more.

[*Aside.*

Enter a Messenger.

* *K. Edw.* Now, messenger, what letters, or what news,
 From France ?

* *Mes.* My sovereign liege, no letters; and few words,
 ' But such as I, without your special pardon,
 Dare not relate.

* *K. Edw.* Go to, we pardon thee : therefore, in brief,
 ' Tell me their words as near as thou canst guess them.
 ' What answer makes king Lewis unto our letters ?

Mes. At my depart, these were his very words ;
Go tell false Edward, thy supposed king,—
That Lewis of France is sending over maskers,
To revel it with him and his new bride.

K. Edw. Is Lewis so brave? belike, he thinks me Henry.
 ' But what said lady Bona to my marriage ?

Mes. These were her words, utter'd with mild disdain ;
Tell him, in hope he'll prove a widower shortly,
I'll wear the willow garland for his sake.

* *K. Edw.* I blame not her, she could say little less ;
 ' She had the wrong. But what said Henry's queen ?
 ' For I have heard, that she was there in place.⁵

Mes.

⁵ This expression, signifying, she was there *present*, occurs frequently in old English writers. MALONE.

En place, a Gallicism. STEEVENS.

Mef. *Tell him, quoth he, my mourning weeds are done,⁶
And I am ready to put armour on.*

‘ K. Edw. Belike, she minds to play the Amazon.
But what said Warwick to these injuries?

‘ Mef. He, more incens’d against your majesty
‘ Than all the rest, discharg’d me with these words;
*Tell him from me, that he hath done me wrong,
And therefore I’ll uncrown him, ere’t be long.*

‘ K. Edw. Ha! durst the traitor breathe out so proud
words?

‘ Well, I will arm me, being thus forewarn’d :

‘ They shall have wars, and pay for their presumption.

‘ But say, is Warwick friends with Margaret?

‘ Mef. Ay, gracious sovereign; they are so link’d in
friendship,

‘ That young prince Edward marries Warwick’s daughter.

Clar. Belike, the elder; Clarence will have the younger.⁷

* Now, brother king, farewell, and sit you fast,

* For I will hence to Warwick’s other daughter;

* That, though I want a kingdom, yet in marriage

* I may not prove inferior to yourself. —

You, that love me and Warwick, follow me.⁸

[Exit CLARENCE, and SOMERSET follows.
* Glo.

6 i. e. are consumed, thrown off. The word is often used in this sense by the writers of our author’s age. MALONE.

7 I have ventured to make *elder* and *younger* change places in this line against the authority of all the printed copies. The reason of it will be obvious. THEOBALD.

Clarence having in fact married Isabella, the *elder* daughter of Warwick, Mr. Theobald made *elder* and *younger* change places in this line; in which he has been followed, I think, improperly, by the subsequent editors: The author of the old play, where this line is found, might from ignorance or intentionally have deviated from history, in his account of the person whom Clarence married. MALONE.

8 That Clarence should make this speech in the king’s hearing is very improbable, yet I do not see how it can be palliated. The king never goes out, nor can Clarence be talking to a company apart, for he answers immediately to that which the Post says to the king. JOHNSON.

When the earl of Essex attempted to raise a rebellion in the city, with a design, as was supposed, to storm the queen’s palace, he ran about the streets with his sword drawn, crying out, “*They that love me, follow me.*” STEEVENS.

Clarence

* *Glo.* Not I:

- * My thoughts aim at a further matter; I
- * Stay not for the love of Edward, but the crown. [*Aside.*
- * *K. Edw.* Clarence and Somerset both gone to Warwick!
- * Yet am I arm'd against the worst can happen;
- * And haste is needful in this desperate case.—
- * Pembroke, and Stafford, you in our behalf
- * Go levy men, and make prepare for war;
- * They are already, or quickly will be landed:
- * Myself in person will straight follow you.

[*Exeunt Pembroke and Stafford.*

- * But, ere I go, Hastings,—and Montague,—
- * Resolve my doubt. You twain, of all the rest,
- * Are near to Warwick, by blood, and by alliance:
- * Tell me, if you love Warwick more than me?
- * If it be so, then both depart to him;
- * I rather wish you foes, than hollow friends;
- * But if you mind to hold your true obedience,
- * Give me assurance with some friendly vow,
- * That I may never have you in suspect.

Mon. So God help Montague, as he proves true!

Hast. And Hastings, as he favours Edward's cause!

* *K. Edw.* Now, brother Richard, will you stand by us?

Glo. Ay, in despite of all that shall withstand you.

* *K. Edw.* Why so; then am I sure of victory.

- * Now therefore let us hence; and lose no hour,
- * Till we meet Warwick with his foreign power. [*Exeunt.*

SCENE II.

A Plain in Warwickshire.

Enter WARWICK and OXFORD, with French and other forces.

War. Trust me, my lord, all hitherto goes well;
The common people by number swarm to us.

Enter

Clarence certainly speaks in the hearing of the king, who immediately after his brother has retired, exclaims, that he is gone to join with Warwick. MALONE.

Enter CLARENCE and SOMERSET.

But, see, where Somerset and Clarence come;—
Speak suddenly, my lords, are we all friends?

Clar. Fear not that, my lord.

War. Then, gentle Clarence, welcome unto Warwick;
And welcome, Somerset:—I hold it cowardice,
To rest mistrustful where a noble heart
Hath pawn'd an open hand in sign of love;
Else might I think, that Clarence, Edward's brother,
Were but a feigned friend to our proceedings:
But welcome, Clarence; my daughter shall be thine.
And now what rests, but, in night's coverture,
Thy brother being carelessly encamp'd,
His soldiers lurking in the towns about,
And but attended by a simple guard,
We may surprize and take him at our pleasure?
Our scouts have found the adventure very easy:

* That as Ulysses,⁹ and stout Diomedes,
* With sleight and manhood stole to Rhesus' tents,
* And brought from thence the Thracian fatal steeds;
* So we, well cover'd with the night's black mantle,
* At unawares may beat down Edward's guard,
* And seize himself; I say not—slaughter him,
* For I intend but only to surprize him.—
* You, that will follow me to this attempt,
* Applaud the name of Henry, with your leader.

[They all cry, Henry!]

Why, then, let's on our way in silent sort:
For Warwick and his friends, God and saint George!

[Exeunt.]

SCENE III.

Edward's Camp, near Warwick.

Enter certain Watchmen, to guard the king's tent.

* 1. *Watch.* Come on, my masters, each man take his stand;
* The king, by this, is set him down to sleep.

* 2. *Watch.*

⁹ See the tenth book of the *Iliad*. These circumstances, however, were accessible, without reference to Homer in the original.

STEEVENS.

- * 2. *Watch.* What, will he not to-bed?
- * 1. *Watch.* Why, no: for he hath made a solemn vow
- * Never to lie and take his natural rest,
- * Till Warwick, or himself, be quite suppress'd.
- * 2. *Watch.* To-morrow, then, belike, shall be the day,
- * If Warwick be so near as men report.
- * 3. *Watch.* But say, I pray, what nobleman is that,
- * That with the king here resteth in his tent?
- * 1. *Watch.* 'Tis the lord Hastings, the king's chiefest friend.
- * 3. *Watch.* O, is it so? But why commands the king,
- * That his chief followers lodge in towns about him,
- * While he himself keepeth in the cold field?
- * 2. *Watch.* 'Tis the more honour, because more dangerous.
- * 3. *Watch.* Ay; but give me worship, and quietness,
- * I like it better than a dangerous honour.²
- * If Warwick knew in what estate he stands,
- * 'Tis to be doubted, he would waken him.
- * 1. *Watch.* Unless our halberds did shut up his passage.
- * 2. *Watch.* Ay, wherefore else guard we his royal tent,
- * But to defend his person from night-foes?

Enter WARWICK, CLARENCE, OXFORD, SOMERSET, and forces.

- * *War.* This is his tent; and see, where stand his guard.
- * Courage, my masters: honour now, or never!
- * But follow me, and Edward shall be ours.
- 1. *Watch.* Who goes there?
- * 2. *Watch.* Stay, or thou diest.
- [Warwick, and the rest, cry all—Warwick! Warwick!
and set upon the guard; who fly, crying—Arm! Arm!
Warwick, and the rest, following them.]

The

² This honest Watchman's opinion coincides with that of Falstaff.

The drum beating, and trumpets sounding, Re enter WARWICK, and the rest, bringing the king out in a gown, sitting in a chair: GLOSTER and HASTINGS fly.

* *Som.* What are they that fly there?

* *War.* Richard, and Hastings: let them go, here's the duke.

K. Edw. The duke! why, Warwick, when, we parted last,

Thou call'dst me king?

War. Ay, but the case is alter'd:

* When you disgrac'd me in my embassade,

* Then I degraded you from being king,

And come now to create you duke of York.³

Alas! how should you govern any kingdom,

That know not how to use ambassadors;

Nor how to be contented with one wife;

Nor how to use your brothers brotherly;

* Nor how to study for the people's welfare;

Nor how to shrowd yourself from enemies?

* *K. Edw.* Yea, brother of Clarence, art thou here too?

* Nay, then I see, that Edward needs must down.—

* Yet, Warwick, in despite of all mischance,

* Of thee thyself, and all thy complices,

* Edward will always bear himself as king:

* Though fortune's malice overthrow my state,

* My mind exceeds the compass of her wheel.

War. Then, for his mind, be Edward England's king:⁴

[Takes off his crown.]

But Henry now shall wear the English crown,

* And be true king indeed: thou but the shadow.—

* My lord of Somersset, at my request,

* See that forthwith duke Edward be convey'd

* Unto my brother, archbishop of York.

* When I have fought with Pembroke and his fellows,

* I'll follow you, and tell what answer

* Lewis, and the lady Bona, send to him:—

Now, for a while, farewell, good duke of York.

* *K. Edw.*

³ Might we not read with a slight alteration?

And come to new-create you duke of York. JOHNSON.

⁴ That is, in his mind; as far as his own mind goes. M. MASON.

- * *K. Edw.* What fates impose, that men must needs abide;
- * It boots not to resist both wind and tide.
[*Exit King Edward, led out; Somerset with him.*]
- * *Oxf.* What now remains, my lords, for us to do;
- * But march to London with our soldiers?
- War.* Ay, that's the first thing that we have to do;
- * To free king Henry from imprisonment,
And see him seated in the regal throne. [Exeunt.]

SCENE IV.

London. *A Room in the Palace.*

Enter Queen ELIZABETH and RIVERS.

- * *Riv.* Madam, what makes you in this sudden change?
- * *Q. Eliz.* Why, brother Rivers, are you yet to learn,
- * What late misfortune is befall'n king Edward?
- Riv.* What, loss of some pitch'd battle against Warwick?
- * *Q. Eliz.* No, but the loss of his own royal person.
- * *Riv.* Then is my sovereign slain?
- * *Q. Eliz.* Ay, almost slain, for he is taken prisoner;
- * Either betray'd by falsehood of his guard,
- * Or by his foe surpriz'd at unawares;
- * And, as I further have to understand,
- * Is new committed to the bishop of York,
- * Fell Warwick's brother, and by that our foe.
- * *Riv.* These news, I must confess, are full of grief;
- * Yet, gracious madam, bear it as you may;
- * Warwick may lose, that now hath won the day.
- * *Q. Eliz.* Till then, fair hope must hinder life's decay,
- * And I the rather wean me from despair,
- * For love of Edward's offspring in my womb:
- * This is it that makes me bridle passion,
- * And bear with mildness my misfortune's cross;
- * Ay, ay, for this I draw in many a tear,
- * And stop the rising of blood-sucking sighs,
- * Lest with my sighs or tears I blast or drown
- * King Edward's fruit, true heir to the English crown.
- * *Riv.* But, madam, where is Warwick then become?
- * *Q. Eliz.*

- ' *Q. Eliz.* I am informed, that he comes towards London.
 * To set the crown once more on Henry's head :
 * Guess thou the rest ; king Edward's friends must down.
 ' But, to prevent the tyrant's violence,
 ' (For trust not him that hath once broken faith,)
 ' I'll hence forthwith unto the sanctuary,
 ' To save at least the heir of Edward's right ;
 ' There shall I rest secure from force, and fraud.
 Come therefore, let us fly, while we may fly ;
 ' If Warwick take us, we are sure to die. [*Exeunt.*

SCENE V.

A Park near Middleham's Castle in Yorkshire.

Enter GLOSTER, HASTINGS, Sir William Stanley, and Others.

- ' *Glo.* Now, my lord Hastings, and sir William Stanley,
 ' Leave off to wonder why I drew you hither,
 ' Into this chiefest thicket of the park,
 ' Thus stands the case : You know, our king, my brother,
 ' Is prisoner to the bishop here, at whose hands
 ' He hath good usage and great liberty ;
 ' And often, but attended with weak guard,
 ' Comes hunting this way to desport himself.
 ' I have advertis'd him by secret means,
 ' That if, about this hour, he make this way,
 ' Under the colour of his usual game,
 ' He shall here find his friends with horse and men,
 ' To set him free from his captivity.

Enter King EDWARD, and a Huntsman.

- ' *Hunt.* This way, my lord ; for this way lies the game.
 ' *K. Edw.* Nay, this way, man ; see, where the hunt-
 men stand.—
 ' Now, brother of Gloster, lord Hastings, and the rest,
 ' Stand you thus close, to steal the bishop's deer ?

Glo.

⁵ Shakspeare follows his authority Holinshed, in the representation here given of king Edward's capture and imprisonment. But honest Raphaël missed him, as he himself was missed by his predecessor Hall. The whole is untrue : Edward was never in the hands of Warwick. RITSON.

- * *Glo.* Brother, the time and case requireth haste ;
 * Your horse stands ready at the park corner.
 * *K. Edw.* But whither shall we then ?
 * *Hast.* To Lynn, my lord ; and ship from thence to Flanders.
 * *Glo.* Well guess'd, believe me ; for that was my meaning.
 * *K. Edw.* Stanley, I will requite thy forwardness.
 * *Glo.* But wherefore stay we ? 'tis no time to talk.
 * *K. Edw.* Huntsman, what say'st thou ? wilt thou go along ?
 * *Hunt.* Better do so, than tarry and be hang'd.
 * *Glo.* Come then, away ; let's have no more ado.
 * *K. Edw.* Bishop, farewell : shield thee from Warwick's frown ;
 And pray that I may repossess the crown. [Exeunt.

SCENE VI.

A Room in the Tower.

Enter King HENRY, CLARENCE, WARWICK, SOMERSET, young RICHMOND, OXFORD, MONTAGUE, Lieutenant of the Tower, and Attendants.

- * *K. Hen.* Master lieutenant, now that God and friends
 * Have shaken Edward from the regal seat ;
 * And turn'd my captive state to liberty,
 * My fear to hope, my sorrows unto joys ;
 * At our enlargement what are thy due fees ?
 * *Lieu.* Subjects may challenge nothing of their sovereigns ;
 * But, if an humble prayer may prevail,
 * I then crave pardon of your majesty.
 * *K. Hen.* For what, lieutenant ? for well using me ?
 * Nay, be thou sure, I'll well requite thy kindness,
 * For that it made my imprisonment a pleasure :
 * Ay, such a pleasure as incaged birds
 * Conceive, when, after many moody thoughts,
 * At last, by notes of household harmony,
 * They quite forget their loss of liberty.—
 * But, Warwick, after God, thou set'st me free,
 * And chiefly therefore I thank God, and thee ;

* He

* He was the author, thou the instrument.
 * Therefore, that I may conquer fortune's spite,
 * By living low, where fortune cannot hurt me;
 * And that the people of this blessed land
 * May not be punish'd with my thwarting stars;
 * Warwick, although my head still wear the crown,
 * I here resign my government to thee,
 * For thou art fortunate in all thy deeds.

* *War.* Your grace hath still been fam'd for virtuous;
 * And now may seem as wise as virtuous,
 * By spying, and avoiding, fortune's malice,
 * For few men rightly temper with the stars: 4
 * Yet in this one thing let me blame your grace,
 * For choos'ing me, when Clarence is in place.

* *Clar.* No, Warwick, thou art worthy of the sway,
 * To whom the heavens, in thy nativity,
 * Adjudg'd an olive branch, and laurel crown,
 * As likely to be blest in peace, and war;
 * And therefore I yield thee my free consent.

* *War.* And I choose Clarence only for protector.

* *K. Hen.* Warwick, and Clarence, give me both your hands;

* Now join your hands, and, with your hands, your hearts,
 * That no dissention hinder government:
 * I make you both protectors of this land;
 * While I myself will lead a private life,
 * And in devotion spend my latter days,
 * To sin's rebuke, and my Creator's praise.

War. What answers Clarence to his sovereign's will?

* *Clar.* That he consents, if Warwick yield consent;
 * For on thy fortune I repose myself.

* *War.* Why then, though loath, yet must I be content:
 * We'll yoke together, like a double shadow
 * To Henry's body, and supply his place;
 * I mean, in bearing weight of government,
 * While he enjoys the honour, and his ease.

* And,

4 I suppose the meaning is, that few men conform their *temper* to their destiny; which king Henry did, when finding himself unfortunate he gave the management of publick affairs to more prosperous hands.

JOHNSON,

* And, Clarence, now then it is more than needful,

* Forthwith that Edward be pronounc'd a traitor,

* And all his lands and goods be confiscate.

Clar. What else? and that succession be determin'd.

* *War.* Ay, therein Clarence shall not want his part.

* *K. Hen.* But, with the first of all your chief affairs,

* Let me entreat, (for I command no more,)

* That Margaret your queen, and my son Edward,

* Be sent for, to return from France with speed:

* For, till I see them here, by doubtful fear

* My joy of liberty is half eclips'd.

* *Clar.* It shall be done, my sovereign, with all speed.

* *K. Hen.* My lord of Somerset, what youth is that,

* Of whom you seem to have so tender care?

* *Som.* My liege, it is young Henry, earl of Richmond.

* *K. Hen.* Come hither, England's hope: If secret powers

[Lays his hand on his head]

* Suggest but truth to my divining thoughts,

* This pretty lad^s will prove our country's bliss.

* His looks are full of peaceful majesty;

* His head by nature fram'd to wear a crown,

* His hand to wield a scepter; and himself

* Likely, in time, to bless a regal throne.

Make much of him, my lords; for this is he,

* Must help you more than you are hurt by me.

Enter

^s He was afterwards Henry VII, a man who put an end to the civil war of the two houses, but no otherwise remarkable for virtue. Shakspeare knew his trade. Henry VII. was grandfather to Queen Elizabeth, and the king from whom James inherited. JOHNSON.

Henry earl of Richmond was the son of Edmond earl of Richmond, and Margaret, daughter to John the first duke of Somerset. Edmond earl of Richmond was half-brother to king Henry the Sixth, being the son of that king's mother queen Catharine, by her second husband Owen Teu-ther or Tudor, who was taken prisoner at the battle of Mortimer's Cross, and soon afterwards beheaded at Hereford.

Henry the Seventh, to show his gratitude to Henry the Sixth for this early presage in his favour, solicited Pope Julius to canonize him as a saint; but either Henry would not pay the money demanded, or as Bacon supposes, the Pope refused, lest "as Henry was reputed in the world abroad but for a simple man, the estimation of that kind of honour might be diminished, if there were not a distance kept between innocents and saints." MALONE.

Enter a Messenger.

* *War.* What news, my friend?

* *Mes.* That Edward is escaped from your brother,

* And fled, as he hears since, to Burgundy.

* *War.* Unfavoury news : But how made he escape?

* *Mes.* He was convey'd by Richard duke of Gloster,

* And the lord Hastings, who attended him⁶

* In secret ambush on the forest side,

* And from the bishop's huntsmen rescued him ;

* For hunting was his daily exercise.

* *War.* My brother was too careless of his charge.—

* But let us hence, my sovereign, to provide

* A salve for any fore that may betide.

[*Exeunt King HENRY, WAR. CLA. Lieu. and Att.*

* *Som.* My lord, I like not of this flight of Edward's,

* For, doubtless, Burgundy will yield him help ;

* And we shall have more wars, befor't be long.

* As Henry's late presaging prophecy

* Did glad my heart, with hope of this young Richmond :

* So doth my heart misgive me, in these conflicts

* What may befall him, to his harm, and ours :

* Therefore, lord Oxford, to prevent the worst,

* Forthwith we'll send him hence to Britany,

* Till storms be past of civil enmity.

* *Oxf.* Ay ; for if Edward repossess the crown,

* 'Tis like, that Richmond with the rest shall down.

* *Som.* It shall be so ; he shall to Britany.

* Come therefore, let's about it speedily. [*Exeunt.*

SCENE VII.

Before York.

Enter King EDWARD, GLOSTER, HASTINGS, and forces.

* *K. Edw.* Now, brother Richard, lord ⁷ Hastings, and
the rest ;

Yet

⁶ i. e. waited for him. STEEVENS.

⁷ Mr. M. Mason recommends the omission of this word. REED.

"Leave out the word *lord*," says one of our author's commentators.

If

- Yet thus far fortune maketh us amends,
- And says—that once more I shall interchange
- My waned state for Henry's regal crown.
- Well have we pass'd, and now repass'd the seas,
- And brought desired help from Burgundy :
- What then remains, we being thus arriv'd
- From Ravenspurg haven before the gates of York,
- But that we enter, as into our dukedom ?
- *Glo.* The gates made fast !—Brother, I like not this ;
- * For many men, that stumble at the threshold,
- * Are well foretold—that danger lurks within.
- * *K. Edw.* Tush, man ! abodements must not now affright
us :
- * By fair or foul means we must enter in,
- * For hither will our friends repair to us.
- * *Hast.* My liege, I'll knock once more, to summon them,

Enter, on the walls, the Mayor of York, and his Brethren.

- *May.* My lords, we were forewarned of your coming,
- And shut the gates for safety of ourselves ;
- For now we owe allegiance unto Henry.
- *K. Edw.* But, master mayor, if Henry be your king,
- Yet Edward, at the least, is duke of York.
- *May.* True, my good lord ; I know you for no less.
- *K. Edw.* Why, and I'll challenge nothing but my duke-
dom ;
- * As being well content with that alone.
- *Glo.* But, when the fox hath once got in his nose.
- He'll soon find means to make the body follow. [*Aside.*]
- *Hast.* Why, master mayor, why stand you in a doubt ?
- Open the gates, we are king Henry's friends.
- *May.*

If we do not closely attend to his phraseology and metre, and should think ourselves at liberty to substitute modern phraseology and modern metre, almost every line in his plays might be altered. MALONE.

That there is a marked discrimination between ancient and modern phraseology, no man will deny ; but, surely, ancient and modern five-foot verses can have no corresponding difference. Where, in general, shall we find more perfect and harmonious metre than that of Shakspeare ? His irregular lines are therefore justly suspected of having suffered from omission or interpolation. STEEVENS.

‘ *May.* Ay, say you so? the gates shall then be open’d.

[*Exeunt from above.*]

‘ *Glo.* A wise stout captain, and persuaded soon!

* *Hast.* The good old man would fain that all were well,^s

* So ’twere not ’long of him: but, being enter’d,

* I doubt not, I, but we shall soon persuade

* Both him, and all his brothers, unto reason.

Re-enter the Mayor and two Aldermen, below.

‘ *K. Edw.* So, master mayor: these gates must not be shut,

‘ But in the night, or in the time of war.

‘ What! fear not, man, but yield me up the keys;

[*takes his keys.*]

‘ For Edward will defend the town, and thee,

‘ And all those friends that deign to follow me.

Drum. Enter MONTGOMERY, and forces, marching.

Glo. Brother, this is sir John Montgomery,
Our trusty friend, unless I be deceiv’d.

‘ *K. Edw.* Welcome, sir John! But why come you in arms?

Mont. To help king Edward in his time of storm,
As every loyal subject ought to do.

‘ *K. Edw.* Thanks, good Montgomery: But we now forget

‘ Our title to the crown; and only claim

‘ Our dukedom, till God please to send the rest.

‘ *Mont.* Then fare you well, for I will hence again;
I came to serve a king, and not a duke,—

‘ Drummer, strike up, and let us march away.

[*A march begun.*]

‘ *K. Edw.* Nay, stay, sir John, a while; and we’ll debate,

‘ By what safe means the crown may be recover’d.

‘ *Mont.* What talk you of debating? in few words,

‘ If you’ll not here proclaim yourself our king.

I’ll

^s The mayor is willing we should enter, so he may not be blamed.

JOHNSON.

* I'll leave you to your fortune; and be gone,
To keep them back that come to succour you:
Why should we fight, if you pretend no title?

* *Glo.* Why, brother, wherefore stand you on nice points?

* *K. Edw.* When we grow stronger, then we'll make our claim:

* Till then, 'tis wisdom to conceal our meaning.

Hast. Away with scrupulous wit! now arms must rule.

* *Glo.* And fearless minds climb soonest unto crowns,

* Brother, we will proclaim you out of hand;

* The bruit⁹ thereof will bring you many friends.

* *K. Edw.* Then be it as you will; for 'tis my right,

* And Henry but usurps the diadem.

Mont. Ay, now my sovereign speaketh like himself;
And now will I be Edward's champion.

Hast. Sound, trumpet; Edward shall be here proclaim'd:—

* Come, fellow-soldier, make thou proclamation.

[*Gives him a paper. Flourish.*]

Sold. [*reads.*] Edward the fourth, by the grace of God,
king of England and France, and lord of Ireland, &c.

Mont. And whoso'er gainsays king Edward's right,
By this I challenge him to single fight.

[*Throws down his gauntlet.*]

All. Long live Edward the fourth!

* *K. Edw.* Thanks, brave Montgomery;—and thanks unto
you all.

* If fortune serve me, I'll requite this kindness.

* Now, for this night, let's harbour here in York:

* And, when the morning sun shall raise his car

* Above the border of this horizon,

* We'll forward towards Warwick, and his mates;

* For, well I wot, that Henry is no soldier.—

* Ah, forward Clarence!—how evil it beseems thee,

* To flatter Henry, and forsake thy brother!

* Yet, as we may, we'll meet both thee and Warwick.—

* Come on, brave soldiers; doubt not of the day;

* And, that once gotten, doubt not of large pay. [*Exeunt.*]

S C E N E

⁹ This French word *bruit* was very early made a denizen of our language. Thus in the Bible; "behold the noise of the *bruit* is come."—Jeremiah, x. 22. WHALLEY.

London. *A Room in the Palace.*

Enter King HENRY, WARWICK, CLARENCE, MONTAGUE,
EXETER, and OXFORD.

War. What council, lords? Edward from Belgia,
With hasty Germans, and blunt Hollanders,
Hath pass'd in safety through the narrow seas,
And with his troops doth march amain to London;
• And many giddy people flock to him.

* *Oxf.* Let's levy men, and beat him back again.³

Clar. A little fire is quickly trodden out;
Which, being suffer'd, rivers cannot quench.

War. In Warwickshire I have true-hearted friends,
Not mutinous in peace, yet bold in war;
Those will I muster up:—and thou, son Clarence,
• Shalt stir, in Suffolk, Norfolk, and in Kent,
• The knights and gentlemen to come with thee:—
• Thou, brother Montague, in Buckingham,
• Northampton, and in Liecestershire, shalt find
• Men well inclin'd to hear what thou command'st,—
And thou, brave Oxford, wondrous well belov'd,
In Oxfordshire shalt muster up thy friends.—
My sovereign, with the loving citizens,—
* Like to his island, girt in with the ocean,
* Or modest Dian, circled with her nymphs,—
Shall rest in London, till we come to him.—

Fair

² This scene is, perhaps, the worst contrived of any in these plays. Warwick has but just gone off the stage when Edward says:

“And towards Coventry bend we our course,

“Where peremptory Warwick now remains.” M. MASON.

This scene in the original play follows immediately after Henry's observation on young Richmond, which is in the sixth scene of the present play.

MALONE.

³ This line expresses a spirit of war so unsuitable to the character of Henry, that I would give the first cold speech to the king, and the brisk answer to Warwick. This line is not in the old quarto; and when Henry said nothing, the first speech might be as properly given to Warwick as to any other. JOHNSON.

Every judicious reader must concur in Dr. Johnson's opinion, as far as it relates to the second of these two speeches. STEVENS.

Fair lords, take leave, and stand not to reply.—
Farewell, my sovereign.

K. Hen. Farewell, my Hector, and my Troy's true hope.

* *Clar.* In sign of truth, I kiss your highness' hand.

* *K. Hen.* Well-minded Clarence, be thou fortunate!

* *Mont.* Comfort, my lord;—and so I take my leave.

* *Oxf.* And thus [*kissing Henry's hand.*] I seal my truth,
and bid adieu.

* *K. Hen.* Sweet Oxford, and my loving Montague,

* And all at once, once more a happy farewell.

War. Farewell, sweet lords; let's meet at Coventry.

[*Exeunt WAR. CLAR. OXF. and MONT.*]

* *K. Hen.* Here at the palace will I rest a while.

* Cousin of Exeter, what thinks your Lordship?

* Methinks, the power, that Edward hath in field,

* Should not be able to encounter mine.

* *Exe.* The doubt is, that he will seduce the rest.

* *K. Hen.* That's not my fear, my meed hath got me
fame.⁴

* I have not stopp'd mine ears to their demands,

* Nor posted off their suits with slow delays;

* My pity hath been balm to heal their wounds,

* My mildness hath allay'd their swelling griefs,

* My mercy dry'd their water-flowing tears:

* I have not been desirous of their wealth,

* Nor much oppress'd them with great subsidies,

* Nor forward of revenge, though they much urg'd;

* Then why should they love Edward more than me?

* No, Exeter, these graces challenge grace:

* And,

⁴ *Meed* signifies reward. We should read—my *deed*, i. e. my manners, conduct in the administration. *WARBURTON.*

This word signifies *merit*, both as a verb and a substantive: that it is used as a verb, is clear from the following foolish couplet which I remember to have read:

“Deem if I *meed*,

“Dear madam, *read*.”

A Specimen of Verses that read the same way backward and forward. *SIR J. HAWKINS.*

Meed here means *merit*, as it did in a former passage, when Edward says of himself and his brothers,

Each one already blazing by our *meeds*. *M. MASON.*

- * And, when the lion fawns upon the lamb,
- * The lamb will never cease to follow him.

[*Shout within. A Lancaster! A Lancaster!*

Exe. Hark, hark, my lord! what shouts are these?

Enter King EDWARD, GLOSTER, and soldiers.

- * *K. Edw.* Seize on the shame-fac'd Henry, bear him hence,
 - * And once again proclaim us king of England.—
 - * You are the fount, that makes small brooks to flow;
 - * Now stops thy spring; my sea shall suck them dry,
 - * And swell so much the higher by their ebb.—
 - * Hence with him to the Tower; let him not speak.
- [*Exeunt some with king Henry.*
- * And, lords, towards Coventry bend we our course,
 - * Where peremptory Warwick now remains:⁶
 - * The sun shines hot, and, if we use delay,
 - * Cold biting winter mars our hop'd-for hay.⁷
 - * *Glo.* Away betimes, before his forces join,
 - * And take the great-grown traitor unawares;
 - * Brave warriors, march amain towards Coventry. [*Exeunt.*

⁵ Surely the shouts that ushered king Edward should be, *A York! A York!* I suppose the author did not write the marginal directions, and the players confounded the characters. JOHNSON.

We may suppose the shouts to have come from some of Henry's guard, on the appearance of Edward. MALONE.

⁶ Warwick, as Mr. Mason has observed, has but just left the stage, declaring his intention to go to Coventry. How then could Edward know of that intention? Our author was led into this impropriety by the old play, where also Edward says,

And now towards Coventry let's bend our course,
To meet with Warwick and his confederates.

Some of our old writers seem to have thought, that all the persons of the drama must know whatever was known to the writers themselves, or to the audience. MALONE.

⁷ The old play has *baie*.

I suspect, *baie* was inadvertently written in the manuscript instead of *aye*, and that Shakspeare was thus led to introduce an idea different from that intended to be conveyed by the original author. MALONE.

The old reading is undoubtedly the true one; the allusion being to a well-known proverb—"Make *bay* while the sun shines." STEEVENS.

ACT V. SCENE I.

Coventry.

Enter, upon the walls, WARWICK, the Mayor of Coventry, two Messengers, and Others.

War. Where is the post that came from valiant Oxford?
How far hence is thy lord, mine honest fellow?

1. Mes. By this at Dunsmore,⁵ marching hitherward.

War. How far off is our brother Montague?
Where is the post that came from Montague?

2. Mes. By this at Daintry,⁶ with a puissant troop.

Enter Sir JOHN SOMERVILLE.

War. Say, Somerville, what says my loving son?

And, by thy guess, how nigh is Clarence now?

Som. At Southam did I leave him with his forces,

And do expect him here some two hours hence.

[*Drum heard.*

War. Then Clarence is at hand, I hear his drum.

** Som.* It is not his, my lord; here Southam lies;

** The drum your honour hears, marcheth from Warwick.*

** War.* Who should that be? belike, unlook'd-for friends.

** Som.* They are at hand, and you shall quickly know.

Drums. Enter King EDWARD, GLOSTER, and forces, marching.

** K. Edw.* Go, trumpet, to the walls, and sound a parle.

Glo. See, how the surly Warwick mans the wall.

War. O, unbid spite! is sportful Edward come?

Where slept our scouts, or how are they seduc'd,

That we could hear no news of his repair?

** K. Edw.* Now, Warwick, wilt thou ope the city gates,

Speak gentle words, and humbly bend thy knee?—

Call Edward—king, and at his hands beg mercy,

And he shall pardon thee these outrages.

War.

⁵ The quartos read—at Daintry: i. e. Daventry. STEEVENS.

⁶ The quartos read—at Dunsmore. STEEVENS.

* *War.* Nay, rather, wilt thou draw thy forces hence,
 Confess who set thee up and pluck'd thee down?—
 Call Warwick—patron, and be penitent,
 And thou shalt still remain the duke of York.

Glo. I thought, at least, he would have said—the king;
 Or did he make the jest against his will?

* *War.* Is not a dukedom, sir, a goodly gift?

* *Glo.* Ay, by my faith, for a poor earl to give;

* I'll do thee service⁷ for so good a gift.

* *War.* 'Twas I, that gave the kingdom to thy brother.

K. Edw. Why, then 'tis mine, if but by Warwick's gift.

* *War.* Thou art no Atlas for so great a weight;
 And, weakling, Warwick takes his gift again;
 And Henry is my king, Warwick his subject.

* *K. Edw.* But Warwick's king is Edward's prisoner:

* And, gallant Warwick, do but answer this,—
 What is the body, when the head is off?

* *Glo.* Alas, that Warwick had no more forecast,
 But, whiles he thought to steal the single ten,

* The king was slyly finger'd from the deck!⁸

You left poor Henry at the bishop's palace,⁹

And, ten to one, you'll meet him in the Tower.

K. Edw. 'Tis even so; yet you are Warwick still.

* *Glo.* Come, Warwick, take the time, kneel down, kneel
 down:

* Nay, when? ² strike now, or else the iron cools.

* *War.* I had rather chop this hand off at a blow,

* And with the other fling it at thy face,

* Than bear so low a sail, to strike to thee.

* *K. Edw.* Sail how thou canst, have wind and tide thy
 friend;

* This

⁷ i. e. enroll myself among thy dependants. Cowell informs us that *servitium* is “that service which the tenant, by reason of his fee, oweth unto his lord.” STEEVENS.

⁸ The quartos read—*finely* finger'd. *Finely* is *slyly*. STEEVENS.

An instance of a *pack* of cards being called a *deck*, occurs in the *sessions paper*, for January, 1788. So that the term appears to be still in use.

RITSON.

⁹ The palace of the bishop of London. MALONE.

² This exclamation, expressive of impatience, has already occurred in *King Richard II.* STEEVENS.

- * This hand, fast wound about thy coal-black hair,
- * Shall, whiles the head is warm, and new cut off,
- * Write in the dust this sentence with thy blood,—
- * *Wind-changing Warwick now can change no more.*

Enter OXFORD, with drum and colours.

- * *War.* O cheerful colours! see, where Oxford comes!
- Oxf.* Oxford, Oxford, for Lancaster!

[*OXF. and his forces enter the city.*]

- * *Glo.* The gates are open, let us enter too.
- * *K. Edw.* So other foes may set upon our backs.
- * Stand we in good array; for they, no doubt,
- * Will issue out again, and bid us battle:
- * If not, the city being but of small defence,
- * We'll quickly rouse the traitors in the same.
- * *War.* O, welcome, Oxford! for we want thy help.

Enter MONTAGUE, with drum and colours.

Mont. Montague, Montague, for Lancaster!

[*He and his forces enter the city.*]

- * *Glo.* Thou and thy brother both shall buy this treason
- * Even with the dearest blood your bodies bear.
- * *K. Edw.* The harder match'd, the greater victory;
- * My mind presageth happy gain, and conquest.

Enter SOMERSET, with drum and colours.

Som. Somerset, Somerset, for Lancaster!

[*He and his forces enter the city.*]

Glo. Two of thy name, both dukes of Somerset,
Have sold their lives unto the house of York;³
And thou shalt be the third, if this sword hold.

Enter CLARENCE, with drum and colours.

War. And lo, where George of Clarence sweeps along,

OF

³ The first of these noblemen was Edmund, slain at the battle of Saint Alban's, 1455. See p. 237. The second was Henry his son, beheaded after the battle of Hexham, 1463. The present duke Edmund, brother to Henry, was taken prisoner at Tewksbury 1471, and there beheaded, (infra, sc. 5.) his brother John losing his life in the same fight.

Of force enough to bid his brother battle;

* With whom an upright zeal to right prevails,

* More than the nature of a brother's love:—

* Come, Clarence, come; thou wilt, if Warwick calls.

Clar. Father of Warwick, know you what this means?

[*Taking the red rose out of his cap.*]

* Look here, I throw my infamy at thee:

I will not ruinate my father's house,

Who gave his blood to lime the stones ⁴ together,

* And set up Lancaster. Why, throw'st thou, Warwick,

* That Clarence is so harsh, so blunt, unnatural,⁵

* To bend the fatal instrument of war

* Against his brother, and his lawful king?

* Perhaps, thou wilt object my holy oath:

* To keep that oath, were more impiety

* Than Jephthah's,⁶ when he sacrific'd his daughter.

* I am so sorry for my trespass made,

* That, to deserve well at my brother's hands,

* I here proclaim myself thy mortal foe;

* With resolution, wheresoe'er I meet thee,

* (As I will meet thee, if thou stir abroad,)

* To plague thee for thy foul misleading me.

And so, proud-hearted Warwick, I defy thee,

And to my brother turn my blushing cheeks.—

* Pardon me, Edward, I will make amends;

* And, Richard, do not frown upon my faults,

* For I will henceforth be no more unconstant.

* *K. Edw.* Now welcome more, and ten times more
belov'd,

Than if thou never hadst deserv'd our hate.

* *Glo.* Welcome, good Clarence; this is brother-like.

War. O passing traitor,⁷ perjur'd, and unjust!

K. Edw. What, Warwick, wilt thou leave the town, and
fight?

Or shall we beat the stones about thine ears?

* *War.*

⁴ That is, To *cement* the stones. Lime makes mortar. JOHNSON.

⁵ Stupid, insensible of paternal fondness. JOHNSON.

⁶ See the *Book of Judges*, xi. 30. STEEVENS.

⁷ Eminent, egregious; traiterous beyond the common track of
treason. JOHNSON.

* *War.* Alas, I am not coop'd here for defence :
I will away towards Barnet presently,
And bid thee battle, Edward, if thou dar'st.

K. Edw. Yes, Warwick, Edward dares, and leads the
way :—
Lords, to the field ; saint George, and victory ;
[*March. Exeunt.*]

SCENE II.

A field of battle near Barnet.

*Alarums, and Excursions. Enter King EDWARD, bringing in
WARWICK wounded.*

* *K. Edw.* So, lie thou there : die thou, and die our
fear ;

* For Warwick was a bug, that fear'd us all.⁸—

* Now, Montague, sit fast ; I seek for thee,

* 'That Warwick's bones may keep thine company. [Exit.

War. Ah, who is nigh ? come to me, friend, or foe,
And tell me, who is victor, York, or Warwick ?

Why ask I that ? my mangled body shows,

* My blood, my want of strength, my sick heart shows,

That I must yield my body to the earth,

And, by my fall, the conquest to my foe.

Thus yields the cedar to the axe's edge,

Whose arms gave shelter to the princely eagle,

Under whose shade the ramping lion slept ;⁹

Whose top branch overpeer'd Jove's spreading tree,

* And kept low shrubs from winter's powerful wind.

* These eyes that now are dimm'd with death's black veil,

* Have been as piercing as the mid-day sun,

* To search the secret treasons of the world :

The wrinkles in my brows, now fill'd with blood,

Were

⁸ *Bug* is a bugbear, a terrific being. JOHNSON.

To *fear* in old language frequently signifies, to *terrify*. MALONE.

⁹ It has been observed to me that the 31st chapter of the prophet *Ezekiel* suggested these images to Shakspeare. "All the fowls of heaven made their-nests in his boughs, and under his branches did all the beasts of the field bring forth their young." STEEVENS.

Were liken'd oft to kingly sepulchres;
 For who liv'd king, but I could dig his grave?
 And who durst smile, when Warwick bent his brow?
 Lo, now my glory smear'd in dust and blood!
 My parks,² my walks, my manors that I had,
 Even now forsake me; and, of all my lands,
 Is nothing left me, but my body's length!³
 Why, what is pomp, rule, reign, but earth and dust?
 And, live we how we can, yet die we must.

Enter OXFORD and SOMERSET.

* *Som.* Ah, Warwick, Warwick! wert thou as we are,
 * We might recover all our loss again!
 * The queen from France hath brought a puissant power;
 * Even now we heard the news: Ah, could'st thou fly!

* *War.* Why, then I would not fly.—Ah, Montague,
 * If thou be there, sweet brother, take my hand,
 * And with thy lips keep in my soul a while!
 * Thou lov'st me not; for, brother, if thou didst,
 * Thy tears would wash this congealed blood,
 * That glews my lips, and will not let me speak.
 * Come quickly, Montague, or I am dead.

* *Som.* Ah, Warwick, Montague hath breath'd his last;
 * And to the latest gasp, cried out for Warwick,
 * And said—Commend me to my valiant brother.
 * And more he would have said; and more he spoke,
 * Which sounded like a cannon in a vault,⁴

* That

—This mention of his *parks* and *manors* diminishes the pathetic effect of the foregoing lines. JOHNSON.

³ Camden mentions in his *Remains*, that Constantine, in order to dissuade a person from covetousness, drew out with his lance the length and breadth of a man's grave, adding, "this is all thou shalt have when thou art dead, if thou canst happily get so much." MALONE.

⁴ The old quarto reads *clamour*, which is undoubtedly right, *i. e.* a clamour of tongues, which, as he says, could not be distinguished. This was a pertinent similitude: the other absurd, and neither agrees with what is predicated of it, nor with what it is intended to illustrate.

WARBURTON.

That is, like the *noise* of a cannon in a vault, *which*, &c. Shakspeare's alteration here is perhaps not so judicious as many others that he has made. In the old play, instead of *cannon* we have *clamour*. MALONE.

The

‘ That might not be distinguish’d ; but, at last,
 ‘ I well might hear deliver’d with a groan,—
 ‘ O, farewell, Warwick !

War. Sweet rest his soul!—
 Fly, lords, and save yourselves ; for Warwick bids
 You all farewell, to meet again in heaven. [Dies.]

Oxf. Away, away, to meet the queen’s great power !

[Exeunt, bearing off Warwick’s body.]

SCENE III.

Another part of the field.

Flourish. Enter King EDWARD in triumph ; with CLARENCE,
 GLOSTER, and the rest.

‘ *K. Edw.* Thus far our fortune keeps an upward course,
 ‘ And we are grac’d with wreaths of victory.
 ‘ But, in the midst of this bright-shining day,
 ‘ I spy a black, suspicious, threat’ning cloud,
 ‘ That will encounter with our glorious sun,
 ‘ Ere he attain his easeful western bed ;
 ‘ I mean, my lords,—those powers, that the queen
 ‘ Hath rais’d in Gallia, have arriv’d our coast,
 ‘ And, as we hear, march on to fight with us.

* *Clar.* A little gale will soon disperse that cloud,
 * And blow it to the source from whence it came :
 * Thy very beams will dry those vapours up ;
 * For every cloud engenders not a storm.

* *Glo.* The queen is valu’d thirty thousand strong,
 ‘ And Somerset, with Oxford, fled to her ;
 ‘ If she have time to breathe, be well assur’d,
 Her faction will be full as strong as ours.

K. Edw. We are advertis’d by our loving friends,
 That they do hold their course toward Tewksbury ;
 ‘ We, having now the best at Barnet field,
 ‘ Will thither straight, For willingness rids way ;
 ‘ And, as we march, our strength will be augmented

In

The indistinct gabble of undertakers, while they adjust a coffin in a family vault, will abundantly illustrate the preceding simile. Such a peculiar hubbub of inarticulate sounds, might have attracted our author’s notice : it has too often forced itself on mine. STEVENS.

In every county as we go along.—

Strike up the drum; cry—Courage! and away. [Exeunt.

SCENE IV.

Plains near Tewksbury.

March. Enter Queen MARGARET, Prince EDWARD, SOMERSET, OXFORD, and Soldiers.

* *Q. Mar.* Great lords, wise men ne'er sit and wail
their loss,

* But cheerly seek how to redress their harms.

* What though the mast be now blown over-board,

* The cable broke, the holding anchor lost,

* And half our sailors swallow'd in the flood?

* Yet lives our pilot still; Is't meet, that he

* Should leave the helm, and, like a fearful lad,

* With tearful eyes add water to the sea,

* And give more strength to that which hath too much;

* Whiles, in his moan, the ship splits on the rock,

* Which industry and courage might have sav'd?

* Ah, what a shame! ah, what a fault were this!

* Say, Warwick was our anchor; What of that?

* And Montague our top-mast; What of him?

* Our slaughter'd friends the tackles; What of these?

* Why, is not Oxford here another anchor?

* And Somerset another goodly mast?

* The friends of France our shrouds and tacklings?

* And, though unskilful, why not Ned and I

* For once allow'd the skilful pilot's charge?

* We will not from the helm, to sit and weep;

* But keep our course, though the rough wind say—no,

* From shelves and rocks that threaten us with wreck.

* As good to chide the waves, as speak them fair.

* And what is Edward, but a ruthless sea?

* What Clarence, but a quicksand of deceit?

* And Richard, but a ragged fatal rock?

* All these the enemies to our poor bark.

* Say, you can swim; alas, 'tis but a while:

* Tread on the sand; why, there you quickly sink:

* Bestride the rock; the tide will wash you off,

* Or

- * Or else you famish, that's a threefold death.
- * This speak I, lords, to let you understand,
- * In case some one of you would fly from us,
- * That there's no hop'd-for mercy with the brothers,
- * More than with ruthless waves, with sands, and rocks.
- * Why, courage, then! what cannot be avoided,
- * 'Twere childish weakness to lament, or fear.

* *Prince.* Methinks, a woman of this valiant spirit
 * Should, if a coward heard her speak these words,
 * Infuse his breast with magnanimity,
 * And make him, naked, foil a man at arms.
 * I speak not this, as doubting any here :
 * For, did I but suspect a fearful man,
 * He should have leave to go away betimes ;
 * Left, in our need, he might infect another,
 * And make him of like spirit to himself.
 * If any such be here, as God forbid !
 * Let him depart, before we need his help.

* *Oxf.* Women and children of so high a courage!
 And warriors faint! why, 'twere perpetual shame.—
 * O, brave young prince! thy famous grandfather
 Doth live again in thee; Long may'st thou live,
 To bear his image, and renew his glories!

* *Som.* And he, that will not fight for such a hope,
 * Go home to bed, and, like the owl by day,
 * If he arise, be mock'd and wonder'd at.

* *Q. Mar.* Thanks, gentle Somerset;—sweet Oxford,
 thanks.

* *Prince.* And take his thanks, that yet hath nothing else.

Enter a Messenger.

* *Mes.* Prepare you, lords, for Edward is at hand,
 * Ready to fight; therefore be resolute.

* *Oxf.* I thought no less: it is his policy,
 * To haste thus fast, to find us unprovided.

Som. But he's deceiv'd, we are in readiness.

Q. Mar. This cheers my heart, to see your forwardness.

Oxf. Here pitch our battle, hence we will not budge.

March. Enter, at a distance, King EDWARD, CLARENCE, GLOSTER, and forces.

- * *K. Edw.* Brave followers,⁷ yonder stands the thorny wood,
 * Which, by the heavens' assistance, and your strength,
 * Must by the roots be hewn up yet ere night.
 * I need not add more fuel to your fire,
 * For, well I wot, ye blaze to burn them out :
 * Give signal to the fight, and to it, lords.
Q. Mar. Lords, knights, and gentlemen, what I should say,
 * My tears gainsay ;⁸ for every word I speak,
 * Ye see, I drink the water of my eyes.⁹
 * Therefore, no more but this :—Henry, your sovereign,
 * Is prisoner to the foe ; his state usurp'd,
 * His realm a slaughterhouse, his subjects slain,
 * His statutes cancell'd, and his treasure spent ;
 * And yonder is the wolf, that makes this spoil.
 * You fight in justice : then, in God's name, lords,
 * Be valiant, and give signal to the fight.

[*Exeunt both Armies.*]

SCENE V.

Another part of the same.

Alarums ; Excursions ; and afterwards a Retreat. Then Enter King EDWARD, CLARENCE, GLOSTER, and forces ; with Queen MARGARET, OXFORD, and SOMERSET, prisoners.

- * *K. Edw.* Now, here a period of tumultuous broils.
 Away with Oxford to Hammes' castle² straight :
 For Somerset,³ off with his guilty head.

Go,

⁷ This scene is ill-contrived, in which the king and queen appear at once on the stage at the head of opposite armies. It had been easy to make one retire before the other entered. JOHNSON.

⁸ To *gainsay* is to unsay, to deny, to contradict. STEEVENS.

⁹ This phrase is scriptural. "Thou feedest them with the bread of tears, and givest them *tears* to drink." Psalm lxxxv. 5. STEEVENS.

² A castle in Picardy, where Oxford was confined for many years.

MALONE.

³ Edmond Beaufort, duke of Somerset, the second son of Edmond duke of Somerset who was killed at the battle of Saint Albans. MALONE.

‘ Go, bear them hence ; I will not hear them speak.

Oxf. For my part, I’ll not trouble thee with words.

‘ *Som.* Nor I, but stoop with patience to my fortune.

[*Exeunt OXFORD and SOMERSET, guarded.*]

* *Q. Mar.* So part we sadly in this troublous world,

* To meet with joy in sweet Jerusalem.

* *K. Edw.* Is proclamation made,—that, who finds Edward,

* Shall have a high reward, and he his life ?

* *Glo.* It is ; and, lo, where youthful Edward comes.

Enter Soldiers, with Prince EDWARD.

* *K. Edw.* Bring forth the gallant, let us hear him speak :

* What ! can so young a thorn begin to prick ?—

‘ Edward, what satisfaction can’st thou make,

‘ For bearing arms, for stirring up my subjects,

* And all the trouble thou hast turn’d me to ?

Prince. Speak like a subject, proud ambitious York !

Suppose, that I am now my father’s mouth ;

Resign thy chair, and, where I stand, kneel thou,

Whilst I propose the self-same words to thee,

Which, traitor, thou would’st have me answer to.

Q. Mar. Ah, that thy father had been so resolv’d !

‘ *Glo.* That you might still have worn the petticoat,
And ne’er have stol’n the breech from Lancaster.

Prince. Let *Æsop*’s fable in a winter’s night ;
His currish riddles sort not with this place.

Glo. By heaven, brat, I’ll plague you for that word.

Q. Mar. Ay, thou wast born to be a plague to men.

Glo. For God’s sake, take away this captive scold.

Prince. Nay, take away this scolding crook-back rather.

‘ *K. Edw.* Peace wilful boy, or I will charm your tongue.⁵

Glo. Untutor’d lad, thou art too malapert.

Prince.

4 The prince calls Richard, for his crookedness, *Æsop* ; and the poet, following nature, makes Richard highly incensed at the reproach.

JOHNSON.

5 The meaning is, I will compel you to be as silent, as you would be, if you were *charm’d*, if you were deprived of speech by the power of enchantment. MALONE.

Prince. I know my duty, you are all undutiful:
Lascivious Edward,—and thou perjur'd George,—
And thou misshapen Dick,—I tell ye all,
I am your better, traitors as ye are;—

* And thou usurp'st my father's right and mine.

K. Edw. Take that, the likeness of this railer here.⁶

[*Stabs him.*]

* *Glo.* Sprawl'st thou? take that, to end thy agony.

[*GLO. stabs him.*]

* *Cla.* And there's for twitting me with perjury.

[*CLAR. stabs him.*]

Q. Mar. O, kill me too!

Glo. Marry, and shall.

[*Offers to kill her.*]

* *K. Edw.* Hold, Richard, hold, for we have done too much.

Glo. Why should she live, to fill the world with words?⁷

* *K. Edw.* What! doth she swoon? use means for her recovery.

Glo. Clarence, excuse me to the king my brother;

* I'll hence to London on a serious matter:

* Ere ye come there, besure to hear some news.

Clar. What? what?

* *Glo.* The Tower, the Tower!

[*Exit.*]

* *Q. Mar.* O, Ned, sweet Ned! speak to thy mother, boy!

* Canst thou not speak?—O traitors! murderers!—

They, that stabb'd Cæsar, shed no blood at all,

Did not offend, nor were not worthy blame,

* If this foul deed were by, to equal it.

* He was a man; this, in respect, a child;

And men ne'er spend their fury on a child.

* What's worse than murderer, that I may name it?

* No, no; my heart will burst, an if I speak:—

* And I will speak, that so my heart may burst.—

* Butchers

⁶ Thou that resemblest thy railing mother. JOHNSON.

The old copies describe *Edward* as striking the first blow, and *Gloster* the next; and, I believe, rightly, for history informs us that *Edward* smote the prince with his gauntlet, on which the rest despatch'd him. The words *sprawl'st thou?* seem evidently to belong to *Richard*; and I have therefore continued them to him on the authority of ancient editions, in preference to the allotment of modern innovation. STEEVENS.

⁷ i. e. dispute, contention. STEEVENS.

* Butchers and villains, bloody cannibals!
 * How sweet a plant have you untimely cropp'd!
 ' You have no children, butchers!⁸ if you had,
 ' The thought of them would have stirr'd up remorse:
 ' But, if you ever chance to have a child,
 Look in his youth to have him so cut off,
 ' As, deathsmen! you have rid this sweet young prince.⁹

' *K. Edw.* Away with her; go bear her hence perforce.

Q. Mar. Nay, never bear me hence, despatch me here;
 Here sheath thy sword, I'll pardon thee my death:

What! wilt thou not?—then, Clarence, do it thou.

Clar. By heaven, I will not do thee so much ease.

' *Q. Mar.* Good Clarence, do; sweet Clarence, do thou do it.

Clar. Didst thou not hear me swear, I would not do it?

Q. Mar. Ay, but thou usest to forswear thyself;

'Twas sin before,² but now 'tis charity.

' What! wilt thou not? where is that devil's butcher,

Hard-favour'd Richard?³ Richard, where art thou?

Thou art not here: Murder is thy alms-deed;

Petitioners for blood thou ne'er put'st back.

' *K. Edw.* Away, I say; I charge ye, bear her hence.

Q. Mar.

⁸ The same sentiment is repeated by Macduff, in the tragedy of *Macbeth*; and this passage may serve as a comment on that. BLACKSTONE.

The original play reads:

You have no children, *devils*; if you had,

The thought of them would *then have stopt your rage*.

This thought occurring also (as Sir William Blackstone has observed) in *Macbeth*, may perhaps be urged as a proof of Shakspeare's being the author of the first draught, as well as of the alterations and additions to it. MALONE.

⁹ The condition of this warlike queen would move compassion, could it be forgotten that she gave York, to wipe his eyes in his captivity, a handkerchief stained with his young child's blood. JOHNSON.

But surely it does move our compassion, though that be not forgotten. When we see any of our fellow-creatures involved in deep distress, from a just and tender cause we attend only to their present sufferings, and not to their former crimes. M. MASON.

² She alludes to the desertion of Clarence. JOHNSON.

³ Thus all the editions. But *devil's butcher*, in other terms, I think, is *kill-devil*: rare news for the free-thinkers, if there were any grounds for depending on it. But the poet certainly wrote—*devil-butcher*; and the first part of the compound is to be taken adjectively, meaning execrable, infernal, devilish. THEOBALD.

Devil's butcher, is a butcher set on by the devil. Either reading may serve without so long a note. JOHNSON.

2. *Mar.* So come to you, and yours, as to this prince!
[Exit, led out forcibly.]

* *K. Edw.* Where's Richard gone?

* *Clar.* To London, all in post; and, as I guess,
To make a bloody supper in the Tower.

K. Edw. He's sudden, if a thing comes in his head.

* Now march we hence: discharge the common fort

* With pay and thanks, and let's away to London,

* And see our gentle queen how well she fares;

* By this, I hope, she hath a son for me. [Exit.]

SCENE VI.

London. *A Room in the Tower.*

King HENRY is discovered sitting with a book in his hand, the Lieutenant attending. Enter GLOSTER.

Glo. Good day, my lord! What, at your book so hard?

K. Hen. Ay, my good lord: My lord, I should say rather.

'Tis sin to flatter, good was little better:

Good Gloster, and good devil, were alike,

* And both preposterous; therefore, not good lord.

* *Glo.* Sirrah, leave us to ourselves: we must confer.

[Exit Lieutenant.]

* *K. Hen.* So flies the reckless shepherd from the wolf:

* So first the harmless sheep doth yield his fleece,

* And next his throat unto the butcher's knife.—

What scene of death hath Roscius now to act? 4

Glo.

4 Roscius was certainly put for Richard by some simple conceited player who had heard of Roscius and of Rome; but did not know that he was an actor in comedy, not in tragedy. *WARBURTON.*

Shakspeare had occasion to compare Richard to some player about to represent a scene of murder, and took the first or only name of antiquity that occurred to him, without being very scrupulous about its propriety.

I know not, however, that it is proved, on classical authority, that Roscius, though generally a comedian, was no occasional actor in tragedy. Nath, in *Pierce Penniless's Supplication to the Devil*, 1592, says, "Not Roscius nor Æsopæ, those admired tragedians, that have lived ever since before Christ was born, could ever performe more in action than famous Ned Allen." *STEEVENS.*

Dr. Warburton reads *Richard*, instead of *Roscius*, because Roscius was a comedian. That he is right in this assertion, is proved beyond a doubt by a passage

Glo. Suspicion always haunts the guilty mind ;
The thief doth fear each bush an officer.

‘ *K. Hen.* The bird, that hath been limed in a bush :
‘ With trembling wings misdoubteth every bush :
And I, the hapless male⁵ to one sweet bird,
Have now the fatal object in my eye,
Where my poor young was lim’d, was caught, and kill’d.

‘ *Glo.* Why, what a peevish fool⁶ was that of Crete,
‘ That taught his son the office of a fowl ?
‘ And yet, for all his wings, the fowl was drown’d.

‘ *K. Hen.* I Dædalus ; my poor boy, Icarus ;
Thy father, Minos, that deny’d our course ;
‘ The sun, that fear’d the wings of my sweet boy,
‘ Thy brother Edward ; and thyself, the sea,
‘ Whose envious gulf did swallow up his life.
* Ah, kill me with thy weapon, not with words !
‘ My breast can better brook thy dagger’s point,
Than can my ears that tragick history.—

* But wherefore dost thou come ? is’t for my life ?

‘ *Glo.* Think’st thou, I am an executioner ?

K. Hen. A persecutor, I am sure, thou art ;
‘ If murdering innocents be executing,
‘ Why, then thou art an executioner.

Glo.

a passage in Quintilian, cited by W. R. [probably Sir Walter Rawlinson] in the *Gentleman’s Magazine*, Vol. LIV. P. II. p. 886. “*Roscius citator, Æsopus gravior fuit, quod ille comædias, hic tragædias egit.*” QUINTIL. Lib. XI. c. iii.—But it is not in Quintilian or in any other ancient writer we are to look in order to ascertain the text of Shakspeare. Roscius was called a *tragedian* by our author’s contemporaries, as appears from the quotations in the preceding note ; and this was sufficient authority to him, or rather to the author of the original play, for there this line is found.

MALONE.

⁵ The word *male* is here used in a very uncommon sense, not for the male of the female, but for the male parent : the sweet bird is evidently his son prince Edward. M. MASON.

⁶ As *peevishness* is the quality of children, *peevish* seems to signify *childish*, and by consequence *silly*. *Peevish* is explained by *childish*, in a former note of Dr. Warburton. JOHNSON.

Shakspeare employs the word *peevish* in the same sense in *Cymbeline*, where the reader will find many instances of this use of it. STEEVENS.

This epithet which Shakspeare has so frequently employed, was one of his additions to the original play. The ordinary signification of *peevish* in our poet’s time was *foolish*. See Minshew’s Dict. 1617, in v. MALONE.

Glo. Thy son I kill'd for his presumption.

K. Hen. Hadst thou been kill'd, when first thou didst presume,

Thou had'st not liv'd to kill a son of mine.

‘ And thus I prophecy,—that many a thousand,
 ‘ Which now mistrust no parcel of my fear;⁷
 ‘ And many an old man's sigh, and many a widow's,
 ‘ And many an orphan's water-standing eye,—
 ‘ Men for their sons, wives for their husbands' fate,
 ‘ And orphans for their parents' timeless death,—
 ‘ Shall rue the hour that ever thou wast born.
 The owl shriek'd at thy birth, an evil sign;
 ‘ The night-crow cry'd, aboding luckless time;
 Dogs howl'd, and hideous tempests shook down trees;
 The raven rook'd her⁸ on the chimney's top,
 And chattering pies in dismal discords sung.
 Thy mother felt more than a mother's pain,
 And yet brought forth less than a mother's hope;
 ‘ To wit,—an indigest⁹ deformed lump,
 Not like the fruit of such a goodly tree.
 Teeth hadst thou in thy head, when thou wast born,
 To signify,—thou cam'st to bite the world:
 And if the rest be true which I have heard,
 ‘ Thou cam'st²—

Glo.

⁷ Who suspect no part of what my fears presage. JOHNSON.

⁸ To *rock*, or rather to *ruck*, is a north-country word, signifying to *squat down*, or *lodge* on any thing. STEEVENS.

⁹ The folio has—*indigested*. But the metre and the old play show that it was a misprint. Shakspeare uses the word *indigest* in *King John*.

MALONE.

² Had our editors had but a grain of sagacity, or due diligence, there could have been no room for this absurd break, since they might have ventured to fill it up with certainty too. The old quarto would have led them part of the way:

Thou cam'st into the world——

And that the verse is to be compleated in the manner I have given it, is incontestible; for unless we suppose king Henry actually reproaches him with this his preposterous birth, how can Richard in his very next soliloquy say,

“ Indeed, 'tis true, that Henry told me of;
 “ For I have often heard my mother say,
 “ I came into the world with my legs forward.”

I can

Glo. I'll hear no more ;—Die, prophet, in thy speech ;
[Stabs him.]

For this, amongst the rest, was I ordain'd.

K. Hen. Ay, and for much more slaughter after this.
O God! forgive my sins, and pardon thee! [Dies.]

Glo. What will the aspiring blood of Lancaster
Sink in the ground? I thought, it would have mounted.
See, how my sword weeps for the poor king's death!

' O, may such purple tears be alway shed
' From those that wish the downfal of our house!—
' If any spark of life be yet remaining,
Down, down to hell; and say—I sent thee thither,
[Stabs him again.]

I, that have neither pity, love, nor fear —
Indeed, 'tis true, that Henry told me of ;³
For I have often heard my mother say,
I came into the world with my legs forward :
Had I not reason, think ye, to make haste,
' And seek their ruin that usurp'd our right?
The midwife wonder'd ; and the women cry'd,
O, Jesus bless us, he is born with teeth!
' And so I was ; which plainly signify'd—
That I should snarl, and bite, and play the dog.
' Then, since the heavens have shap'd my body so,
Let hell make crook'd my mind, to answer it.
I have no brother, I am like no brother :
' And this word—love, which greybeard's call divine,
Be resident in men like one another,
And not in me ; I am myself alone.—
Clarence, beware ; thou keep'st me from the light ;
But I will fort a pitchy day for thee :⁴
For I will buz abroad such prophecies,
' That Edward shall be fearful of his life ;

And

I can easily see, that this blank was caused by the nicety of the players, to suppress an indecent idea. But, with submission, this was making but half a cure, unless they had expunged the repetition of it out of Richard's speech too. THEOBALD.

³ Namely, that my birth was attended with singular circumstances.

MALONE.

⁴ But I will choose out an hour whose gloom shall be as fatal to you. To fort is to select. STEEVENS.

And then, to purge his fear, I'll be thy death.

' King Henry, and the prince his son, are gone:

' Clarence, thy turn is next; and then the rest;

Counting myself but bad, till I be best,—

' I'll throw thy body in another room,

And triumph, Henry, in thy day of doom.

[Exit.

SCENE VII.

The same. A Room in the Palace.

King EDWARD is discovered sitting on his throne; Queen ELIZABETH with the infant Prince, CLARENCE, GLOSTER, HASTINGS, and Others, near him.

K. Edw. Once more we sit in England's royal throne,
Re-purchas'd with the blood of enemies.

What valiant foemen, like to autumn's corn,

Have we mow'd down, in tops of all their pride?

Three dukes of Somerset, threefold renown'd

For hardy and undoubted champions;

Two Cliffords, as the father and the son,

And two Northumberlands; two braver men

Ne'er spur'd their courfers at the trumpet's found:

' With them, the two brave bears, Warwick and Montague,

That in their chains fetter'd the kingly lion,

And made the forest tremble when they roar'd.

Thus have we swept suspicion from our seat,

And made our footstool of security.—

Come hither, Bess, and let me kiss my boy:—

Young Ned, for thee, thine uncles, and myself,

Have in our armours watch'd the winter's night;

' Went all afoot in summer's scalding heat,

That thou might'st repossess the crown in peace;

And of our labours thou shalt reap the gain.

Glo. I'll blast his harvest, if your head were lay'd;

For yet I am not look'd on in the world.

This shoulder was ordain'd so thick, to heave;

And heave it shall some weight, or break my back:—

Work thou the way,—and thou shalt execute.^s

[Aside.

K. Edw.

^s I believe we should read:

—and this shall execute.

Richard

K. Edw. Clarence, and Gloster, love my lovely queen;
And kiss your princely nephew, brothers both.

Clar. The duty, that I owe unto your majesty,
I seal upon the lips of this sweet babe.

K. Edw. Thanks, noble Clarence; worthy brother,
thanks.

Glo. And, that I love the tree from whence thou
sprang'st,

Witness the loving kiss I give the fruit:—

To say the truth, so Judas kiss'd his master;

And cry'd—all hail! when as he meant—all
harm.

} *Aside.*

K. Edw. Now am I seated as my soul delights,
Having my country's peace, and brothers' loves.

Clar. What will your grace have done with Margaret?
Reignier, her father, to the king of France
Hath pawn'd the Sicils and Jerusalem,
And hither have they sent it for her ransom.

K. Edw. Away with her, and waft her hence to France.
And now what rests, but that we spend the time
With stately triumphs,⁶ mirthful comick shows,
Such as besit the pleasures of the court?—
Sound, drums and trumpets!—farewell, four annoy!
For here, I hope, begins our lasting joy.

[*Exeunt.*

Richard laying his hand on his forehead says:

Work thou the way ———

then bringing down his hand, and beholding it,

———and this shall execute.

Though *that* may stand, the arm being included in the shoulder.

JOHNSON.

The quartos read:

Work thou the way, and thou shalt execute.

I suppose he speaks this line, first touching his head, and then looking on
his hand. STEEVENS.

⁶ *Triumphs* are publick shows. This word has occurred too frequently
to need exemplification in the present instance. STEEVENS.

THE following SUMMARY ACCOUNT of the times and places of the several battles fought between the two houses of York and Lancaster, and of the numbers killed on both sides, is given by Trussel, at the end of his *History of England*, a book of little value, but in matters of this kind tolerably correct. I have compared his account with our earliest historians, and in some places corrected it by them.

1. THE BATTLE OF SAINT ALBANS, fought on the 23d of May 1455, between Richard Plantagenet, duke of York, and King Henry VI. In this battle the duke of York was victorious, and Henry was taken prisoner.

KILLED, on the royal side 5041, (among whom were Edmond duke of Somerset, Henry earl of Northumberland, Humphrey earl of Stafford, and Thomas lord Clifford;) on the side of the duke of York, 600. TOTAL—5641.

2. THE BATTLE OF BLOARHEATH in Shropshire, fought on the 30th of September 1459, between James lord Audley on the part of king Henry, and Richard Nevil earl of Salisbury on the part of the duke of York; in which battle lord Audley was slain, and his army defeated.

KILLED—2411.

3. THE BATTLE OF NORTHAMPTON, 20th of July, 1460, between Edward Plantagenet, earl of March, eldest son of the duke of York, and Richard Nevil earl of Warwick, on the one side, and King Henry on the other: in which the Yorkists were victorious.

KILLED—1035, among whom were John Talbot earl of Shrewsbury, Humphrey duke of Buckingham, and Sir William Lucy.

4. THE BATTLE OF WAKEFIELD, December 30, 1460, between Richard duke of York and Queen Margaret; in which the duke of York was defeated.

KILLED—2801, among whom were the duke of York, Edmond earl of Rutland his second son, Sir John and Sir Hugh Mortimer, his base uncles, and the earl of Shrewsbury. Richard Nevil earl of Salisbury was in this battle taken prisoner, and afterwards beheaded at Pomfret.

5. THE BATTLE OF MORTIMER'S CROSS, in Herefordshire, on Candlemas-day, 1460-1, between Edward duke of York, on the one side, and Jasper earl of Pembroke, and James Butler earl of Wiltshire, on the other; in which the duke of York was victorious.

KILLED—3800, among whom was Sir Owen Tuther or Tudor, who married Queen Katharine, the widow of King Henry V.

6. THE SECOND BATTLE OF SAINT ALBANS, February 17, 1460-1, between Queen Margaret on one side, and the duke of Norfolk and the earl of Warwick on the other; in which the queen obtained the victory.

KILLED—2303, among whom was Sir John Grey, a Lancastrian, whose widow, Lady Grey, afterwards married King Edward the Fourth.

7. THE ACTION AT FERRYBRIDGE, in Yorkshire, March 28, 1461, between lord Clifford on the part of King Henry, and the lord Fitzwalter on the part of the duke of York.

KILLED—230, among whom were lord Fitzwalter, John lord Clifford, and the bastard son of the earl of Salisbury.

8. THE BATTLE OF TOWTON, four miles from York, Palm-Sunday,

day, March 29, 1461, between Edward duke of York and King Henry; in which King Henry was defeated.

KILLED—37,046, among whom were Henry Percy earl of Northumberland, the earl of Shrewsbury, and the lords Nevil, Beaumont, Willoughby, Wells, Roos, Gray, Dacres, and Fitzhugh. The earl of Devonshire was taken prisoner, and soon afterwards beheaded at York.

9. THE BATTLE OF HEDGELEY MOOR, in Northumberland, April 29, 1463, between John Nevil viscount Montague, on the part of King Edward IV. and the lords Hungerford and Roos on the part of King Henry VI: in which the Yorkists were victorious.

KILLED—108, among whom was Sir Ralph Percy.

10. THE BATTLE OF HEXHAM, May 15, 1463, between viscount Montague and King Henry, in which that king was defeated.

KILLED—2024. Henry Beaufort, duke of Somerset, and the lords Roos and Hungerford fighting on the side of King Henry, were taken prisoners, and soon afterwards beheaded.

11. THE BATTLE OF HEDGECOTE, four miles from Banbury, July 25, 1469, between William Herbert earl of Pembroke, on the part of king Edward, and the lords Fitzhugh and Latimer, and Sir John Conyers, on the part of King Henry; in which the Lancastrians were defeated.

KILLED—5009. The earl of Pembroke and his brother, Richard Widville earl of Rivers, father to King Edward's queen, Sir John Widville, John Tiptoft earl of Worcester, the lords Willoughby, Stafford and Wells, were taken prisoners, and soon afterwards beheaded.

12. THE BATTLE OF STAMFORD, in Lincolnshire, October 1, 1469, between Sir Robert Wells and King Edward; in which the former was defeated and taken prisoner. The vanquished who fled, in order to lighten themselves, threw away their coats, whence the place of combat was called *Loscoatfield*.

KILLED—10,000.

13. THE BATTLE OF BARNET, on Easter-Sunday, April 14, 1471, between King Edward on one side, and the earl of Warwick, the marquis of Montague and the earl of Oxford on the part of King Henry VI. in which the Lancastrians were defeated.

KILLED—10,300; among whom were the earl of Warwick, the marquis of Montague, the lord Cromwell, and the son and heir of lord Say.

In a letter which was written at London four days after the battle of Barnet, the total number killed on both sides is said to have been "more than a thousand." *Paston Letters*, Vol. II. p. 65. Fabian, the nearest contemporary historian, says 1500.

The custom among our old writers of using Arabick numerals, has been the cause of innumerable errors, the carelessness of a transcriber or printer by the addition of a cipher converting hundreds into thousands. From the inaccuracy in the present instance we have ground to suspect that the numbers said to have fallen in the other battles between the houses of York and Lancaster, have been exaggerated. Sir John Paston, who was himself at the battle of Barnet, was probably correct.

14. THE BATTLE OF TEWKESBURY, May 3, 1471, between
King

King Edward and Queen Margaret, in which the queen was defeated, and she and her son Prince Edward were taken prisoners.

On the next day the prince was killed by King Edward and his brothers, and Edmond duke of Somerset beheaded.

KILLED—3,032. Shortly afterwards, in an action between the bastard son of lord Falconbridge and some Londoners, 1092 persons were killed.

15. THE BATTLE OF BOSWORTH, in Leicestershire, August 22, 1485, between King Richard III. and Henry earl of Richmond, afterwards King Henry VII. in which King Richard was defeated and slain.

KILLED, on the part of Richard, 4,013, among whom were John duke of Norfolk, and Walter lord Ferrers; on the part of Richmond, 181.

The TOTAL NUMBER of persons who fell in this contest, was NINETY-ONE THOUSAND AND TWENTY-SIX. MALONE.

The three parts of *King Henry VI.* are suspected, by Mr. Theobald, of being supposititious, and are declared, by Dr. Warburton, to be certainly not Shakspeare's. Mr. Theobald's suspicion arises from some obsolete words; but the phraseology is like the rest of our author's style, and single words, of which however I do not observe more than two, can conclude little.

Dr. Warburton gives no reason, but I suppose him to judge upon deeper principles and more comprehensive views, and to draw his opinion from the general effect and spirit of the composition, which he thinks inferior to the other historical plays.

From mere inferiority nothing can be inferred; in the productions of wit there will be inequality. Sometimes judgment will err, and sometimes the matter itself will defeat the artist. Of every author's works one will be the best, and one will be the worst. The colours are not equally pleasing, nor the attitudes equally graceful, in all the pictures of Titian or Reynolds.

Dissemblance of style and heterogeneity of sentiment, may sufficiently show that a work does not really belong to the reputed author. But in these plays no such marks of spuriousness are found. The diction, the versification, and the figures, are Shakspeare's. These plays, considered, without regard to characters and incidents, merely as narratives in verse, are more happily conceived and more accurately finished than those of *King John*, *Richard II.* or the tragic scenes of *King Henry IV.* and *V.* If we take these plays from Shakspeare, to whom shall they be given? What author of that age had the same easiness of expression and fluency of numbers?

Having considered the evidence given by the plays themselves, and found it in their favour, let us now enquire what corroboration can be gained from other testimony. They are ascribed to Shakspeare by the first editors, whose attestation may be received in questions of fact, however unskillfully they superintended their edition. They seem to be declared genuine by the voice of Shakspeare himself, who refers to the second play in his epilogue to *King Henry V.* and apparently connects the first act of *King Richard III.* with the last of the third part of *King Henry VI.* If it be objected that the plays were popular, and that therefore he alluded to them as well known; it may be answered, with equal probability, that the natural passions of a poet would have disposed him to separate his

his own works from those of an inferior hand. And, indeed, if an author's own testimony is to be overthrown by speculative criticism, no man can be any longer secure of literary reputation.

Of these three plays I think the second the best. The truth is, that they have not sufficient variety of action, for the incidents are too often of the same kind; yet many of the characters are well discriminated. King Henry, and his queen, king Edward, the duke of Gloucester, and the earl of Warwick, are very strongly and distinctly painted.

The old copies of the two latter parts of *King Henry VI* and of *King Henry V*. are so apparently imperfect and mutilated, that there is no reason for supposing them the first draughts of Shakspeare. I am inclined to believe them copies taken by some auditor who wrote down, during the representation, what the time would permit, then perhaps filled up some of his omissions at a second or third hearing, and, when he had by this method formed something like a play, sent it to the printer. JOHNSON.

So, Heywood, in the Preface to his *Rape of Lucrece*, (fourth impression), 1630:

“ ———for though some have used a double sale of their labours, first to the stage and after to the press, for my own part I here proclaim myself ever faithful to the first, and never guilty of the last: yet since some of my plays have (unknown to me, and without any of my direction) accidentally come into the printer's hands, and therefore so corrupt and mangled (*copied only by the ear*), that I have been as unable to know them as ashamed to challenge them, this therefore I was the willinger,” &c.

COLLINS.

There is another circumstance which may serve to strengthen Dr. Johnson's supposition, viz. that most of the fragments of Latin verses, omitted in the quartos, are to be found in the folio; and when any of them are inserted in the former, they are shamefully corrupted and misspelt. The auditor who understood English, might be unskill'd in any other language. STEEVENS.

I formerly coincided with Dr. Johnson on this subject, at a time when I had examined the two old plays published in quarto under the title of *The Whole Contention of the two famous houses of York and Lancaster*, in two parts, with less attention than I have lately done. That dramas were sometimes imperfectly taken down in the theatre, and afterwards published in a very mutilated state, is proved decisively by the prologue to a play entitled *If you know not me you know Nobody*, by Thomas Heywood, 1623:

“ ———’Twas ill nurst,
 “ And yet receiv’d as well perform’d at first;
 “ Grac’d and frequented; from the cradle age
 “ Did throng the seats, the boxes, and the stage,
 “ So much, that some by *stenography* drew
 “ The plot, *put it in print*, scarce one word true:
 “ And in that lameness it has limp’d so long,
 “ The author now, to vindicate that wrong,
 “ Hath took the pains upright upon its feet
 “ To teach it walk;—so please you, sit and see it.”

The

But the old plays in quarto, which have been hitherto supposed to be imperfect representations of the second and third parts of *K. Henry VI.* are by no means mutilated and imperfect. The scenes are as well connected, and the versification as correct, as that of most of the other dramas of that time. The fact therefore, which Heywood's prologue ascertains, throws no light upon the present contested question. MALONE.

I have already given some reasons, why I cannot believe, that these plays were *originaly* written by Shakspeare. The question, who did write them? is, at best, but an argument *ad ignorantiam*. We must remember, that very many old plays are *anonymous*; and that *play-writing* was scarcely yet thought reputable: nay, some author's expresses for it great horrors of repentance.—I will attempt, however, at some future time, to answer this question: the disquisition of it would be too long for this place.

One may at least argue, that the plays were not written by Shakspeare, from Shakspeare himself. The *Chorus* at the end of *K. Henry V.* addresses the audience

“ ————— For *their* sake,

“ In your fair minds let *this* acceptance take.”

But it could be neither agreeable to the poet's judgment or his modesty, to recommend his new play from the merit and success of *King Henry VI.* — His claim to indulgence is, that, though *bending* and unequal to the task, he has ventured to *pursue the story*: and this sufficiently accounts for the connection of the whole, and the allusions of particular passages.

FARMER.

It is seldom that Dr. Farmer's arguments fail to enforce conviction; but here, perhaps, they may want somewhat of their usual weight. I think that Shakspeare's bare mention of these pieces is a sufficient proof they were his. That they were so, could be his only motive for inferring benefit to himself from the spectator's recollection of their past success. For the sake of three historical dramas of mine which have already afforded you entertainment, let me (says he) intreat your indulgence to a fourth. Surely this was a stronger plea in his behalf, than any arising from the kind reception which another might have already met with in the same way of writing. Shakspeare's claim to favour is founded on his having previously given pleasure in the course of three of those histories; because he is a *bending*, supplicatory author, and not a literary bully, like Ben Jonson; and because he has ventured to exhibit a series of annals in a suite of plays, an attempt which 'till then had not received the sanction of the stage.

I hope Dr. Farmer did not wish to exclude the three dramas before us, together with *The Taming of a Shrew*, from the number of those produced by our author, on account of the Latin quotations to be found in them. His proofs of Shakspeare's want of learning are too strong to stand in need of such a support. STEEVENS.

Though the objections which have been raised to the genuineness of the *three plays of Henry the sixth* have been fully considered and answered by Dr. Johnson, it may not be amiss to add here, from a contemporary writer, a passage, which not only points at Shakspeare as the author of them, but also

also shows, that, however meanly we may now think of them in comparison with his latter productions, they had, at the time of their appearance, a sufficient degree of excellence to alarm the jealousy of the elder playwrights. The passage, to which I refer, is in a pamphlet, entitled, *Green's Groatsworth of Witte*, supposed to have been written by that voluminous author, Robert Greene, M. A. and said, in the title-page, to be *published at his dying request*; probably, about 1592. The conclusion of this piece is an address to his brother poets, to dissuade them from writing any more for the stage, on account of the ill treatment which they were used to receive from the players. It begins thus: *To those gentlemen, his quondam acquaintance, that spend their wits in making playes, R. G. wisheth a better exercise, &c.* After having addressed himself particularly to *Christopher Marlowe* and *Thomas Lodge*, (as I guess from circumstances, for their names are not mentioned;) he goes on to a third (perhaps *George Peele*); and having warned him against depending on so mean a stay as the players, he adds: *Yes, trust them not: for there is an upstart crow beautified with our feathers, that with his tygres head wrapt in a players hyde, supposes hee is as well able to bombaste out a blanke verse as the best of you; and being an absolute Johannes fac totum is, in his own conceit, the onely Shake-scene in a countrey.* There can be no doubt, I think, that *Shake-scene* alludes to *Shakespeare*; or that *his tygres head wrapt in a players hyde* is a parodie upon the following line of *York's* speech to *Margaret*, *Third Part of King Henry the Sixth*, Act, I. sc. iv:

“ Oh tygres heart, wrapt in a woman's bide.” TYRWHITT.

KING RICHARD III.

KING RICHARD III.

* * * This tragedy, though it is called the Life and Death of this prince, comprizes, at most, but the last eight years of his time; for it opens with George duke of Clarence being clapped up in the Tower; which happened in the beginning of the year 1477; and closes with the death of Richard at Bosworth field, which battle was fought on the 22d of August, in the year 1485. THEOBALD.

It appears that several dramas on the present subject had been written before Shakspeare attempted it. See the notes at the conclusion of this play, which was first entered at Stationers' Hall by Andrew Wise, Oct. 20, 1597, under the title of *The Tragedie of King Richard the Third, with the Death of the Duke of Clarence*. Before this, viz. Aug. 15th, 1586, was entered, *A Tragical report of King Richard the Third, a Ballad*. It may be necessary to remark that the words, *song, ballad, booke, enterlude* and *play*, were often synonymously used. STEEVENS.

This play was written, I imagine, in the same year in which it was first printed, — 1597. The *Legend of King Richard III.* by Francis Seagars, was printed in the first edition of *The Mirrour for Magistrates*, 1559, and in that of 1575, and 1587, but Shakspeare does not appear to be indebted to it. In a subsequent edition of that book printed in 1610, the old legend was omitted, and a new one inserted, by Richard Nichols, who has very freely copied the play before us. In 1597, when this tragedy was published, Nichols, as Mr. Warton has observed, was but thirteen years old. *Hist. of Poetry*, Vol. III. p. 207.

The real length of time in this piece is fourteen years; (not eight years, as Mr. Theobald supposed;) for the second scene commences with the funeral of King Henry VI. who, according to the received account, was murdered on the 21st of May, 1471. The imprisonment of Clarence, which is represented previously in the first scene, did not in fact take place till 1477-8.

It has been since observed to me by Mr. Elderton, (who is of opinion that Richard was charged with this murder by the Lancastrian historians without any foundation,) that “it appears on the face of the publick accounts allowed in the exchequer for the maintenance of King Henry and his numerous attendants in the Tower, that he lived to the 12th of June, which was twenty-two days after the time assigned for his pretended assassination; was exposed to the publick view in St. Paul’s for some days, and interred at Chertsey with much solemnity, and at no inconsiderable expence.” MALONE.

PERSONS REPRESENTED.

King Edward *the Fourth*.

Edward, *Prince of Wales, afterwards* } *Sons to the king.*
K. Edward V.

Richard, *duke of York,*

George, *duke of Clarence,*

Richard, *duke of Gloster, afterwards* } *Brothers to the king.*

King Richard III.

A young son of Clarence.

Henry, *earl of Richmond, afterwards* K. Henry VII.

Cardinal Bouchier, *Archbishop of Canterbury.*

Thomas Rotheram, *Archbishop of York.* John Morton,
Bishop of Ely.

Duke of Buckingham.

Duke of Norfolk: *Earl of Surrey, his son.*

Earl Rivers, *brother to King Edward's Queen:*

Marquiss of Dorset, and Lord Grey, *her sons.*

Earl of Oxford. Lord Hastings. Lord Stanley. Lord Lovel,

Sir Thomas Vaughan. Sir Richard Ratcliff.

Sir William Catesby. Sir James Tyrrel.

Sir James Blount. Sir Walter Herbert.

Sir Robert Brakenbury, *Lieutenant of the Tower.*

Christopher Urswick, *a Priest.* Another Priest.

Lord Mayor of London. Sheriff of Wiltshire.

Elizabeth, *Queen of King Edward IV.*

Margaret, *widow of King Henry VI.*

Duchess of York, *mother to King Edward IV.* Clarence, and
Gloster.

Lady Anne, *widow of Edward prince of Wales, son to King*
Henry VI.; afterwards married to the duke of Gloster.

A young daughter of Clarence.

Lords, and other Attendants; two Gentlemen, a Pursuivant,
Scrivener, Citizens, Murderers, Messengers, Ghosts, Soldiers,
&c.

SCENE, England.

L I F E

LIFE AND DEATH OF
KING RICHARD III.

ACT I. SCENE I.

London. *A Street.*

Enter GLOSTER.

Glo. Now is the winter of our discontent
Made glorious summer by this sun of York;²
And all the clouds, that lowr'd upon our house,
In the deep bosom of the ocean bury'd.
Now are our brows bound with victorious wreaths;
Our bruised arms hung up for monuments;
Our stern alarums chang'd to merry meetings,
Our dreadful marches to delightful measures.³
Grim-visag'd war hath smooth'd his wrinkled front;
And now,—instead of mounting barbed steeds,⁴
To fright the souls of fearful adversaries,—
He capers⁵ nimbly in a lady's chamber,
To the lascivious pleasing of a lute.
But I,—that am not shap'd for sportive tricks,
Nor made to court an amorous looking-glass;
I, that am rudely stamp'd, and want love's majesty,

To

² Alluding to the cognizance of Edward IV. which was *a sun*, in memory of the *three suns*, which are said to have appeared at the battle which he gained over the Lancastrians at Mortimer's cross. Such phænomena, if we may believe tradition, were formerly not uncommon.

STEEVENS.

³ A *measure* was, strictly speaking, a court dance of a stately turn, though the word is sometimes employed to express dances in general.

STEEVENS.

⁴ i. e. steeds caparisoned in a warlike manner. STEEVENS.

⁵ War *capers*. This is poetical, though a little harsh; if it be York that capers, the antecedent is at such a distance, that it is almost forgotten.

JOHNSON.

To strut before a wanton ambling nymph;
 I, that am curtail'd of this fair proportion,
 Cheated of feature by dissembling nature,⁶
 Deform'd, unfinish'd, sent before my time
 Into this breathing world, scarce half made up,
 And that so lamely and unfashionable,
 That dogs bark at me, as I halt by them;—
 Why I, in this weak piping time of peace,
 Have no delight to pass away the time;
 Unless to spy my shadow in the sun,
 And descant on mine own deformity:⁷
 And therefore,—since I cannot prove a lover,⁸
 To entertain these fair well spoken days,⁹—
 I am determined to prove a villain,
 And hate the idle pleasures² of these days.

Plots

⁶ By *dissembling* is not meant *hypocritical* nature, that pretends one thing and does another: but nature that puts together things of a dissimilar kind, as a brave soul and a deformed body. **WARBURTON.**

Dissembling is here put very licentiously for *fraudful, deceitful*.

JOHNSON.

Dr. Johnson hath certainly mistaken, and Dr. Warburton rightly explained the word *dissembling*; as is evident from the following extract; “Whyle thinges stode in this case, and that the manner of addyng was sometime too short and sometime too long, els *dissembled* and let slip together.” *Arthur Golding's translation of Julius Solinus, 1587.*

HENLEY.

⁷ *Descant* is a term in musick, signifying in general that kind of harmony wherein one part is broken and formed into a kind of paraphrase on the other. The propriety and elegance of the above figure, without such an idea of the nature of *descant*, could not be discerned.

SIR J. HAWKINS.

That this is the original meaning of the term, is certain. But I believe the word is here used in its secondary and colloquial sense, without any reference to musick. **MALONE.**

⁸ Shakspeare very diligently inculcates, that the wickedness of Richard proceeded from his deformity, from the envy that rose at the comparison of his own person with others, and which incited him to disturb the pleasures that he could not partake. **JOHNSON.**

⁹ I am strongly inclined to think that the poet wrote—these fair well-spoken *dames*, and that the word *days* was caught by the compositor's eye glancing on a subsequent line. **MALONE.**

² Perhaps we might read:

And bate the idle pleasures.— **JOHNSON.**

Plots have I laid, inductions dangerous,³
 By drunken prophecies, libels, and dreams,
 To set my brother Clarence, and the king,
 In deadly hate the one against the other :
 And, if king Edward be as true and just,⁴
 As I am subtle, false, and treacherous,
 This day should Clarence closely be mew'd up ;
 About a prophecy, which says—that G
 Of Edward's heirs the murderer shall be.
 Dive, thoughts, down to my soul ! here Clarence comes.

Enter CLARENCE, guarded, and BRAKENBURY.

Brother, good day : What means this armed guard,
 That waits upon your grace ?

Clar. His majesty,
 Tendering my person's safety, hath appointed
 This conduct to convey me to the Tower.

Glo. Upon what cause ?

Cla. Because my name is—George.

Geo. Alack, my lord, that fault is none of yours ;
 He should, for that, commit your godfathers :—
 O, belike, his majesty hath some intent,
 That you shall be new christen'd in the Tower.
 But what's the matter, Clarence ? may I know ?

Clar. Yea, Richard, when I know ; for, I protest,
 As yet I do not : But, as I can learn,
 He hearkens after prophecies, and dreams ;
 And from the cross-row plucks the letter G,
 And says—a wizard told him, that by G
 His issue disinherited should be ;
 And, for my name of George begins with G,
 It follows in his thought, that I am he :
 These, as I learn, and such like toys⁵ as these,
 Have mov'd his highness to commit me now.

Glo. Why, this it is, when men are rul'd by women :—

'Tis

³ Preparations for mischief. The *induction* is preparatory to the action of the play. JOHNSON.

⁴ The meaning is, if Edward keeps his word. JOHNSON.

⁵ Fancies, freaks of imagination. JOHNSON.

'Tis not the king that sends you to the Tower;
 My lady Grey his wife, Clarence, 'tis she,
 That tempers him to this extremity.
 Was it not she, and that good man of worship,
 Antony Woodeville, her brother there,
 That made him send lord Hastings to the Tower;
 From whence this present day he is deliver'd?
 We are not safe, Clarence, we are not safe.

Clar. By heaven, I think, there is no man secure,
 But the queen's kindred, and night-walking heralds
 That trudge betwixt the king and mistress Shore.
 Heard you not what an humble suppliant
 Lord Hastings was to her for his delivery?

Glo. Humbly complaining³ to her deity
 Got my lord chamberlain his liberty.
 I'll tell you what,—I think, it is our way,
 If we will keep in favour with the king,
 To be her men, and wear her livery:
 The jealous o'er-worn widow, and herself,⁴
 Since that our brother dubb'd them gentlewomen,
 Are mighty gossips in this monarchy.

Brak. I beseech your graces both to pardon me;
 His majesty hath straightly given in charge,
 That no man shall have private conference,
 Of what degree soever, with his brother.

Glo. Even so? and please your worship, Brakenbury,
 You may partake of any thing we say:
 We speak no treason, man:—We say, the king
 Is wise, and virtuous; and his noble queen
 Well struck in years;⁵ fair, and not jealous:—

We

³ I think these two lines might be better given to Clarence.

JOHNSON.

⁴ That is, the queen and Shore. JOHNSON.

⁵ This odd expression in our language was preceded by one as uncouth though of a similar kind.

“*Well shot in years he seem'd,*” &c. Spenser's *Faery Queen*, B. V. sc. vi: The meaning of neither is very obvious; but as Mr. Warton has observed in his *Essay on The Faery Queen*, by an imperceptible progression from one kindred sense to another, words at length obtain a meaning entirely foreign to their original etymology. STEEVENS.

We say, that Shore's wife hath a pretty foot,
A cherry lip,
A bonny eye, a passing pleasing tongue;
And the queen's kindred are made gentlefolks:
How say you, sir? can you deny all this?

Brak. With this, my lord, myself have nought to do.

Glo. Naught to do with mistress Shore! I tell thee,
fellow,

He that doth naught with her, excepting one,
Were best to do it secretly, alone.

Brak. What one, my lord?

Glo. Her husband, knave:—Would'st thou betray me?

Brak. I beseech your grace to pardon me; and, withal,
Forbear your conference with the noble duke.

Clar. We know thy charge, Brakenbury, and will obey.

Glo. We are the queen's abjects,⁶ and must obey.

Brother, farewell: I will unto the king;

And whatsoe'er you will employ me in,—

Were it, to call king Edward's widow—sister,⁷—

I will

⁶ That is, not the queen's *subjects*, whom she might protect, but her *abjects*, whom she drives away. JOHNSON.

I cannot approve of Johnson's explanation. Gloster forms a substantive from the adjective *abject*, and uses it to express a lower degree of submission than is implied by the word *subject*, which otherwise he would naturally have made use of. The queen's *abjects*, means the most servile of her subjects, who must of course obey all her commands; which would not be the case of those whom she had driven away from her.

M. MASON.

This substantive was not of Shakspeare's formation. We meet with it in the 35th Psalm, v. 15. "—yea the very *abjects* came together against me unawares, making mouths at me, and ceased not."

STEEVENS.

⁷ This is a very covert and subtle manner of insinuating treason. The natural expression would have been, *were it to call King Edward's wife, sister*. I will solicit for you, though it should be at the expence of so much degradation and constraint, as to own the low-born wife of King Edward for a sister. But by slipping, as it were casually, *widow*, into the place of *wife*, he tempts Clarence with an oblique proposal to kill the king. JOHNSON.

King Edward's widow is, I believe, only an expression of contempt, meaning the *widow Grey*, whom Edward had chosen for his queen. Gloster has already called her, *the jealous o'er-worn widow*. STEEVENS.

I will perform it, to enfranchise you.
 Mean time, this deep disgrace in brotherhood,
 Touches me deeper than you can imagine.

Clar. I know, it pleaseth neither of us well.

Glo. Well, your imprisonment shall not be long;
 I will deliver you, or else lie for you:
 Mean time, have patience.

Clar. I must perforce; ⁸ farewell.

[*Exeunt* CLARENCE, BRAKENBURY, and *Guard*.]

Glo. Go, tread the path that thou shalt ne'er return,
 Simple, plain Clarence!—I do love thee so,
 That I will shortly send thy soul to heaven,
 If heaven will take the present at our hands.
 But who comes here? the new-deliver'd Hastings?

Enter HASTINGS.

Hast. Good time of day unto my gracious lord!

Glo. As much unto my good lord chamberlain!
 Well are you welcome to this open air.
 How hath your lordship brook'd imprisonment?

Hast. With patience, noble lord, as prisoners must:
 But I shall live, my lord, to give them thanks,
 That were the cause of my imprisonment.

Glo. No doubt, no doubt; and so shall Clarence too;
 For they, that were your enemies, are his,
 And have prevail'd as much on him, as you.

Hast. More pity, that the eagle should be mew'd,⁹
 While kites and buzzards prey at liberty.

Glo. What news abroad?

Hast. No news so bad abroad, as this at home;—
 The king is sickly, weak, and melancholy,
 And his physicians fear him mightily.

Glo. Now, by saint Paul, this news is bad indeed.
 O, he hath kept an evil diet long,
 And over-much consum'd his royal person;

'Tis

⁸ Alluding to the proverb, "Patience perforce, is a medicine for a mad dog." STEEVENS.

⁹ A *mew* was the place of confinement where a hawk was kept till he had moulted. STEEVENS.

'Tis very grievous to be thought upon.

What, is he in his bed?

Hast. He is.

Glo. Go you before, and I will follow you.

[*Exit HASTINGS.*]

He cannot live, I hope; and must not die,
Till George be pack'd with posthorse up to heaven.
I'll in, to urge his hatred more to Clarence,
With lies well steel'd with weighty arguments;
And, if I fail not in my deep intent,
Clarence hath not another day to live:
Which done, God take king Edward to his mercy,
And leave the world for me to bustle in!
For then I'll marry Warwick's youngest daughter:
What though I kill'd her husband, and her father?
The readiest way to make the wench amends,
Is—to become her husband, and her father:
The which will I; not all so much for love,
As for another secret close intent,
By marrying her, which I must reach unto.
But yet I run before my horse to market:
Clarence still breathes; Edward still lives, and reigns;
When they are gone, then must I count my gains. [*Exit.*]

SCENE II.

The same. Another Street.

Enter the corpse of King Henry the Sixth, borne in an open coffin, Gentlemen bearing halberds, to guard it; and Lady Anne as mourner.

Anne. Set down, set down your honourable load,—
If honour may be shrouded in a hearse,—
Whilst I a while obsequiously lament²
The untimely fall of virtuous Lancaster.—
Poor key-cold³ figure of a holy king!
Pale ashes of the house of Lancaster!

Thou

² *Obsequious*, in this instance, means *funereal*. STEEVENS.

³ A key, on account of the coldness of the metal of which it is composed, was anciently employed to stop any slight bleeding. The epithet is common to many old writers. STEEVENS.

Thou bloodless remnant of that royal blood!
 Be it lawful that I invoke thy ghost,
 To hear the lamentations of poor Anne,
 Wife to thy Edward, to thy slaughter'd son,
 Stabb'd by the self-same hand that made these wounds!
 Lo, in these windows, that let forth thy life,
 I pour the helpless balm of my poor eyes:—
 O, cursed be the hand that made these holes!
 Cursed the heart, that had the heart to do it!
 Cursed the blood, that let this blood from hence!
 More direful hap betide that hated wretch,
 That makes us wretched by the death of thee,
 Than I can wish to adders, spiders, toads,
 Or any creeping venom'd thing that lives!
 If ever he have child, abortive be it,
 Prodigious, and untimely brought to light,
 Whose ugly and unnatural aspect
 May fright the hopeful mother at the view;
 And that be heir to his unhappiness!⁴
 If ever he have wife, let her be made
 More miserable by the death of him,
 Than I am made by my young lord, and thee!—
 Come, now, toward Chertsey with your holy load,
 Taken from Paul's to be interred there;
 And, still as you are weary of the weight,
 Rest you, whiles I lament king Henry's corse.

[The Bearers take up the corpse, and advance.]

Enter GLOSTER.

Glo. Stay you, that bear the corse, and set it down.

Anne. What black magician conjures up this fiend,
 To stop devoted charitable deeds?

Glo. Villains, set down the corse; or, by saint Paul,
 I'll make a corse of him that disobeys.

1. Gent. My lord, stand back, and let the coffin pass.

Glo. Unmanner'd dog! stand thou when I command:
 Advance thy halberd higher than my breast,
 Or, by saint Paul, I'll strike thee to my foot,

And

⁴ i. e. disposition to mischief. MALONE.

And spurn upon thee, beggar, for thy boldness.

[*The bearers set down the coffin.*]

Anne. What, do you tremble? are you all afraid?

Alas, I blame you not; for you are mortal,

And mortal eyes cannot endure the devil.—

Avaunt, thou dreadful minister of hell!

Thou had'st but power over his mortal body,

His soul thou canst not have; therefore, be gone.

Glo. Sweet saint, for charity, be not so curst.

Anne. Foul devil, for God's sake, hence, and trouble us not;

For thou hast made the happy earth thy hell,

Fill'd it with cursing cries, and deep exclaims.

If thou delight to view thy heinous deeds,

Behold this pattern of thy butcheries: ⁵—

O, gentlemen, see, see! dead Henry's wounds

Open their congeal'd mouths, and bleed afresh! ⁶—

Blush, blush, thou lump of foul deformity;

For 'tis thy presence that exhales this blood

From cold and empty veins, where no blood dwells;

Thy deed, inhuman, and unnatural,

Provokes this deluge most unnatural.—

O God, which this blood mad'st, revenge his death!

O earth, which this blood drink'st, revenge his death!

Either, heaven, with lightning strike the murderer dead,

Or, earth, gape open wide, and eat him quick;

As thou dost swallow up this good king's blood,

Which his hell-govern'd arm hath butchered!

Glo. Lady, you know no rules of charity,

Which renders good for bad, blessings for cursings.

Anne.

⁵ *Pattern is instance, or example.* JOHNSON.

⁶ It is a tradition very generally received, that the murdered body bleeds on the touch of the murderer. This was so much believed by sir Kenelm Digby, that he has endeavoured to explain the reason.

JOHNSON.

Mr. Tollet observes that this opinion seems to be derived from the ancient Swedes, or Northern nations from whom we descend; for they practised this method of trial in dubious cases, as appears from Pitt's *Atlas*, in Sweden, p. 20. STEEVENS.

See also *Demonologie*, 4to. 1603, p. 79. REED.

Anne. Villain, thou know'st no law of God nor man ;
No beast so fierce, but knows some touch of pity.

Glo. But I know none, and therefore am no beast.

Anne. O wonderful, when devils tell the truth !

Glo. More wonderful, when angels are so angry.—
Vouchsafe, divine perfection of a woman,
Of these supposed evils, to give me leave,
By circumstance, but to acquit myself.

Anne. Vouchsafe, diffus'd infection of a man,⁷
For these known evils, but to give me leave,
By circumstance, to curse thy cursed self.

Glo. Fairer than tongue can name thee, let me have
Some patient leisure to excuse myself.

Anne. Fouler than heart can think thee, thou canst make
No excuse current, but to hang thyself.

Glo. By such despair, I should accuse myself.

Anne. And, by despairing, shalt thou stand excus'd ;
For doing worthy vengeance on thyself,
That didst unworthy slaughter upon others.

Glo. Say, that I slew them not ?

Anne. Why then, they are not dead ;
But dead they are, and, devilish slave, by thee.

Glo. I did not kill your husband.

Anne. Why, then he is alive.

Glo. Nay, he is dead ; and slain by Edward's hand.

Anne. In thy foul's throat thou liest ; queen Margaret
saw

Thy murderous faulchion smoking in his blood ;
The which thou once didst bend against her breast,
But that thy brothers beat aside the point.

Glo. I was provoked by her slanderous tongue,
That laid their guilt⁸ upon my guiltless shoulders.

Anne.

⁷ I believe, *diffus'd* in this place signifies *irregular, uncouth* ; such is its meaning in other passages of Shakspeare. JOHNSON.

Diffus'd infection of a man may mean, thou that art as dangerous as a pestilence, that infects the air by its diffusion. *Diffus'd* may, however, mean *irregular*. STEEVENS.

⁸ The crime of my brothers. He has just charged the murder of lady Anne's husband upon Edward. JOHNSON.

Anne. Thou wast provoked by thy bloody mind,
That never dreamt on aught but butcheries:
Didst thou not kill this king?

Glo. I grant ye.⁹

Anne. Dost grant me, hedge-hog? then, God grant me
too,

Thou may'st be damned for that wicked deed!

O, he was gentle, mild, and virtuous.

Glo. The fitter for the King of heaven that hath him.

Anne. He is in heaven, where thou shalt never come.

Glo. Let him thank me, that help to send him thither;
For he was fitter for that place, than earth.

Anne. And thou unfit for any place, but hell.

Glo. Yes, one place else, if you will hear me name it.

Anne. Some dungeon.²

Glo. Your bedchamber.

Anne. Ill rest betide the chamber where thou liest!

Glo. So will it, madam, 'till I lie with you.

Anne. I hope so.

Glo. I know so.—But gentle lady Anne,—
To leave this keen encounter of our wits,
And fall somewhat into a slower method;³—
Is not the causer of the timeless deaths
Of these Plantagenets, Henry, and Edward,
As blameful as the executioner?

Anne. Thou wast the cause, and most accurs'd effect.⁴

Glo.

⁹ *I grant ye.*] Read, to perfect the measure:

I grant ye, yea. RITSON.

² As most of the measure throughout this scene is regular, I cannot help suspecting that our author originally wrote:

Some dungeon, perhaps.

Your bedchamber. STEEVENS.

³ As *quick* was used for *sprightly*, so *slower* was put for *serious*. In the next scene lord Grey desires the queen to

— cheer his grace with *quick* and merry words.

STEEVENS.

⁴ *Effect*, for executioner. He asks, was not the *causer* as ill as the executioner? She answers, Thou wast both. But, for *causer*, using the word *cause*, this led her to the word *effect*, for *execution*, or executioner.

BUT

Glo. Your beauty was the cause of that effect ;
Your beauty, which did haunt me in my sleep,
To undertake the death of all the world,
So I might live one hour in your sweet bosom.

Anne. If I thought that, I tell thee, homicide,
These nails should rend that beauty from my cheeks.

Glo. These eyes could not endure that beauty's wreck,
You should not blemish it, if I stood by ;
As all the world is cheered by the sun,
So I by that ; it is my day, my life.

Anne. Black night o'ershade thy day, and death thy life !

Glo. Curse not thyself, fair creature ; thou art both.

Anne. I would I were, to be reveng'd on thee.

Glo. It is a quarrel most unnatural,
To be revenged on him that loveth thee.

Anne. It is a quarrel just and reasonable,
To be reveng'd on him that kill'd my husband.

Glo. He that bereft thee, lady, of thy husband,
Did it to help thee to a better husband.

Anne. His better doth not breathe upon the earth.

Glo. He lives, that loves you better than he could.

Anne. Name him.

Glo. Plantagenet.

Anne. Why, that was he.

Glo. The self-same name, but one of better nature.

Anne. Where is he ?

Glo. Here : [*She spits at him.*] Why dost
thou spit at me ?

Anne. 'Would it were mortal poison, for thy sake !

Glo. Never came poison from so sweet a place.

Anne. Never hung poison on a fouler toad.
Out of my sight ! thou dost infect mine eyes.

Glo.

But the Oxford editor, troubling himself with nothing of this, will make a fine oratorical period of it :

Thou wast the cause and most accurs'd the effect. WARBURTON.

I cannot but be rather of Sir T. Hanmer's opinion than Dr. Warburton's, because *effect* is used immediately in its common sense, in answer to this line. JOHNSON.

I believe the obvious sense is the true one. STEEVENS.

Our authour, I think, in another place uses *effect*, for *efficient* cause.

MALONE.

Glo. Thine eyes, sweet lady, have infected mine.

Anne. 'Would they were basilisks, to strike thee dead! ⁵

Gla. I would they were, that I might die at once;
For now they kill me with a living death. ⁶

Those eyes of thine from mine have drawn salt tears,

Sham'd their aspects with store of childish drops:

These eyes, which never shed remorseful tear, ⁷—

Not, when my father York and Edward wept,

To hear the piteous moan that Rutland made,

When black-fac'd Clifford shook his sword at him;

Nor when thy warlike father, like a child,

Told the sad story of my father's death;

And twenty times made pause, to sob, and weep,

That all the standers-by had wet their cheeks,

Like trees bedash'd with rain: in that sad time,

My manly eyes did scorn an humble tear;

And what these sorrows could not thence exhale,

Thy beauty hath, and made them blind with weeping.

I never su'd to friend, nor enemy;

My tongue could never learn sweet soothing word;

But now thy beauty is propos'd my fee,

My proud heart sues, and prompts my tongue to speak.

[*She looks scornfully at him.*]

Teach not thy lip such scorn; for it was made

For kissing, lady, not for such contempt.

If thy revengeful heart cannot forgive,

Lo! here I lend thee this sharp-pointed sword;

Which if thou please to hide in this true breast,

And let the soul forth that adareth thee,

I lay

⁵ "Among the serpents the *Basiliske* doth infecte and kill people with his looke." *Summary of Secret Wonders*, &c. bl. l. by John Alday, no date. STEEVENS.

In *Cornucopia*, &c. 1596, Sig. E 4: "The eye of the *Basiliske* is so odious to man, that it fleeth man before he come nere him, even by looking upon him." REED.

⁶ In imitation of this passage, and, I suppose, of a thousand more, Pope writes:

"—— a living death I bear,

"Says Dapperwit, and sunk beside his chair." JOHNSON.

⁷ The twelve following beautiful lines added after the first editions.

POPE.

They were added with many more. JOHNSON.

I lay it naked to the deadly stroke,
And humbly beg the death upon my knee.

[He lays his breast open; she offers at it with his sword.]

Nay, do not pause; for I did kill king Henry;—

But 'twas thy beauty ⁸ that provoked me.

Nay, now despatch; 'twas I that stabb'd young Edward;—

[She again offers at his breast.]

But 'twas thy heavenly face that set me on.

[She lets fall the sword.]

Take up the sword again, or take up me.

Anne. Arise, dissembler; though I wish thy death,
I will not be thy executioner.

Glo. Then bid me kill myself, and I will do it.

Anne. I have already.

Glo. That was in thy rage:

Speak it again, and, even with the word,

This hand, which, for thy love, did kill thy love,

Shall, for thy love, kill a far truer love;

To both their deaths shalt thou be accessory.

Anne. I would, I knew thy heart,

Glo. 'Tis figur'd in

my tongue.

Anne. I fear me, both are false.

Glo. Then man

Was never true.

Anne. Well, well, put up your sword.

Glo. Say then, my peace is made.

Anne. That shall you know

Hereafter.

Glo. But shall I live in hope?

Anne. All men,

I hope, live so.

Glo. Vouchsafe to wear this ring.

Anne. To take is not to give. *[She puts on the ring.]*

Glo. Look, how this ring encompasseth thy finger,

Even so thy breast encloseth my poor heart;

Wear both of them, for both of them are thine.

And if thy poor devoted servant may

But

⁸ Shakspeare countenances the observation, that no woman can ever be offended with the mention of her beauty. JOHNSON.

But beg one favour at thy gracious hand,
Thou dost confirm his happiness for ever.

Anne. What is it?

Glo. That it may please you leave these sad designs
To him that hath more cause to be a mourner,
And presently repair to Crosby-place:⁹
Where — after I have solemnly interr'd,
At Chertsey monast'ry this noble king,
And wet his grave with my repentant tears, —
I will with all expedient duty see you:
For divers unknown reasons, I beseech you,
Grant me this boon.

Anne. With all my heart; and much it joys me too,
To see you are become so penitent. —
Tressel, and Berkley, go along with me.

Glo. Bid me farewell.

Anne. 'Tis more than you deserve:
But, since you teach me how to flatter you,
Imagine I have said farewell already.²

[*Exeunt Lady ANNE, Tressel, and Berkley.*]

Glo. Take up the corse, firs.

Gen. Towards Chertsey, noble lord?

Glo. No, to White-Fryars; there attend my coming.

[*Exeunt the rest, with the corse.*]

Was ever woman in this humour woo'd?

Was

⁹ A house in Bishopsgate-street, belonging to the duke of Gloster.

JOHNSON.

Crosby-Place is now *Crosby-square* in Bishopsgate-street; part of the house is yet remaining, and is a meeting place for a presbyterian congregation.

SIR J. HAWKINS.

This magnificent house was built in the year 1466, by Sir John Crosby, grocer and woolman. He died in 1475. The ancient Hall of this fabrick is still remaining, though divided by an additional floor, and incumbered by modern galleries, having been converted into a place of worship for Antinomians, &c. The upper part of it is now the warehouse of an eminent Packer.

Sir J. Crosby's tomb is in the neighbouring church of St. Helen the Great. STEEVENS.

² Cibber, who altered *K. Richard III.* for the stage, was so thoroughly convinced of the ridiculousness and improbability of this scene, that he thought himself obliged to make Tressel say:

When future chronicles shall speak of this,

They will be thought romance, not history. STEEVENS.

Was ever woman in this humour won?
 I'll have her,—but I will not keep her long.
 What! I, that kill'd her husband, and his father,
 'To take her in her heart's extremest hate;
 With curses in her mouth, tears in her eyes,
 The bleeding witness of her hatred by;
 With God, her conscience, and these bars against me,
 And I no friends to back my suit withal,
 But the plain devil, and dissembling looks,
 And yet to win her,—all the world to nothing!
 Ha!

Hath she forgot already that brave prince,
 Edward, her lord, whom I, some three months since,
 Stabb'd in my angry mood at Tewksbury?³
 A sweeter and a lovlier gentleman,—
 Fram'd in the prodigality of nature,⁴
 Young, valiant, wise, and, no doubt, right royal,⁵
 The spacious world cannot again afford:
 And will she yet abase her eyes on me,
 That cropp'd the golden prime of this sweet prince,
 And made her widow to a woful bed?

On

³ Here we have the exact time of this scene ascertained, namely August 1471. King Edward however is in the second act introduced dying. That king died in April 1483; so there is an interval between this and the next act of almost twelve years. Clarence, who is represented in the preceding scene as committed to the Tower before the burial of King Henry VI. was in fact not confined nor put to death till seven years afterwards, March, 1477-8. MALONE.

⁴ i. e. when nature was in a prodigal or lavish mood. WARBURTON.

⁵ Of the degree of royalty belonging to Henry the sixth there could be no doubt, nor could Richard have mentioned it with any such hesitation; he could not indeed very properly allow him *royalty*. I believe we should read:

—and, no doubt, right loyal.

That is, *true to her bed*. He enumerates the reasons for which she should love him. He was *young, wise, and valiant*; these were apparent and indisputable excellencies. He then mentions another not less likely to endear him to his wife, but which he had less opportunity of knowing with certainty, *and, no doubt, right loyal*. JOHNSON.

Richard is not speaking of king Henry, but of Edward his son, whom he means to represent as *full of all the noble properties of a king*. *No doubt, right royal*, may, however, be ironically spoken, alluding to the incontinence of Margaret, his mother. STEEVENS.

On me, whose all not equals Edward's moiety?
 On me, that halt, and am mishapen thus?
 My dukedom to a beggarly denier,⁵
 I do mistake my person all this while:
 Upon my life, she finds, although I cannot,
 Myself to be a marvellous proper man.⁶
 I'll be at charges for a looking-glass;
 And entertain a score or two of tailors,
 To study fashions to adorn my body:
 Since I am crept in favour with myself,
 I will maintain it with some little cost.
 But, first, I'll turn yon' fellow in his grave;
 And then return lamenting to my love.—
 Shine out, fair sun, 'till I have bought a glass,
 That I may see my shadow as I pass.

[Exit.]

SCENE III.

*The same. A Room in the Palace.**Enter Queen ELIZABETH, Lord RIVERS, and Lord GREY.*

Riv. Have patience, madam; there's no doubt, his majesty

Will soon recover his accustom'd health.

Grey. In that you brook it ill, it makes him worse:
 Therefore, for God's sake, entertain good comfort,
 And cheer his grace with quick and merry words.

Q. Eliz. If he were dead, what would betide of me?

Grey. No other harm, but loss of such a lord.

Q. Eliz. The loss of such a lord includes all harms.

Grey. The heavens have bless'd you with a goodly son,
 To be your comforter, when he is gone.

Q. Eliz. Ah, he is young; and his minority
 Is put unto the trust of Richard Gloster,
 A man that loves not me, nor none of you.

Riv. Is it concluded, he shall be protector?

Q. Eliz.

⁵ A *denier* is the twelfth part of a French *sous*, and appears to have been the usual request of a beggar. STEEVENS.

⁶ *Marvellous* is here used adverbially. *Proper* in old language was *handsome*. MALONE.

Q. Eliz. It is determin'd, not concluded yet :⁷
But so it must be, if the king miscarry.

Enter BUCKINGHAM and STANLEY.

Grey. Here come the lords of Buckingham and Stanley.⁸

Buck. Good time of day unto your royal grace!

Stan. God make your majesty joyful as you have been!

Q. Eliz. The countess Richmond,⁹ good my lord of Stanley,

To your good prayer will scarcely say—amen.

Yet, Stanley, notwithstanding she's your wife,

And loves not me, be you, good lord, assur'd,

I hate not you for her proud arrogance.

Stan. I do beseech you, either not believe

The envious slanders of her false accusers;

Or, if she be accus'd on true report,

Bear with her weakness, which, I think, proceeds

From wayward sickness, and no grounded malice.

Q. Eliz. Saw you the king to-day, my lord of Stanley?

Stan. But now, the duke of Buckingham, and I,
Are come from visiting his majesty.

Q. Eliz. What likelihood of his amendment, lords?

Buck. Madam, good hope; his grace speaks cheerfully.

Q. Eliz. God grant him health! Did you confer with him?

Buck.

⁷ *Determin'd* signifies the final conclusion of the will: *concluded*, what cannot be altered by reason of some act, consequent on the final judgment. WARBURTON.

⁸ [Old copies—*Derby*.] This is a blunder of inadvertance, which has run through the whole chain of impressions. It could not well be original in Shakspeare, who was most minutely intimate with his history, and the intermarriages of the nobility. The person here called Derby, was Thomas lord Stanley, lord steward of King Edward the fourth's household. But this Thomas lord Stanley was not created earl of Derby till after the accession of Henry the seventh; and accordingly, afterwards, in the fourth and fifth acts of this play, before the battle of Bosworth-field, he is every where called lord Stanley. This sufficiently justifies the change I have made in his title. THEOBALD.

⁹ Margaret, daughter to John Beaufort, first duke of Somerset. After the death of her first husband, Edmund Tudor, Earl of Richmond, half-brother to K. Henry VI. by whom she had only one son, afterwards K. Henry VII. she married first Sir Henry Stafford, uncle to Humphrey duke of Buckingham. MALONE.

Buck. Ay, madam : he desires to make atonement
Between the duke of Gloster and your brothers,
And between them and my lord chamberlain ;
And sent to warn them ² to his royal pre^{sen}ce.

Q. Eliz. 'Would all were well !—But that will never
be ;—
I fear, our happiness is at the height.

Enter GLOSTER, HASTINGS, and DORSET.

Glo. They do me wrong, and I will not endure it :—
Who are they, that complain unto the king,
That I, forsooth, am stern, and love them not ?
By holy Paul, they love his grace but lightly,
That fill his ears with such dissentious rumours.
Because I cannot flatter, and speak fair,
Smile in men's faces, smooth, deceive, and cog,
Duck with French nods and apish courtesy,³
I must be held a rancorous enemy.
Cannot a plain man live, and think no harm,
But thus his simple truth must be abus'd
By filken, fly, insinuating Jacks ?

Grey. To whom in all this presence speaks your grace ?

Glo. To thee, that hast nor honesty, nor grace.
When have I injur'd thee ? when done thee wrong ?—
Or thee ?—or thee ?—or any of your faction ?
A plague upon you all ! His royal grace,—
Whom God preserve better than you would wish !—
Cannot be quiet scarce a breathing-while,
But you must trouble him with lewd complaints.⁴

Q. Eliz. Brother of Gloster, you mistake the matter :
The king, of his own royal disposition,
And not provok'd by any suitor else ;

Aiming,

² —to warn them—i. e. to summon. STEEVENS.

³ An importation of artificial manners seems to have afforded our ancient poets a never failing topic of invective. STEEVENS.

⁴ *Lewd*, in the present instance, signifies *rude, ignorant* ; from the Anglo-Saxon *Laewede*, a *Laick*. Chaucer often uses the word *lewd*, both for a *laick* and an *ignorant* person. See Ruddiman's Glossary to Gawin Douglas's Translation of the *Æneid*. STEEVENS.

Aiming, belike, at your interior hatred,
That in your outward action shows itself,
Against my children, brothers, and myself,
Makes him to send; that thereby he may gather
The ground of your ill-will, and so remove it.

Glo. I cannot tell;—The world is grown so bad,
That wrens may prey where eagles dare not perch:
Since every Jack became a gentleman,⁵
There's many a gentle person made a Jack.

Q. Eliz. Come, come, we know your meaning, brother
Gloster;

You envy my advancement, and my friends;
God grant, we never may have need of you!

Glo. Meantime, God grants that we have need of you:
Our brother is imprison'd by your means,
Myself disgrac'd, and the nobility
Held in contempt; while great promotions
Are daily given, to enoble those

That scarce, some two days since, were worth a noble.

Q. Eliz. By Him, that rais'd me to this careful height
From that contented hap which I enjoy'd,
I never did incense his majesty
Against the duke of Clarence, but have been
An earnest advocate to plead for him.

My lord, you do me shameful injury,
Falsely to draw me in these vile suspects.

Glo. You may deny that you were not the cause
Of my lord Hastings' late imprisonment.

Riv. She may, my lord; for——

Glo. She may, lord Rivers?—why, who knows not so?
She may do more, sir, than denying that:
She may help you to many fair preferments;
And then deny her aiding hand therein,
And lay those honours on your high desert.

What may she not? She may,—ay, marry, may she,—

Riv. What, marry, may she?

Glo.

⁵ This proverbial expression at once demonstrates the origin of the term *Jack* so often used by Shakspeare. It means one of the very lowest class of people, amongst whom this name is of the most common and familiar kind. DOUCE.

Glo. What, marry, may she? marry with a king,
A bachelor, a handsome stripling too:
I wis, your grandam had a worser match.

Q. Eliz. My lord of Gloster, I have too long borne
Your blunt upbraidings, and your bitter scoffs:
By heaven, I will acquaint his majesty,
Of those gross taunts I often have endur'd.
I had rather be a country servant-maid,
Than a great queen, with this condition—
To be so baited, scorn'd, and storm'd at:
Small joy have I in being England's queen.

Enter Queen MARGARET, behind.

Q. Mar. And lessen'd be that small, God, I beseech thee!
Thy honour, state, and seat, is due to me.

Glo. What! threat you me with telling of the king?
Tell him, and spare not; look, what I have said
I will avouch in presence of the king:
I dare adventure to be sent to the Tower.

'Tis time to speak, my pains⁶ are quite forgot.

Q. Mar. Out, devil!⁷ I remember them too well:
Thou kill'dst my husband Henry in the Tower,
And Edward, my poor son, at Tewksbury.

Glo. Ere you were queen, ay, or your husband king,
I was a pack-horse in his great affairs;
A weeder-out of his proud adversaries,
A liberal rewarder of his friends;
To royalize⁸ his blood, I spilt mine own.

Q. Mar. Ay, and much better blood than his, or thine.

Glo. In all which time, you, and your husband Grey,
Were factious for the house of Lancaster;—
And, Rivers, so were you:—Was not your husband

In

⁶ My labours; my toils. JOHNSON.

⁷ Mr. Lambe observes in his notes on the ancient metrical history of *The Battle of Flodden Field*, that *out* is an interjection of abhorrence or contempt, most frequent in the mouths of the common people of the north.

STEEVENS.

⁸ i. e. to make royal. STEEVENS.

In Margaret's battle⁹ at saint Albans slain?

Let me put in your minds, if you forget,

What you have been ere now, and what you are;

Withal, what I have been, and what I am.

Q. Mar. A murd'rous villain, and so still thou art.

Glo. Poor Clarence did forsake his father Warwick,
Ay, and forswore himself,—Which Jesu pardon!—

Q. Mar. Which God revenge!

Glo. To fight on Edward's party, for the crown;
And, for his meed, poor lord, he is mew'd up:
I would to God, my heart were flint, like Edward's,
Or Edward's soft and pitiful, like mine;
I am too childish-foolish for this world.

Q. Mar. Hie thee to hell for shame, and leave this world,
Thou cacodæmon! there thy kingdom is.

Riv. My lord of Gloster, in those busy days,
Which here you urge, to prove us enemies,
We follow'd then our lord, our lawful king;
So should we you, if you should be our king.

Glo. If I should be?—I had rather be a pedlar:
Far be it from my heart the thought thereof!

Q. Eliz. As little joy, my lord, as you suppose
You should enjoy, were you this country's king;
As little joy you may suppose in me,
That I enjoy, being the queen thereof.

Q. Mar. A little joy enjoys the queen thereof;
For I am she, and altogether joyless.

I can no longer hold me patient.—

Hear me, you wrangling pirates,² that fall out

[*Advancing.*

In

⁹ It is said in *Henry VI.* that he died in quarrel of the house of York.

JOHNSON.

The account here given is the true one. MALONE.

Margaret's battle is—Margaret's army. RITSON.

² This scene of Margaret's imprecations is fine and artful. She prepares the audience, like another Cassandra, for the following tragic revolutions. Warburton.

Surely, the merits of this scene are insufficient to excuse its improbability. Margaret, bullying the court of England in the royal palace, is a circumstance as absurd as the courtship of Gloster in a publick street.

STEEVENS.

In sharing that which you have pill'd from me :³
 Which of you trembles not, that looks on me ?
 If not, that, I being queen, you bow like subjects ;
 Yet that, by you depos'd, you quake like rebels ?—
 Ah, gentle villain,⁴ do not turn away !

Glo. Foul wrinkled witch, what mak'st thou in my fight ?⁵

Q. Mar. But repetition of what thou hast marr'd ;
 That will I make, before I let thee go.

Glo. Wert thou not banished, on pain of death ?⁶

Q. Mar. I was ; but I do find more pain in banishment,
 Than death can yield me here by my abode.
 A husband, and a son, thou ow'st to me,—
 And thou, a kingdom ;—all of you, allegiance :
 This sorrow that I have, by right is yours ;
 And all the pleasures you usurp, are mine.

Glo. The curse my noble father laid on thee,—
 When thou didst crown his warlike brows with paper,
 And with thy scorns drew'st rivers from his eyes ;
 And then, to dry them, gav'st the duke a clout,

Steep'd

³ To *pill* is to pillage. STEEVENS.

To *pill*, is literally, to take of the outside or rind. Thus they say in Devonshire, to *pill* an apple, rather than *pare* it ; and Shirley uses the word precisely in this sense. HENLEY.

⁴ We should read :

—ungentle *villain*,— WARBURTON.

The meaning of *gentle* is not, as the commentator imagines, *tender* or *courteous*, but *high born*. An opposition is meant between that and *villain*, which means at once a *wicked* and a *low-born wretch*. So before :

Since every Jack is made a gentleman,

There's many a gentle person made a Jack. JOHNSON.

Gentle appears to me to be taken in its common acceptation, but to be used ironically M. MASON.

⁵ An obsolete expression for—*what dost thou in my sight*.

Margaret in her answer takes the word in its ordinary acceptation.

MALONE.

⁶ Margaret fled into France after the battle of Hexham in 1464, and Edward soon afterwards issued a proclamation, prohibiting any of his subjects from aiding her to return, or harbouring her, should she attempt to revisit England. She remained abroad till the 14th of April 1471, when she landed at Weymouth. After the battle of Tewksbury, in May 1471, she was confined in the Tower, where she continued a prisoner till 1475, when she was ransomed by her father Reignier, and removed to France, where she died in 1482. The present scene is in 1477-8. MALONE.

Steep'd in the faultless blood of pretty Rutland ;—
 His curses, then from bitterness of soul
 Denounc'd against thee, are all fallen upon thee ;
 And God, not we, hath plagu'd thy bloody deed.⁷

Q. Eliz. So just is God, to right the innocent.

Hast. O, 'twas the foulest deed, to slay that babe,
 And the most merciless, that e'er was heard of.

Riv. Tyrants themselves wept when it was reported.

Dors. No man but prophecy'd revenge for it.

Buck. Northumberland, then present, wept to see it.⁸

Q. Mar. What! were you snarling all, before I came,
 Ready to catch each other by the throat,
 And turn you all your hatred now on me.
 Did York's dread curse prevail so much with heaven,
 That Henry's death, my lovely Edward's death,
 Their kingdom's loss, my woful banishment,
 Could all but answer for that peevish brat?
 Can curses pierce the clouds, and enter heaven?—
 Why, then give way, dull clouds, to my quick curses!—
 Though not by war, by surfeit die your king,⁹
 As ours by murder, to make him a king!
 Edward, thy son, that now is prince of Wales,
 For Edward my son, that was prince of Wales,
 Die in his youth, by like untimely violence!
 Thyself a queen, for me that was a queen,
 Out-live thy glory, like my wretched self!
 Long may'st thou live to wail thy children's loss;
 And see another, as I see thee now,
 Deck'd in thy rights, as thou art stall'd in mine!
 Long die thy happy days before thy death;
 And, after many lengthen'd hours of grief,
 Die neither mother, wife, nor England's queen!—
 Rivers,—and Dorset,—you were standers by,—
 And so wast thou, lord Hastings,—when my son

Was

⁷ To *plague*, in ancient language, is to *punish*. Hence the scriptural term—"the plagues of Egypt." STEEVENS.

⁸ Alluding to a scene in *King Henry VI.* P. III:

"What, weeping ripe, my lord Northumberland?"

STEEVENS.

⁹ Alluding to his luxurious life. JOHNSON.

Was stabb'd with bloody daggers; God, I pray him,
That none of you may live your natural age,
But by some unlook'd accident cut off!

Glo. Have done thy charm, thou hateful wither'd hag.

Q. Mar. And leave out thee? stay, dog, for thou shalt
hear me.

If heaven have any grievous plague in store,
Exceeding those that I can wish upon thee,
O, let them keep it, till thy sins be ripe,
And then hurl down their indignation
On thee, the troubler of the poor world's peace!
The worm of conscience still be-gnaw thy soul!
Thy friends suspect for traitors while thou liv'st,
And take deep traitors for thy dearest friends!
No sleep close up that deadly eye of thine,
Unless it be while some tormenting dream
Affrights thee with a hell of ugly devils!
Thou elvish-mark'd,³ abortive, rooting hog! ⁴

Thou

³ The common people in Scotland (as I learn from Kelly's *Proverbs*) have still an aversion to those who have any natural defect or redundancy, as thinking them *mark'd* out for mischief. STEEVENS.

⁴ The expression is fine, alluding (in memory of her young son) to the ravage which hogs make, with the finest flowers, in gardens; and intimating that Elizabeth was to expect no other treatment for her sons.

WARBURTON.

She calls him *bog*, as an appellation more contemptuous than *boar*, as he is elsewhere termed from his ensigns armorial. JOHNSON.

In *The Mirror for Magistrates* is the following *Complaint of Collingbourne*, who was cruelly executed for making a rime:

*For where I meant the king by name of bog,
I only alluded to his badge the bore:
To Lovel's name I added more,—our dog;
Because most dogs have borne that name of yore.
These metaphors I us'd with other more,
As cat and rat, the half-names of the rest,
To hide the sense that they so wrongly wrest.*

That *Lovel* was once the common name of a dog, may be likewise known from a passage in *The Historie of Jacob and Esau*, an interlude, 1568:

“Then come on at once, take my quiver and my bowe;
“Fette lovell my bounde, and my horne to blowe.”

The

Thou that wast seal'd in thy nativity
The slave of nature,⁵ and the son of hell !

Thou

The rhyme for which Collingbourne suffered, was :

“ A cat, a rat, and Lovel the dog,

“ Rule all England under a hog.” STEEVENS.

The rhyme of Collingbourne is thus preserved in Heywood's History of Edward IV. P. II :

“ The cat, the rat, and Lovell our dog,

“ Doe rule all England under a hog.

“ The crooke backt boore the way hath found

“ To root our roses from our ground.

“ Both flower and bud will he confound,

“ Till king of beasts the swine be crown'd :

“ And then the dog, the cat, and rat,

“ Shall in his trough feed and be fat.”

The propriety of Dr. Warburton's note, notwithstanding what Dr. Johnson hath subjoined, is fully confirmed by this satire. HENLEY.

The persons levelled at by this rhyme were the king, Catesby, Ratcliff, and Lovel, as appears in *The Complaint of Collingbourne* :

“ Catesbye was one whom I called a cat,

“ A craftie lawyer catching all he could ;

“ The second Ratcliffe whom I named a rat,

“ A cruel beast to gnaw on whom he should :

“ Lord Lovel barkt and byt whom Richard would,

“ Whom I therefore did rightly terme our dog,

“ Wherewith to ryme I cald the king a hog.” MALONE.

⁵ The expression is strong and noble, and alludes to the ancient custom of masters branding their profligate slaves ; by which it is insinuated that his mishapen person was the mark that nature had set upon him to stigmatize his ill conditions. Shakspeare expresses the same thought in *The Comedy of Errors* :

“ He is deformed, crooked, &c.

“ Stigmatical in making,——”

But as the speaker rises in her resentment, she expresses this contemptuous thought much more openly, and condemns him to a still worse state of slavery :

“ Sin, death, and hell, have set their marks on him.”

Only, in this first line, her mention of his moral condition insinuates her reflections on his deformity : and, in the last, her mention of his deformity insinuates her reflections on his moral condition : And thus he has taught her to scold in all the elegance of figure. WARBURTON.

Part of Dr. Warburton's note is confirm'd by a line in our author's *Rape of Lucrece*, from which it appears he was acquainted with the practice of marking slaves :

“ Worse than a slavish wipe, or birth-hour's blot.”

MALONE.

Thou slander of thy mother's heavy womb!

Thou loathed issue of thy father's loins!

Thou rag of honour! ⁶ thou detested—

Glo. Margaret.

Q. Mar. Richard!

Glo. Ha?

Q. Mar. I call thee not.

Glo. I cry thee mercy then; for I did think,
That thou had'st call'd me all these bitter names.

Q. Mar. Why, so I did; but look'd for no reply.

O, let me make the period to my curse.

Glo. 'Tis done by me; and ends in—Margaret.

Q. Eliz. Thus have you breath'd your curse against
yourself.

Q. Mar. Poor painted queen, vain flourish of my
fortune! ⁷

Why strew'st thou sugar on that bottled spider, ⁸

Whose

⁶ *Thou rag of honour!* &c.] This word of contempt is used again in *Timon*; and also in this play:

“These over-weening rags of France.” STEEVENS.

⁷ This expression is likewise used by Massinger in *The Great Duke of Florence*. STEEVENS.

⁸ A spider is called bottled, because, like other insects, he has a middle slender and a belly protuberant. Richard's form and venom, made her liken him to a spider. JOHNSON.

A critick who styles himself “Robert Heron, *Esquire*” very gravely assures us that “a bottled spider is evidently a spider kept in a bottle long, fasting, and of consequence the more spiteful and venomous.”—May one ask if the infuriation of our *Esquire* originates from a similar cause? Hath he newly escaped, like Asmodeo, from the phial of some Highland forcerer, under whose discipline he had experienced the provocations of lent imprisonment?—Mrs. Raffald disserts on bottled gooseberries, and George Falkener warns us against bottled children; but it was reserved for our *Esquire* (every one knows who our *Esquire* is) to discover that spiders, like ale, grow brisker from being bottled, and derive additional venom from being starved.—It would be the interest of every writer to wish for an opponent like the *Esquire Heron*, did not the general credit of letters oppose the production of such another critick.—So far I am from wishing the lucubrations of our *Esquire* to be forgotten, that I counsel thee, gentle reader (and especially, provided thou art a hypochondriac,) to peruse, and (if thou canst) to re-peruse them, and finally to thank me as thy purveyor of a laugh.—Every man should court a fresh onset from an adversary, who,

in

Whose deadly web ensnareth thee about ?

Fool, fool ! thou whet'st a knife to kill thyself.

The day will come, that thou shalt wish for me

To help thee curse this pois'nous hunch-back'd toad.

Hast. False-boding woman, end thy frantick curse ;
Lest, to thy harm, thou move our patience.

Q. Mar. Foul shame upon you ! you have all mov'd mine.

Riv. Were you well serv'd, you would be taught your duty.

Q. Mar. To serve me well, you all should do me duty,
Teach me to be your queen, and you my subjects :
O, serve me well, and teach yourselves that duty.

Dor. Dispute not with her, she is lunatick.

Q. Mar. Peace, master marquis, you are malapert :
Your fire-new stamp of honour is scarce current :⁹
O, that your young nobility could judge,
What 'twere to lose it, and be miserable !

They that stand high, have many blasts to shake them :
And, if they fall, they dash themselves to pieces.

Glo. Good counsel, marry ;—learn it, learn it, marquis.

Dor. It touches you, my lord, as much as me.

Glo. Ay, and much more : But I was born so high,
Our airy buildeth in the cedar's top,
And dallies with the wind, and scorns the sun.

Q. Mar. And turns the sun to shade ;—alas ! alas !—
Witness my son, now in the shade of death ;²
Whose bright out-shining beams thy cloudy wrath
Hath in eternal darkness folded up.

Your

in the act of ridiculing others, exposes himself to yet more obvious ridicule. STEEVENS.

A *bottled spider* is a large, bloated, glossy spider ; supposed to contain venom proportionate to its size. The expression occurs again in Act IV :

“ That *bottled spider*, that foul hunch-back'd toad.”

RITSON.

⁹ Thomas Grey was created Marquis of Dorset in 1476. PERCY.

The present scene as has been already observed, is in 1477-8.

MALONE.

² Her distress cannot prevent her quibbling. It may be here remarked, that the introduction of Margaret in this place, is against all historical evidence. She was ransomed and sent to France soon after Tewksbury fight, and there passed the remainder of her wretched life. RITSON.

Your aiery buildeth in our aiery's nest : ³—

O God, that see'st it, do not suffer it ;

As it was won with blood, lost be it so !

Buck. Peace, peace, for shame, if not for charity.

Q. Mar. Urge neither charity nor shame to me ;
Uncharitably with me have you dealt,

And shamefully by you my hopes are butcher'd.

My charity is outrage, life my shame,—

And in my shame still live my sorrow's rage !

Buck. Have done, have done.

Q. Mar. O princely Buckingham, I kiss thy hand,
In sign of league and amity with thee :

Now fair befall thee, and thy noble house !

Thy garments are not spotted with our blood,

Nor thou within the compass of my curse.

Buck. Nor no one here ; for curses never pass
The lips of those that breathe them in the air.

Q. Mar. I'll not believe but they ascend the sky,
And there awake God's gentle-sleeping peace.

O Buckingham, beware of yonder dog ;

Look, when he fawns, he bites ; and, when he bites,
His venom tooth will rankle to the death :

Have not to do with him, beware of him ;

Sin, death, and hell,⁴ have set their marks on him ;

And all their ministers attend on him.

Glo. What doth she say, my lord of Buckingham ?

Buck. Nothing that I respect, my gracious lord.

Q. Mar. What, dost thou scorn me for my gentle
counsel ?

And sooth the devil that I warn thee from ?

O, but remember this another day,

When he shall split thy very heart with sorrow ;

And say, poor Margaret was a prophetess.—

Live

³ An *aiery* is a hawk's or an eagle's nest. STEEVENS.

⁴ Possibly Milton took from hence the hint of his famous allegory.

BLACKSTONE.

Milton might as probably catch the hint from the following passage in *Latimer's Sermons*, 1584, fol. 79. "Here came in death and hell, sinne was their mother." Therefore they must have such animage as their mother sinne would geue them." HOLT WHITE.

Live each of you the subjects to his hate,

And he to yours, and all of You to God's ! ⁵

[Exit.

Hast. My hair doth stand on end to hear her curses.

Riv. And so doth mine; I muse, why she's at liberty.

Glo. I cannot blame her, by God's holy mother;
She hath had too much wrong, and I repent
My part thereof, that I have done to her.

Q. Eliz. I never did her any, to my knowledge.

Glo. Yet you have all the vantage of her wrong.
I was too hot to do some body good,
That is too cold in thinking of it now.

Marry, as for Clarence, he is well repay'd;

He is frank'd up to fattening for his pains; ⁶—

God pardon them that are the cause thereof!

Riv. A virtuous and a christian-like conclusion,
To pray for them that have done scath to us.⁷

Glo.

⁵ It is evident from the conduct of Shakspeare, that the house of Tudor retained all their Lancastrian prejudices, even in the reign of queen Elizabeth. In his play of *Richard the Third*, he seems to deduce the woes of the house of York from the curses which queen Margaret had vented against them; and he could not give that weight to her curses, without supposing a right in her to utter them. WALPOLE.

⁶ A *frank* is an old English word for a *bog-sty*. 'Tis possible he uses this metaphor to Clarence, in allusion to the crest of the family of York, which was a *boar*. Whereto relate those famous old verses on Richard III.:

*The cat, the rat, and Lovel the dog,
Rule all England under a hog.*

He uses the same metaphor in the last scene of act IV. POPE.

A *frank* was not a common *bog-sty*, but the pen in which those hogs were confined of whom *brawn* was to be made. STEEVENS.

From the manner in which the word is used in *King Henry IV.* a *frank* should seem to mean a pen in which *any* hog is *fatted*. “Does the old boar feed in the old *frank*?” So also, as Mr. Bowle observes to me, in Holinshed's *Description of Britaine*, B. III. p. 1096. “The husbandmen and farmers never *fraunke* them above three or four months, in which time he is dyeted with otes and peason, and lodged on the bare planches of an uneasy coate.”

“He feeds like a boar in a *frank*,” as the same gentleman observes, is one of Ray's proverbial sentences. MALONE.

Mr. Bowle's chief instance will sufficiently countenance my assertion: for what hogs, except those designed for *brawn*, are ever purposely lodged “on the *bare planches of an uneasy cote*?” STEEVENS.

⁷ *Scath* is harm, mischief. STEEVENS.

Glo. So do I ever, being well advis'd ;—
For had I curs'd now, I had curs'd myself.

[*Aside.*

Enter CATESBY.

Cates. Madam, his majesty doth call for you,—
And for your grace,—and you, my noble lords.

Q. Eliz. Catesby, I come:—Lords, will you go with me?

Riv. Madam, we will attend upon your grace.

[*Exeunt all but GLOSTER.*

Glo. I do the wrong, and first begin to brawl.
The secret mischiefs that I set abroad,
I lay unto the grievous charge of others.
Clarence,—whom I, indeed, have laid in darkness,—
I do beweepe to many simple gulls ;
Namely, to Stanley, Hastings, Buckingham ;
And tell them—'tis the queen and her allies,
That stir the king against the duke my brother.
Now they believe it ; and withal whet me
To be reveng'd on Rivers, Vaughan, Grey :
But then I sigh, and, with a piece of scripture,
Tell them—that God bids us do good for evil :
And thus I clothe my naked villainy
With old odd ends, stol'n forth of holy writ ;
And seem a saint, when most I play the devil.

Enter two Murderers.

But soft, here come my executioners.—
How now, my hardy, stout, resolved mates ?
Are you now going to despatch this thing ?⁸

1. Murd. We are, my lord ; and come to have the
warrant,

That we may be admitted where he is.

Glo. Well thought upon, I have it here about me :

[*Gives the warrant.*

When you have done, repair to Crosby-place.

But,

⁸ Seagars in his *Legend of Richard the Third*, speaking of the murder of Gloster's nephews, makes him say,

“ What though he refused, yet be sure you may,

“ That other were as ready to take in hand *that thing*.”

The coincidence was, I believe, merely accidental. MALONE.

But, first, be sudden in the execution,
 Withal obdurate, do not hear him plead;
 For Clarence is well spoken, and, perhaps,
 May move your hearts to pity, if you mark him.

1. *Murd.* Tut, tut, my lord, we will not stand to prate,
 Talkers are no good doers; be assur'd,
 We go to use our hands, and not our tongues.

Glo. Your eyes drop millstones, when fools' eyes drop
 tears :⁹

I like you, lads;—about your business straight;
 Go, go, despatch.

1. *Murd.* We will, my noble lord. [Exeunt]

SCENE IV.

The same. A Room in the Tower.

Enter CLARENCE and BRAKENBURY.

Brak. Why looks your grace so heavily to-day?

Clar. O, I have pass'd a miserable night,
 So full of fearful dreams, of ugly sights,
 That, as I am a christian faithful man,²
 I would not spend another such a night,
 Though 'twere to buy a world of happy days;
 So full of dismal terror was the time.

Brak. What was your dream, my lord? I pray you, tell me.

Clar. Methought, that I had broken from the Tower,
 And was embark'd to cross to Burgundy;³

And,

⁹ This, I believe, is a proverbial expression. It is used again in the tragedy of *Cæsar and Pompey*, 1607:

“Men's eyes must mill-stones drop, when fools shed tears.”

STEEVENS.

² ———faithful man,] Not an infidel. JOHNSON.

³ Clarence was desirous to assist his sister Margaret against the French king, who invaded her jointure-lands after the death of her husband, Charles duke of Burgundy, who was killed at the siege of Nancy, in January 1476-7. Isabel the wife of Clarence being then dead, (taken off by poison, administered by the duke of Gloster, as it has been conjectured,) he wished to have married Mary the daughter and heir of the duke of Burgundy; but the match was opposed by Edward, who hoped to have obtained her for his brother-in-law, Lord Rivers; and this circumstance has been suggested as the principle cause of the breach between Edward and Clarence.

And, in my company, my brother Gloster :
 Who from my cabin tempted me to walk
 Upon the hatches; thence we look'd toward England,
 And cited up a thousand heavy times,
 During the wars of York and Lancaster
 That had befall'n us. As we pac'd along
 Upon the giddy footing of the hatches,
 Methought, that Gloster stumbled; and, in falling,
 Struck me, that thought to stay him, over-board,
 Into the tumbling billows of the main.

O Lord! methought, what pain it was to drown!
 What dreadful noise of water in mine ears!
 What fights of ugly death within mine eyes!
 Methought, I saw a thousand fearful wrecks;
 A thousand men, that fishes gnaw'd upon;
 Wedges of gold, great anchors, heaps of pearl,
 Inestimable stones, unvalued jewels,⁴
 All scatter'd in the bottom of the sea.
 Some lay in dead men's skulls; and, in those holes
 Where eyes did once inhabit, there were crept
 (As 'twere in scorn of eyes,) reflecting gems,
 That woo'd the slimy bottom⁵ of the deep,
 And mock'd the dead bones that lay scatter'd by.

Brak. Had you such leisure in the time of death,
 To gaze upon these secrets of the deep?

Clar. Methought, I had; and often did I strive
 To yield the ghost: but still the envious flood
 Kept in my soul, and would not let it forth
 To seek the empty, vast, and wand'ring air;⁶

But :

Clarence. Mary of Burgundy however chose a husband for herself,
 having married in August 1477 Maximilian, son of the Emperor Frede-
 rick. MALONE.

⁴ *Unvalued* is here used for *invaluable*. MALONE.

⁵ By seeming to gaze upon it; or, as we now say, to ogle it.

JOHNSON.

⁶ Perhaps we should point thus :

To seek the empty vast, and wand'ring air.

that is, to seek the immense vacuity. *Vast* is used by our author as a substantive in other places.

Seek is the reading of the quarto, 1598; the folio has *find*. MALONE.

Vast, is *waste*, *desolate*—*vastum per inane*. STEEVENS.

But smother'd it within my panting bulk,⁷
Which almost burst to beach it in the sea.

Brak. Awak'd you not with this fore agony?

Clar. O, no, my dream was lengthen'd after life;
O, then began the tempest to my soul!

I pass'd, methought, the melancholy flood,
With that grim ferryman which poets write of,
Unto the kingdom of perpetual night.

The first that there did greet my stranger soul,
Was my great father-in law, renowned Warwick;

Who cry'd aloud,—*What scourge for perjury*

Can this dark monarchy afford false Clarence?

And so he vanish'd: Then came wand'ring by

A shadow like an angel, with bright hair

Dabbled in blood; and he shriek'd out aloud,—

*Clarence is come,—false, fleeting, perjur'd Clarence,*⁸—

That stabb'd me in the field by Tewksbury;—

Seize on him, furies, take him to your torments!—

With that, methought, a legion of foul fiends

Environ'd me,⁹ and howled in mine ears

Such hideous cries, that, with the very noise,

I trembling wak'd, and, for a season after,

Could not believe but that I was in hell;

Such terrible impression made my dream.

Brak. No marvel, lord, though it affrighted you;
I am afraid, methinks, to hear you tell it.

Clar. O, Brakenbury, I have done these things,—

That now give evidence against my soul,—

For Edward's sake; and, see, how he requites me!—

O God! if my deep prayers cannot appease thee,

But thou wilt be aveng'd on my misdeeds,

Yet execute thy wrath on me alone:

O, spare my guiltless wife,² and my poor children!—

I pray

⁷ *Bulk* is often used by Shakspeare and his contemporaries for *body*.

MALONE.

⁸ *Fleeting* is the same as *changing sides*. JOHNSON.

⁹ Milton seems to have thought on this passage where he is describing the midnight sufferings of Our Saviour, in the 4th book of *Paradise Regain'd*. STEEVENS.

² The wife of Clarence died before he was apprehended and confined in the Tower. MALONE.

I pray thee, gentle keeper, stay by me ;
My soul is heavy, and I fain would sleep.

Brak. I will, my lord ; God give your grace good rest !—

[*Clarence reposes himself on a chair.*

Sorrow breaks seasons,³ and reposing hours,
Makes the night morning, and the noon-tide night.
Princes have but their titles for their glories,
An outward honour for an inward toil ;⁴
And, for unfelt imaginations,
They often feel a world of restless cares :⁵
So that, between their titles, and low name,
There's nothing differs but the outward fame.

Enter the two Murderers.

1. *Murd.* Ho ! who's here ?

Brak. What would'st thou, fellow ? and how cam'st thou hither ?

1. *Murd.* I would speak with Clarence, and I came hither on my legs.

Brak. What, so brief ?

2. *Murd.* O, sir, 'tis better to be brief, than tedious :—
Let him see our commission ; talk no more.

[*A paper is delivered to Brakenbury, who reads it.*

Brak. I am, in this, commanded to deliver
The noble duke of Clarence to your hands :—
I will not reason what is meant hereby,
Because I will be guiltless of the meaning.
Here are the keys ;—there sits the duke asleep :

III

³ In the common editions, the keeper is made to hold the dialogue with Clarence till this line. And here Brakenbury enters, pronouncing these words ; which seem to me a reflection naturally resulting from the foregoing conversation, and therefore continued to be spoken by the same person, as it is accordingly in the first edition. POPE

The keeper introduced in the quarto 1598, was, in fact, Brakenbury, who was lieutenant of the Tower. There can be no doubt therefore that the text, which is regulated according to the quarto, is right. MALONE.

⁴ The first line may be understood in this sense, *The glories of princes are nothing more than empty titles* : but it would more impress the purpose of the speaker, and correspond better with the following lines, if it were read :

Princes have but their titles for their troubles. JOHNSON.

⁵ They often suffer real miseries for imaginary and unreal gratifications. JOHNSON.

I'll to the king; and signify to him,
That thus I have resign'd to you my charge.

1. *Murd.* You may, sir; 'tis a point of wisdom:
Fare you well. [Exit Brakenbury.]

2. *Murd.* What, shall we stab him as he sleeps?

1. *Murd.* No; he'll say, 'twas done cowardly, when he wakes.

2. *Murd.* When he wakes! why, fool, he shall never wake until the great judgement day.

1. *Murd.* Why, then he'll say, we stabb'd him sleeping.

2. *Murd.* The urging of that word, judgement, hath bred a kind of remorse in me.

1. *Murd.* What? art thou afraid?

2. *Murd.* Not to kill him, having a warrant for it; but to be damn'd for killing him, from the which no warrant can defend me.

1. *Murd.* I thought, thou had'st been resolute.

2. *Murd.* So I am, to let him live.

1. *Murd.* I'll back to the duke of Gloster, and tell him so.

2. *Murd.* Nay, I pr'ythee, stay a little: I hope, this holy humour of mine⁷ will change; it was wont to hold me but while one would tell twenty.

1. *Murd.* How dost thou feel thyself now?

2. *Murd.* 'Faith, some certain dregs of conscience are yet within me.

1. *Murd.* Remember our reward, when the deed's done.

2. *Murd.* Come, he dies; I had forgot the reward.

1. *Murd.* Where's thy conscience now?

2. *Murd.* In the duke of Gloster's purse.

1. *Murd.* So, when he opens his purse to give us our reward, thy conscience flies out.

2. *Murd.*

⁷ Thus the early quarto. The folio has—this *passionate* humour of mine, for which the modern editors have substituted *compassionate*, unnecessarily. *Passionate*, though not so good an epithet as that which is furnished by the quarto, is sufficiently intelligible.

The second murderer's next speech proves that *boly* was the author's word. The player editors probably changed it, as they did many others, on account of the Statute, 3 Jac. I. c. 21. A little lower, they, from the same apprehension, omitted the word, 'faith. MALONE.

2. *Murd.* 'Tis no matter; let it go; there's few, or none, will entertain it.

1. *Murd.* What, if it come to thee again?

2. *Murd.* I'll not meddle with it, it is a dangerous thing, it makes a man a coward; a man cannot steal, but it accuseth him; a man cannot swear, but it checks him; a man cannot lie with his neighbour's wife, but it detects him: 'Tis a blushing shame-faced spirit, that mutinies in a man's bosom; it fills one full of obstacles: it made me once restore a purse of gold, that by chance I found; it beggars any man that keeps it: it is turn'd out of all towns and cities for a dangerous thing; and every man, that means to live well, endeavours to trust to himself, and live without it.

1. *Murd.* Zounds, it is even now at my elbow, persuading me not to kill the duke.

2. *Murd.* Take the devil in thy mind, and believe him not: he would insinuate with thee, but to make thee sigh.

1. *Murd.* I am strong-fram'd, he cannot prevail with me.

2. *Murd.* Spoke like a tall fellow,⁹ that respects his reputation. Come, shall we fall to work?

1. *Murd.* Take him over the costard² with the hilts of thy sword, and then throw him into the malmsey-butt, in the next room.

2. *Murd.* O excellent device! and make a sop of him.

1. *Murd.*

⁸ One villain says, *Conscience* is at his elbows, persuading him not to kill the duke. The other says, take the devil into thy nearer acquaintance, into *thy mind*, who will be a match for thy conscience, and believe it not, &c. It is plain then, that *him* in both places in the text should be *it*, namely, conscience. WARBURTON.

Shakspeare so frequently uses both these pronouns indiscriminately, that no correction is necessary. STEEVENS.

In *The Merchant of Venice* we have a long *dialogue* between Launcelot, his *Conscience*, and the Devil. But though conscience were not here personified, Shakspeare would have used *him* instead of *it*. He does so in almost every page of these plays. MALONE.

⁹ The meaning of *tall*, in old English, is *stout, daring, fearless, and strong*. JOHNSON.

² i. e. the head; a name adopted from an apple shaped like a man's head. So, in *Arden of Feversham*, 1592:

“One and two rounds at his *costard*.”

Hence likewise the term—*costar-monger*. STEEVENS.

1. *Murd.* Soft! he wakes.

2. *Murd.* Strike.

1. *Murd.* No, we'll reason³ with him.

Clar. Where art thou, keeper? give me a cup of wine.

1. *Murd.* You shall have wine enough, my lord, anon.

Clar. In God's name, what art thou?

1. *Murd.* A man, as you are.

Clar. But not, as I am, royal.

1. *Murd.* Nor you, as we are, loyal.

Clar. Thy voice is thunder, but thy looks are humble.

1. *Murd.* My voice is now the king's, my looks mine own.

Clar. How darkly, and how deadly dost thou speak!
Your eyes do menace me: Why look you pale?
Who sent you hither? Wherefore do you come?

Both Murd. To, to, to,—

Clar. To murder me?

Both Murd. Ay, ay.

Clar. You scarcely have the hearts to tell me so,
And therefore cannot have the hearts to do it.
Wherein, my friends, have I offended you?

1. *Murd.* Offended us you have not, but the king.

Clar. I shall be reconcil'd to him again.

2. *Murd.* Never, my lord; therefore prepare to die.

Clar. Are you call'd forth from out a world of men?⁴
To slay the innocent? What is my offence?
Where is the evidence that doth accuse me?
What lawful quest⁵ have given their verdict up
Unto the frowning judge? or who pronounc'd
The bitter sentence of poor Clarence' death?
Before I be convict by course of law,⁶

To

³ ———we'll reason———] We'll talk. JOHNSON.

⁴ I think it may be better read:

Are ye call'd forth—— JOHNSON.

The folio reads:

Are you drawn forth among a world of men.

I adhere to the reading now in the text. STEEVENS.

⁵ *Quest* is *inquest* or jury. JOHNSON.

⁶ Shakspeare has followed the current tale of his own time, in supposing that Clarence was imprisoned by Edward, and put to death by order of his brother

To threaten me with death, is most unlawful.
 I charge you, as you hope for any goodness,
 By Christ's dear blood shed for our grievous sins,
 That you depart, and lay no hands on me;
 The deed you undertake is damnable.

1. *Murd.* What we will do, we do upon command.

2. *Murd.* And he, that hath commanded, is our king.

Clar. Erroneous vassal! the great King of kings
 Hath in the table of his law commanded,
 That thou shalt do no murder; Wilt thou then
 Spurn at his edict, and fulfil a man's?
 Take heed; for he holds vengeance in his hand,
 To hurl upon their heads that break his law.

2. *Murd.* And that same vengeance doth he hurl on thee,
 For false forswearing, and for murder too:
 Thou didst receive the sacrament, to fight
 In quarrel of the house of Lancaster.

1. *Murd.* And, like a traitor to the name of God,
 Didst break that vow; and, with thy treacherous blade,
 Unrip'dst the bowels of thy sovereign's son.

2. *Murd.* Whom thou wast sworn to cherish and defend.

1. *Murd.* How canst thou urge God's dreadful law to us,
 When thou hast broke it in such dear⁷ degree?

Clar. Alas! for whose sake did I that ill deed?
 For Edward, for my brother, for his sake:
 He sends you not to murder me for this:
 For in that sin he is as deep as I.
 If God will be avenged for the deed,
 O, know you, that he doth it publickly;⁸

Take

brother Richard, without trial or condemnation. But the truth is, that he was tried, and found guilty by his Peers, and a bill of attainder was afterwards passed against him. According to Sir Thomas More, his death was *commanded* by *Edward*; but he does not *assert* that the duke of Gloster was the instrument. Polydore Virgil says, though he talked with several persons who lived at the time, he never could get any certain account of the motives that induced Edward to put his brother to death. See p. 398, n. 3. MALONE.

⁷ This is a word of mere enforcement, and very frequently occurs, with different shades of meaning, in our author. STEEVENS.

⁸ The old copies—O, know you yet—. but we should read—*tha*

Take not the quarrel from his powerful arm;
He needs no indirect nor lawless course,
To cut off those that have offended him.

1. *Murd.* Who made thee then a bloody minister,
When gallant-springing, brave Plantagenet,⁸
That princely novice,⁹ was struck dead by thee?

Clar. My brother's love, the devil, and my rage.

1. *Murd.* Thy brother's love, our duty, and thy fault,
Provoke us hither now to slaughter thee.

Clar. If you do love my brother, hate not me;
I am his brother, and I love him well.
If you are hir'd for meed,² go back again,
And I will send you to my brother Gloster;
Who shall reward you better for my life,
Than Edward will for tidings of my death.

2. *Murd.* You are deceiv'd, your brother Gloster hates
you.³

Clar. O, no; he loves me, and he holds me dear:
Go you to him from me.

Both

stead of *yet*. In the MS. copy *that* would naturally have been written *yt*.
Hence the mistake, which I have corrected, by the advice of Dr. Farmer.

STEVENS.

⁸ Blooming Plantagenet; a prince in the *spring* of life. JOHNSON.

This should be printed as one word, I think:—*gallant-springing*.
Shakspeare is fond of these compound epithets, in which the first adjective
is to be considered as an adverb. So, in this play he uses *childish-foolish*,
senseless-obstinate and *mortal-staring*. TYRWHITT.

⁹ Youth; one yet *new* to the world. JOHNSON.

² Thus the quarto 1597 and the folio. The quarto 1598, reads. If
you *be* hired for *need*; which is likewise sense: If it be *necessity* which
induces you to commit this murder. MALONE.

³ Mr. Walpole some years ago, suggested, from the Chronicle of Croy-
land, that the true cause of Gloster's hatred to Clarence was, that Clarence
was unwilling to share with his brother that moiety of the estate of the
great earl of Warwick, to which Gloster became entitled on his marriage
with the younger sister of the dutchess of Clarence, Lady Anne Neville,
who had been betrothed to Edward prince of Wales. This account of the
matter is fully confirmed by a letter, dated Feb. 14, 1471-2, which has
been lately published. *Paston Letters*, Vol. II. p. 91. "Yesterday the
king, the queen, my lords of Clarence and Gloucester, went to Shene to
pardon; men say, not all in charity. The king entreateth my lord of
Clarence for my lord of Gloucester; and, as it is said, he answereth, that
he may well have my lady his sister-in-law, but *they shall part no livelibeod*,
as he saith; so, what will fall, can I not say." MALONE.

Both Murd. Ay, so we will.

Clar. Tell him, when that our princely father York
Bless'd his three sons with his victorious arm,
And charg'd us from his soul to love each other,
He little thought of this divided friendship:
Bid Gloster think on this, and he will weep.

1. *Murd.* Ay, mill-stones; as he lesson'd us to weep.

Clar. O, do not slander him, for he is kind.

1. *Murd.* Right, as snow in harvest.—Come, you deceive yourself;

'Tis he that sends us to destroy you here.

Clar. It cannot be; for he bewept my fortune,
And hugg'd me in his arms, and swore, with sobs,
That he would labour my delivery.

1. *Murd.* Why, so he doth, when he delivers you
From this earth's thralldom to the joys of heaven.

2. *Murd.* Make peace with God, for you must die, my lord.

Clar. Hast thou that holy feeling in thy soul,
To counsel me to make my peace with God,
And art thou yet to thy own soul so blind,
That thou wilt war with God by murdering me?—
Ah, first, consider he, that set you on
To do this deed, will hate you for the deed.

2. *Murd.* What shall we do?

Clar. Relent, and save your souls.⁴

1. *Murd.* Relent! 'tis cowardly, and womanish.

Clar. Not to relent, is beastly, savage, devilish.—
Which of you, if you were a prince's son,
Being pent from liberty, as I am now,—
If two such murderers as yourselves came to you,—
Would not entreat for life?—
My friend, I spy some pity in thy looks;
O, if thine eye be not a flatterer,
Come thou on my side, and entreat for me,
As you would beg, were you in my distress.

A beg-

⁴ The six following lines are not in the old edition. POPE.

They are not necessary, but so forced in, that something seems omitted
to which these lines are the answer. JOHNSON.

A begging prince what beggar pities not?⁵

2. *Murd.* Look behind you, my lord.

1. *Murd.* Take that, and that; if all this will not do,

[*Stabs him,*

I'll drown you in the malmsey-butt within.

[*Exit, with the body.*

2. *Murd.* A bloody deed, and desparately despatch'd!
How fain, like Pilate, would I wash my hands
Of this most grievous guilty murder done!

Re-enter first Murderer.

1. *Murd.* How now? what mean'st thou, that thou help'st
me not?

By heaven, the duke shall know how slack you have been.

2. *Murd.* I would he knew, that I had sav'd his brother!
Take thou the fee, and tell him what I say;

For I repent me that the duke is slain.

[*Exit.*

1. *Murd.* So do not I; go, coward, as thou art.—

Well, I'll go hide the body in some hole,

Till that the duke give order for his burial:

And when I have my meed, I will away;

For this will out, and then I must not stay.

[*Exit.*

⁵ I cannot but suspect that the lines, which Mr. Pope observed not to be in the old edition, are now misplaced, and should be inserted here, somewhat after this manner:

Clar. A begging prince what beggar pities not?

Vil. A begging prince!

Clar. Which of you if you were a prince's son, &c.

Upon this provocation, the villain naturally strikes him. JOHNSON.
Mr. Pope's note is not accurately stated. I believe this passage should be regulated thus.

Clar. Relent and save your souls.

1 *Vil.* Relent! 'tis cowardly and womanish.

Clar. Not to relent is beastly, savage, devilish, &c. &c.

TYRWHITT.

I think with Mr. Tyrwhitt that these lines have been inserted in a wrong place. MALONE.

I have regulated the text according to Mr. Tyrwhitt's instruction.

STEEVENS.

A C T

ACT II. SCENE I.

The same. A Room in the Palace.

Enter King EDWARD, (led in sick,) Queen ELIZABETH, DORSET, RIVERS, HASTINGS, BUCKINGHAM, GREY, and Others.

K. Edw. Why, so:—now have I done a good day's work;—

You peers, continue this united league :
I every day expect an embassage
From my Redeemer to redeem me hence ;
And more in peace my soul shall part to heaven,
Since I have made my friends at peace on earth.
Rivers, and Hastings, take each other's hand :
Dissemble not your hatred,^s swear your love.

Riv. By heaven, my soul is purg'd from grudging hate ;
And with my hand I seal my true heart's love.

Hast. So thrive I, as I truly swear the like !

K. Edw. Take heed, you dally not before your king ;
Lest he, that is the supreme King of kings,
Confound your hidden falsehood, and award
Either of you to be the other's end.

Hast. So prosper I, as I swear perfect love !

Riv. And I, as I love Hastings with my heart !

K. Edw. Madam, yourself are not exempt in this,—
Nor your son Dorset,—Buckingham, nor you;—
You have been factious one against the other.
Wife, love lord Hastings, let him kiss your hand ;
And what you do, do it unfeignedly.

Q. Eliz. There, Hastings;—I will never more remember
Our former hatred, So thrive I, and mine !

K. Edw. Dorset, embrace him,—Hastings, love lord
marquis.

Dor.

^s i. e. do not gloss it over. STEEVENS.

I suppose he means, Divest yourselves of that concealed hatred which you have heretofore secretly borne to each other. Do not merely, says Edward, conceal and cover over your secret ill will to each other by a show of love, but eradicate hatred altogether from your bosoms. MALONE.

Dor. This interchange of love, I here protest,
Upon my part, shall be inviolable.

Hast. And so swear I.

[*embraces Dorset.*]

K. Edw. Now, princely Buckingham, seal thou this
league

With thy embracements to my wife's allies,
And make me happy in your unity.

Buck. Whenever Buckingham doth turn his hate
Upon your grace, [*to the Queen.*] but with all duteous love
Doth cherish you, and yours, God punish me
With hate in those where I expect most love!
When I have most need to employ a friend,
And most assured that he is a friend,
Deep, hollow, treacherous, and full of guile,
Be he unto me! this do I beg of heaven,
When I am cold in love, to you or yours.

[*Embracing RIVERS, &c.*]

K. Edw. A pleasing cordial, princely Buckingham,
Is this thy vow unto my sickly heart.

There wanteth now our brother Gloster here,
To make the blessed period of this peace.

Buck. And, in good time, here comes the noble duke.

Enter GLOSTER.

Glo. Good-morrow to my sovereign king, and queen;
And, princely peers, a happy time of day!

K. Edw. Happy, indeed, as we have spent the day:
Brother, we have done deeds of charity;
Made peace of enmity, fair love of hate,
Between these swelling wrong-incensed peers.

Glo. A blessed labour, my most sovereign liege.
Among this princely heap, if any here,
By false intelligence, or wrong surmise,
Hold me a foe;
If I unwittingly, or in my rage,⁶

Have

⁶ So the quarto. Folio—*unwillingly*. This line and the preceding hemistick are printed in the old copies, as one line; a mistake that has very frequently happened in the early editions of these plays. Mr. Pope, by whose licentious alterations our author's text was much corrupted, omitted the words—*or in my rage*; in which he has been followed by all the subsequent editors. MALONE.

Have aught committed that is hardly borne
 By any in this presence, I desire
 To reconcile me to his friendly peace :
 'Tis death to me, to be at enmity ;
 I hate it, and desire all good men's love.—
 First, madam, I entreat true peace of you,
 Which I will purchase with my duteous service ;
 Of you, my noble cousin Buckingham,
 If ever any grudge were lodg'd between us ;—
 Of you, lord Rivers,—and lord Grey, of you,—
 That all without desert have frown'd on me ;⁷
 Dukes, earls, lords, gentlemen ; indeed, of all.
 I do not know ⁸ that Englishman alive,
 With whom my soul is any jot at odds,
 More than the infant that is born to-night ;
 I thank my God for my humility.

Q. Eliz. A holyday shall this be kept hereafter :—
 I would to God, all strifes were well compounded.—
 My sovereign lord, I do beseech your highness
 To take our brother Clarence to your grace.

Glo.

⁷ I have followed the original copy in quarto. The folio adds :

Of you, lord Woodville, and lord Scales, of you ;—

The eldest son of Lord Rivers was lord Scales ; but there was no such person as lord Woodville. MALONE.

⁸ Milton in his ΕΙΚΟΝΟΚΛΑΣΤΗΣ, has this observation. “ The poets, and some English, have been in this point so mindful of decorum, as to put never more pious words in the mouth of any person, than of a tyrant. I shall not instance an abstruse author, wherein the king might be less conversant, but one whom we well know was the closet-companion of these his solitudes, William Shakespeare ; who introduced the person of Richard the Third, speaking in as high a strain of piety and mortification as is uttered in any passage in this book, and sometimes to the same sense and purpose with some words in this place ; *I intended*, saith he, *not only to oblige my friends, but my enemies*. The like saith Richard, Act II. sc. i :

“ I do not know that Englishman alive

“ With whom my soul is any jot at odds,

“ More than the infant that is born to-night ;

“ I thank my God for my humility.”

Other stuff of this sort may be read throughout the tragedy, wherein the poet used not much licence in departing from the truth of history, which delivers him a deep dissembler, not of his affections only, but of religion.”

STEEVENS.

Glo. Why, madam, have I offer'd love for this,
To be so flouted in this royal presence?
Who knows not, that the gentle duke is dead?

[*They all start.*]

You do him injury, to scorn his corse.

K. Edw. Who knows not, he is dead! who knows he is?

Q. Eliz. All-seeing heaven, what a world is this!

Buck. Look I so pale, lord Dorset, as the rest?

Dor. Ay, my good lord; and no man in the presence,
But his red colour hath forsook his cheeks.

K. Edw. Is Clarence dead? the order was revers'd.

Glo. But he, poor man, by your first order died,
And that a winged Mercury did bear;
Some tardy cripple bore the countermand,⁹
That came too lag to see him buried:—
God grant, that some, less noble, and less loyal,
Nearer in bloody thoughts, and not in blood,
Deserve not worse than wretched Clarence did,
And yet go current from suspicion!

Enter STANLEY.

Stan. A boon, my sovereign, for my service done!

K. Edw. I pr'ythee, peace; my soul is full of sorrow.

Stan. I will not rise, unless your highness hear me.

K. Edw. Then say at once, what is it thou request'st.

Stan. The forfeit,² sovereign, of my servant's life;
Who slew to-day a riotous gentleman,
Lately attendant on the duke of Norfolk.

K. Edw. Have I a tongue to doom my brother's death,³
And shall that tongue give pardon to a slave?
My brother kill'd no man, his fault was thought,
And yet his punishment was bitter death.
Who sued to me for him? ⁴ who, in my wrath,

Kneel'd

⁹ This is an allusion to a proverbial expression which Drayton has versified in the second canto of *The Barons' Wars*. STEEVENS.

² He means the *remission* of the forfeit. JOHNSON.

³ This lamentation is very tender and pathetick. The recollection of the good qualities of the dead is very natural, and no less naturally does the king endeavour to communicate the crime to others. JOHNSON.

⁴ This pathetick speech is founded on a slight hint in Sir Thomas More's *History of Edward V.* inserted by Holinshed in his Chronicle.

Kneel'd at my feet, and bade me be advis'd? ⁵
 Who spoke of brotherhood? who spoke of love?
 Who told me, how the poor soul did forsake
 The mighty Warwick, and did fight for me?
 Who told me, in the field at Tewksbury,
 When Oxford had me down, he rescu'd me,
 And said, *Dear brother, live, and be a king?*
 Who told me, when we both lay in the field,
 Frozen almost to death, how he did lap me
 Even in his garments; and did give himself,
 All thin and naked, to the numb-cold night?
 All this from my remembrance brutish wrath
 Sinfully pluck'd, and not a man of you
 Had so much grace to put it in my mind.
 But, when your carters, or your waiting-vassals,
 Have done a drunken slaughter, and defac'd
 The precious image of our dear Redeemer,
 You straight are on your knees for pardon, pardon;
 And I, unjustly too, must grant it you:
 But for my brother, not a man would speak,—
 Nor I (ungracious) speak unto myself
 For him, poor soul.—The proudest of you all
 Have been beholden to him in his life;
 Yet none of you would once plead for his life.—
 O God! I fear thy justice will take hold
 On me, and you, and mine, and yours, for this.—
 Come, Hastings, help me to my closet.⁶ O,
 Poor Clarence!

*[Exeunt King, Queen, Hastings, Rivers, Dorset,
 and Grey.]*

Glo. This is the fruit of rashness!—Mark'd you not,
 How that the guilty kindred of the queen
 Look'd pale, when they did hear of Clarence' death?
 O! they did urge it still unto the king:
 God will revenge it. Come, lords; will you go,
 To comfort Edward with our company?

Buck. We wait upon your grace.

[Exeunt.]
 SCENE

⁵ i. e. deliberate; consider what I was about to do. MALONE.

⁶ Hastings was Lord Chamberlain to king Edward IV. MALONE.

SCENE II.

*The same.**Enter the Duchess of York,⁷ with a son and daughter of Clarence.**Son.* Good grandam, tell us, is our father dead?*Duch.* No, boy.*Daugh.* Why do you weep so oft? and beat your breast;
And cry O Clarence, *my unhappy son!**Son.* Why do you look on us, and shake your head,
And call us—orphans, wretches, cast-aways,
If that our noble father be alive?*Duch.* My pretty cousins,⁸ you mistake me both;
I do lament the sickness of the king,
As loath to lose him, not your father's death;
It were lost sorrow, to wail one that's lost.*Son.* Then, grandam, you conclude that he is dead.
The king my uncle is to blame for this:
God will revenge it; whom I will importune
With earnest prayers, all to that effect.*Daugh.* And so will I.*Duch.* Peace, children, peace! the king doth love you
well:
Incapable and shallow innocents,⁹

You cannot guess who caus'd your father's death.

Son. Grandam, we can: for my good uncle Gloster
Told me, the king, provok'd to't by the queen,
Devis'd impeachments to imprison him:
And when my uncle told me so, he wept,

And

⁷ Cecily daughter of Ralph Neville first earl of Westmoreland, and widow of Richard duke of York, who was killed at the battle of Wakefield in 1460. She survived her husband thirty-five years, living till the year 1495. MALONE.

⁸ The duchess is here addressing her grandchildren; but *cousin* was the term used in Shakspeare's time, by uncles to nephews and nieces, grandfathers to grandchildren, &c. It seems to have been used instead of our *kinsman*, and *kinswoman*, and to have supplied the place of both.

MALONE.

In the *Inquisitiones post mortem* *cousin* (*consanguineus*) was always applied to the next of kin. NICHOLS.

⁹ Incapable is unintelligent. MALONE.

And pitied me, and kindly kifs'd my cheek ;
 Bade me rely on him, as on my father,
 And he would love me dearly as his child.

Duch. Ah, that deceit should steal such gentle shapes,
 And with a virtuous visor hide deep vice !
 He is my son, ay, and therein my shame,
 Yet from my dugs he drew not this deceit.

Son. Think you, my uncle did dissemble,² grandam ?

Duch. Ay, boy.

Son. I cannot think it. Hark ! what noise is this ?

*Enter Queen ELIZABETH, distractedly ; RIVERS, and
 DORSET, following her.*

Q. Eliz. Ah ! who shall hinder me to wail and weep ?
 To chide my fortune, and torment myself ?
 I'll join with black despair against my soul,
 And to myself become an enemy.

Duch. What means this scene of rude impatience ?

Q. Eliz. To make an act of tragick violence :—
 Edward, my lord, thy son, our king, is dead.
 Why grow the branches, when the root is gone ?
 Why wither not the leaves, that want their sap ?—
 If you will live, lament ; if die, be brief ;
 That our swift-winged souls may catch the king's ;
 Or, like obedient subjects, follow him
 To his new kingdom of perpetual rest.

Duch. Ah, so much interest have I in thy sorrow,
 As I had title in thy noble husband !
 I have bewept a worthy husband's death,
 And liv'd by looking on his images :³
 But now, two mirrors of his princely semblance
 Are crack'd in pieces by malignant death ;
 And I for comfort have but one false glass,
 That grieves me when I see my shame in him.
 Thou art a widow ; yet thou art a mother,

And

² Shakspeare uses *dissemble* in the sense of acting fraudulently, feigning what we do not feel or think ; though strictly it means to conceal our real thoughts or affections. MALONE.

³ The children by whom he was represented. JOHNSON.

And hast the comfort of thy children left thee :
 But death hath snatch'd my husband from mine arms,
 And pluck'd two crutches from my feeble hands,
 Clarence, and Edward. O, what cause have I,
 (Thine being but a moiety of my grief,)

To over-go thy plaints, and drown thy cries ?

Son. Ah, aunt ! you wept not for our father's death ;
 How can we aid you with our kindred tears ?

Daugh. Our fatherless distrefs was left unmoan'd,
 Your widow-dolour likewise be unwept !

Q. Eliz. Give me no help in lamentation,
 I am not barren to bring forth laments :
 All springs reduce their currents to mine eyes,
 That I, being govern'd by the watry moon,⁴
 May send forth plenteous tears to drown the world !
 Ah, for my husband, for my dear lord Edward !

Chil. Ah, for our father, for our dear lord Clarence !

Duch. Alas, for both, both mine, Edward and Clarence !

Q. Eliz. What stay had I, but Edward ? and he's gone.

Chil. What stay had we, but Clarence ? and he's gone.

Duch. What stays had I, but they ? and they are gone.

Q. Eliz. Was never widow, had so dear a loss.

Chil. Were never orphans, had so dear a loss.

Duch. Was never mother, had so dear a loss.

Alas ! I am the mother of these griefs ;
 Their woes are parcell'd, mine are general.
 She for an Edward weeps, and so do I ;
 I for a Clarence weep, so doth not she :
 These babes for Clarence weep, and so do I :
 I for an Edward weep, so do not they : ⁵—

Alas !

⁴ That I may live hereafter under the influence of the moon, which governs the tides, and by the help of that influence drown the world. The introduction of the moon is not very natural. JOHNSON.

The same thought has already occurred in *King Henry IV. P. I.*
 “ — being governed, as the sea is, by the moon.” STEEVENS.

⁵ The text is here made out partly from the folio and partly from the quarto. In the quarto this and the preceding line stand thus :

These babes for Clarence weep, and so do I ;

I for an Edward weep, and so do they.

The end of the second line is evidently corrupted. In the Ms. from which

Alas! you three, on me, threefold distress'd,
Pour all your tears, I am your sorrow's nurse,
And I will pamper it with lamentations.

Dor. Comfort, dear mother; God is much displeas'd,
That you take with unthankfulness his doing:
In common worldly things, tis call'd—ungrateful,
With dull unwillingness to repay a debt,
Which with a bounteous hand was kindly lent;
Much more, to be thus opposite with heaven,⁶
For it requires⁷ the royal debt it lent you.

Riv. Madam, bethink you, like a careful mother,
Of the young prince your son: send straight for him,
Let him be crown'd; in him your comfort lives:
Drown desperate sorrow in dead Edward's grave,
And plant your joys in living Edward's throne.

Enter

which the folio was printed, or in a corrected quarto copy, the two lines undoubtedly were right:

These babes for Clarence weep, [*and so do I;*
I for an Edward weep,] so do NOT they.

But the compositor's eye passing over two half lines, the passage was printed thus in the folio, in one line:

These babes for Clarence weep, so do not they.

I have stated this matter thus particularly, because it confirms an observation that I have more than once had occasion to make in revising these plays; that there is reason to suspect that many of the difficulties in our author's works have arisen from the omission of either single words, single lines, or the latter half of one line with the half of the next: a solution which readers are very slow to admit, and generally consider as chimerical. One week's acquaintance with the business of the press (without those proofs which a collation of the quartos with each other and with the first folio affords) would soon convince them that my supposition is not a mere offspring of imagination. In the plays of which there is no authentick copy but the first folio, there is no means of *proving* such omissions to have happened; but the present and other proofs of their having actually happened in the other plays, lay surely a reasonable ground for conjecturing that similar errors have happened in those pieces of which there is only a single ancient copy extant, and entitle such conjectures to indulgence. In this note, and throughout this play, where I have spoken of *the quarto*, without any specification of the year when printed, I meant the quarto 1598, the earliest which I had then seen. The quarto 1597, I find, corresponds with the text. MALONE.

⁶ This was the phraseology of the time. MALONE.

⁷ For it requires——] i. e. because. STEEVENS.

Enter GLOSTER, BUCKINGHAM, STANLEY, HASTINGS,
RATCLIFF, and Others.

Glo. Sister, have comfort: all of us have cause
To wail the dimming of our shining star;
But none can cure their harms by wailing them.—
Madam, my mother, I do cry you mercy,
I did not see your grace:—Humbly on my knee
I crave your blessing.

Duch. God bless thee; and put meekness in thy breast,
Love, charity, obedience, and true duty!

Glo. Amen; and make me die a good old man!—
That is the butt-end of a mother's blessing; [Aside.
I marvel, that her grace did leave it out.

Buck. You cloudy princes, and heart-sorrowing peers,
That bear this mutual heavy load of moan,
Now cheer each other, in each other's love:
Though we have spent our harvest of this king,
We are to reap the harvest of his son.
The broken rancour of your high-swoln hearts,
But lately splinted, knit, and join'd together,
Must gently be preserv'd, cherish'd, and kept:⁸
Me seemeth good, that, with some little train,
Forthwith from Ludlow the young prince be fetch'd⁹
Hither to London, to be crown'd our king.

Riv. Why with some little train, my lord of Bucking-
ham?

Buck. Marry, my lord, left, by a multitude,

The

⁸ As this passage stands, it is the rancour of their hearts that is to be preserv'd and cherished.—But we must not attempt to amend this mistake, as it seems to proceed from the inadvertancy of Shakspeare himself.

M. MASON.

Their broken *rancour* recently *splinted* and *knit*, the poet considers as a *new league of amity and concord*; and this it is that Buckingham exhorts them to preserve. MALONE.

⁹ Edward the young prince, in his father's life time, and at his demise, kept his household at Ludlow, as prince of Wales; under the governance of Antony Woodville, earl of Rivers, his uncle by the mother's side. The intention of his being sent thither was to see justice done in the Marches; and, by the authority of his presence, to restrain the Welshmen, who were wild, dissolute, and ill-disposed, from their accustomed murders and outrages. Vid. Hall, Holinshed, &c. THEOBALD.

The new-heal'd wound of malice should break out ;
Which would be so much the more dangerous,
By how much the estate is green, and yet ungovern'd :
Where every horse bears his commanding rein,
And may direct his course as please himself,
As well the fear of harm, as harm apparent,
In my opinion, ought to be prevented.

Glo. I hope, the king made peace with all of us ;
And the compact is firm, and true, in me.

Riv. And so in me ;² and so, I think, in all :
Yet, since it is but green, it should be put
To no apparent likelihood of breach,
Which, haply, by much company might be urg'd :
Therefore I say, with noble Buckingham,
That it is meet so few should fetch the prince.

Hast. And so say I.

Glo. Then be it so ; and go we to determine
Who they shall be that straight shall post to Ludlow.
Madam,—and you my mother,—will you go
To give your censures³ in this weighty business ?

[*Exeunt all but BUCKINGHAM and GLOSTER.*]

Buck. My lord, whoever journeys to the prince,
For God's sake, let not us two stay at home :
For, by the way, I'll fort occasion,
As index to the story⁴ we late talk'd of,
To part the queen's proud kindred from the prince.

Glo. My other self, my counsel's consistory,
My oracle, my prophet!—My dear cousin,
I, as a child, will go by thy direction.
Towards Ludlow then,⁵ for we'll not stay behind. [*Exeunt.*]

² This speech (as a modern editor has observed) seems rather to belong to Hastings, who was of the duke of Gloster's party. The next speech might be given to Stanley. MALONE.

³ To censure formerly meant to deliver an opinion. STEEVENS.

⁴ i. e. preparatory—by way of prelude. MALONE.

⁵ The folio here and a few lines higher, for *Ludlow* reads—*London*. Few of our author's plays stand more in need of the assistance furnished by a collation with the quartos, than that before us. MALONE.

SCENE III.

*The same. A Street.**Enter two Citizens, meeting:*1. *Cit.* Good morrow, neighbour: Whither away so fast?2. *Cit.* I promise you, I scarcely know myself:

Hear you the news abroad?

1. *Cit.* Yes; the king's dead.2. *Cit.* Ill news, by'r lady; seldom comes the better:⁶
I fear, I fear, 'twill prove a giddy world.*Enter another Citizen.*3. *Cit.* Neighbours, God speed!1. *Cit.* Give you good morrow, sir.3. *Cit.* Doth the news hold of good king Edward's death?2. *Cit.* Ay, sir, it is too true; God help, the while!3. *Cit.* Then, masters, look to see a troublous world.1. *Cit.* No, no; by God's good grace, his son shall
reign.3. *Cit.* Woe to that land, that's govern'd by a child!2. *Cit.* In him there is a hope of government;That, in his nonage, council under him,⁷

And, in his full and ripen'd years, himself,

No doubt, shall then, and till then, govern well.

1. *Cit.* So stood the state, when Henry the sixth
Was crown'd in Paris but at nine months old.3. Stood the state so? no, no, good friends, God wot;
For then this land was famously enrich'd
With politick grave counsel; then the king
Had virtuous uncles to protect his grace.1. *Cit.* Why, so hath this, both by his father and mother.3. *Cit.*⁶ A proverbial saying, taken notice of in *The English Courtier and Country Gentleman*, quarto, b. 1. 1586, sign. B. "——as the proverb sayth, *seldome come the better*. *Val.* that proverb indeed is auncient, and for the most part true," &c. REED.⁷ So the quarto. The folio reads—*Which* in his nonage.—*Which* is frequently used by our author for *who*, and is still so used in our Liturgy. But neither reading affords a very clear sense. Dr. Johnson thinks a line lost before this. I suspect rather that one was omitted after it.

3. *Cit.* Better it were, they all came by his father ;
 Or, by his father, there were none at all :
 For emulation now, who shall be nearest,
 Will touch us all too near, if God prevent not.
 O, full of danger is the duke of Gloster ;
 And the queen's sons, and brothers, haught and proud :
 And were they to be rul'd, and not to rule,
 This sickly land might solace as before.

1. *Cit.* Come, come, we fear the worst ; all will be well.

3. *Cit.* When clouds are seen, wise men put on their
 cloaks ;

When great leaves fall, then winter is at hand ;
 When the sun sets, who doth not look for night ?
 Untimely storms make men expect a dearth :
 All may be well ; but, if God sort it so,
 'Tis more than we deserve, or I expect.

2. *Cit.* Truly, the hearts of men are full of fear :
 You cannot reason almost with a man⁸
 That looks not heavily, and full of dread.

3. *Cit.* Before the days of change,⁹ still is it so :
 By a divine instinct, men's minds mistrust
 Ensuing danger ; as, by proof, we see
 The water swell before a boist'rous storm.
 But leave it all to God. Whither away ?

2. *Cit.* Marry, we were sent for to the justices.

3. *Cit.* And so was I ; I'll bear you company. [Exeunt.]

⁸ To reason, is to converse. STEEVENS.

⁹ This is from Holinshed's *Chronicle*, Vol. III. p. 721. "Before such great things, men's hearts of a secret instinct of nature misgive them ; as the sea without wind swelleth of himself some time before a tempest."

TOLLET.

It is evident in this passage, that both Holinshed and Shakspeare allude to St. Luke. See Ch. xxi. 25, &c. HENLEY.

It is manifest that Shakspeare here followed Holinshed, having adopted almost his words. Being very conversant with the sacred writings, he perhaps had the Evangelist in his thoughts when he wrote, above,

"Truly, the hearts of men are full of fear." MALONE.

SCENE IV.

The same. A Room in the Palace.

Enter the Archbishop of York, the young Duke of York, Queen ELIZABETH, and the Duchess of York.

Arch. Last night, I heard, they lay at Stony-Stratford;
And at Northampton they do rest to-night:²
To-morrow, or next day, they will be here.

Duch.

² Thus both the folios. The quartos, as well as the modern editors, read:

*Last night, I heard, they lay at Northampton;
At Stony-Stratford they do rest to-night.*

I have followed the folios; the historical fact being as there represented. The prince and his company did, in their way to London, actually lie at *Stony-Stratford* one night, and were the next morning taken back by the duke of Gloucester to *Northampton*, where they lay the following night. See Hall, Edward V. fol. 6. See also *Remarks &c. on the last edition of Shakspeare* [that of 1778], p. 133. REED.

Shakspeare, it is clear, either forgot this circumstance, or did not think it worth attending to.—According to the reading of the original copy in quarto, at the time the archbishop is speaking the king had not reached *Stony-Stratford*, and consequently his being taken back to *Northampton* on the morning after he had been at *Stratford*, could not be in the author's contemplation. Shakspeare well knew that *Stony-Stratford* was nearer to London than *Northampton*; therefore in the first copy the young king is made to sleep on one night at *Northampton*, and the archbishop very naturally supposes that on the next night, that is, on the night of the day on which he is speaking, the king would reach *Stony-Stratford*. It is highly improbable that the editor of the folio should have been apprized of the historical fact above stated; and much more likely that he made the alteration for the sake of improving the metre, regardless of any other circumstance. How little he attended to topography appears from a preceding scene, in which Gloucester, though in London, talks of sending a messenger to that town, instead of *Ludlow*.

By neither reading can the truth of history be preserved, and therefore we may be sure that Shakspeare did not mean in this instance to adhere to it. According to the present reading, the scene is on the day on which the king was journeying from *Northampton* to *Stratford*; and of course the messenger's account of the peers being seized, &c. which was on the next day after the king had lain at *Stratford*, is inaccurate. If the folio reading be adopted, the scene is indeed placed on the day on which the king was seized; but the archbishop is supposed to be apprized of a fact which *before the entry of the Messenger* he manifestly does not know, and which Shakspeare

Duch. I long with all my heart to see the prince :
I hope, he is much grown since last I saw him.

Q. Eliz. But I hear, no ; they say, my son of York
Hath almost overta'en him in his growth.

York. Ay, mother, but I would not have it so.

Duch. Why, my young cousin ? it is good to grow.

York. Grandam, one night as we did sit at supper,
My uncle Rivers talk'd how I did grow

More than my brother ; *Ay*, quoth my uncle Gloster,

Small herbs have grace, great weeds do grow apace :

And since, methinks, I would not grow so fast,

Because sweet flowers are slow, and weeds make haste.

Duch. 'Good faith, 'good faith, the saying did not hold
In him that did object the same to thee ;

He

Shakspeare did not intend he should appear to know ; namely, the duke of Gloster's coming to Stony-Stratford the morning after the king had lain there, taking him forceably back to Northampton, and seizing the lords Rivers, Grey, &c. The truth is, that the queen herself, the person most materially interested in the welfare of her son, did not hear of the king's being carried back from Stony-Stratford to Northampton till about *midnight* of the day on which this violence was offered him by his uncle. See Hall, Edward V. fol. 6. Historical truth being thus deviated from, we have a right to presume that Shakspeare in this instance did not mean to pay *any* attention to it, and that the reading furnished by the quarto was that which came from his pen : nor is it possible that *he* could have made the alteration which the folio exhibits, it being utterly inconsistent with the whole tenour and scope of the present scene. If the archbishop had known that the young king was carried back to Northampton, he must also have known that the lords who accompanied him, were sent to prison ; and instead of eagerly asking the Messenger in p. 424, "*What news ?*" might have informed him of the whole transaction.

The truth of history is neglected in another instance also. The messenger says, the lords Rivers, Grey, &c. had been sent by Gloster to *Pomfret*, whither they were not sent till some time afterwards, they being sent at first, according to Sir Thomas More, (whose relation Hall and Holinshed transcribed) "into the North country, into diverse places to prison, and *afterwards* all to Pontefract."

The reading of the text is that of the quarto 1597. MALONE.

Shakspeare does not always attend to the propriety of his own alterations. As historical truth therefore, which ever reading be chosen, must be violated, I am content with such an arrangement as renders the versification smoothest. Where sense cannot claim a preference, a casting vote may be safely given in favour of sound. STEEVENS.

He was the wretch'dst thing,³ when he was young,
So long a growing, and so leisurely,
That, if his rule were true, he should be gracious.

Arch. And so, no doubt, he is, my gracious madam.

Duch. I hope, he is; but yet let mothers doubt.

York. Now, by my troth, if I had been remember'd,⁴
I could have given my uncle's grace a flout,
To touch his growth, nearer than he touch'd mine.

Duch. How, my young York? I pr'ythee let me hear it.

York. Marry, they say, my uncle grew so fast,
That he could gnaw a crust at two hours old;
'Twas full two years ere I could get a tooth.

Grandam, this would have been a biting jest.

Duch. I pr'ythee, pretty York, who told thee this?

York. Grandam, his nurse.

Duch. His nurse! why, she was dead ere thou wast born.

York. If 'twere not she, I cannot tell who told me.

Q. Eliz. A parlous boy:⁵—Go to, you are too shrewd.

Arch. Good madam, be not angry with the child.

Q. Eliz. Pitchers have ears.⁶

*Enter a Messenger.*⁷

Arch. Here comes a messenger:

What news?

Mes. Such news, my lord,
As grieves me to unfold.

Q. Eliz.

³ *Wretched* is here used in a sense yet retained in familiar language, for paltry, pitiful, being below expectation. JOHNSON.

Rather, the weakest, most puny, least thriving. RITSON.

⁴ *To be remembered* is in Shakspeare, to have one's memory quick, to have one's thoughts about one. JOHNSON.

⁵ *Parlous* is keen, shrewd. STEEVENS.

It is a corruption of *perilous*, dangerous; the sense it has here. The queen evidently means to chide him. RITSON.

⁶ Shakspeare has not quoted this proverbial saying correctly. It appears from *A Dialogue both pleasaunt and pietifull*, by William Bulleyn, 1564, that the old proverb is this: "Small pitchers have great ears."

MALONE.

This proverb has already occurred in *The Taming of the Shrew*:

"Pitchers have ears, and I have many servants." RITSON.

⁷ The quarto reads—*Enter Dorset*. STEEVENS.

Q. Eliz.

How doth the prince?

Mef. Well, madam, and in health.*Duch.*

What is thy news?

Mef. Lord Rivers, and lord Grey, are sent to Pomfret,
With them sir Thomas Vaughan, prisoners.*Duch.* Who hath committed them?*Mef.*

The mighty dukes,

Gloster and Buckingham.

*Q. Eliz.*For what offence?⁸*Mef.* The sum of all I can, I have disclos'd;
Why, or for what, the nobles were committed,
Is all unknown to me, my gracious lady.*Q. Eliz.* Ah me, I see the ruin of my house!
The tiger now hath seiz'd the gentle hind;
Insulting tyranny begins to jut
Upon the innocent and awless⁹ throne:—
Welcome, destruction, blood, and massacre!
I see, as in a map, the end of all.*Duch.* Accursed and unquiet wrangling days!
How many of you have mine eyes beheld?
My husband lost his life to get the crown;
And often up and down my sons were tost,
For me to joy, and weep, their gain and loss;
And being seated, and domestick broils
Clean over-blown, themselves, the conquerors,
Make war upon themselves; brother to brother,
Blood to blood, self 'gainst self:—O, preposterous
And frantick outrage, end thy damned spleen;
Or let me die, to look on death no more!*Q. Eliz.*

⁸ This question is given to the archbishop in former copies, but the messenger plainly speaks to the queen or duchess. JOHNSON.

The question is given in the quarto to the archbishop, (or cardinal, as he is there called,) where also we have in the following speech, *my gracious lady*. The editor of the folio altered *lady* to *lord*; but it is more probable that the compositor prefixed *Car.* (the designation there of the archbishop) to the words, "For what offence?" instead of *Qu.* than that *lady* should have been printed in the subsequent speech instead of *lord*. Compositors frequently keep the names of the interlocutors in each scene ready-composed for use; and hence mistakes sometimes arise. MALONE.

⁹ Not producing awe, not reverenced. To jut upon is to encroach.

JOHNSON.

Q. Eliz. Come, come, my boy, we will to sanctuary.—
Madam, farewell.

Duch. Stay, I will go with you.

Q. Eliz. You have no cause.

Arch.

My gracious lady, go.

[*to the Queen.*]

And thither bear your treasure and your goods.

For my part, I'll resign unto your grace

The seal I keep; and so betide to me,

As well I tender you, and all of yours!

Come, I'll conduct you to the sanctuary.

[*Exeunt.*]

ACT III. SCENE I.

The same. A Street.

The trumpets sound. Enter the Prince of Wales, CLOSTER, BUCKINGHAM, Cardinal Bouchier,² and Others.

Buck. Welcome, sweet prince, to London, to your chamber.³

Glo. Welcome, dear cousin, my thoughts' sovereign:
The weary way hath made you melancholy.

Prince. No, uncle; but our crosses on the way
Have made it tedious, wearisome, and heavy:
I want more uncles here to welcome me.

Glo. Sweet prince, the untainted virtue of your years
Hath not yet div'd into the world's deceit:
No more can you distinguish of a man,
Than of his outward show; which, God he knows,
Seldom, or never, jumpeth with the heart.
Those uncles, which you want, were dangerous;
Your grace attended to their sugar'd words,

But

² Thomas Bouchier was made a Cardinal, and elected Archbishop of Canterbury, in 1464. He died in 1486. MALONE.

³ London was anciently called *Camera regis*. POPE.

This title it began to have immediately after the Norman conquest. See Coke's 4 Inst. 243, where it is styled *Camera Regis*; Camden's *Britannia*, 374; Ben Jonson's Account of King James's Entertainment in passing to his Coronation, &c. REED.

But look'd not on the poison of their hearts :
God keep you from them, and from such false friends !

Prince. God keep me from false friends ; but they were none.

Glo. My lord, the mayor of London comes to greet you.

Enter the Lord Mayor, and his Train.

May. God bless your grace with health and happy days !

Prince. I thank you, good my lord ;—and thank you all.—

[Exeunt Mayor, &c.]

I thought, my mother, and my brother York,
Would long ere this have met us on the way :—

Fie, what a slug is Hastings ! that he comes not
To tell us, whether they will come, or no.

Enter Hastings.

Buck. And, in good time,⁴ here comes the sweating lord.

Prince. Welcome, my lord : What, will our mother come ?

Hast. On what occasion, God he knows, not I,
The queen your mother, and your brother York,
Have taken sanctuary : The tender prince
Would fain have come with me to meet your grace,
But by his mother was perforce withheld.

Buck. Fie ! what an indirect and peevish course
Is this of hers ?—Lord cardinal, will your grace
Persuade the queen to send the duke of York
Unto his princely brother presently ?
If she deny,—lord Hastings, go with him,
And from her jealous arms pluck him perforce.

Card. My lord of Buckingham, if my weak oratory
Can from his mother win the duke of York,
Anon expect him here : But if she be obdurate
To mild entreaties, God in heaven forbid
We should infringe the holy privilege
Of blessed sanctuary ! not for all this land,
Would I be guilty of so deep a sin.

Buck. You are too senseless-obstinate, my lord,

Tea

Too ceremonious, and traditional :⁵
 Weigh it but with the grossness of this age,⁶
 You break not sanctuary in seizing him.
 The benefit thereof is always granted
 To those whose dealings have deserv'd the place,
 And those who have the wit to claim the place :
 This prince hath neither claim'd it, nor deserv'd it ;
 And therefore, in mine opinion, cannot have it :
 Then, taking him from thence, that is not there,
 You break no privilege nor charter there.
 Oft have I heard of sanctuary men ;
 But sanctuary children, ne'er till now.⁷

Card. My lord, you shall o'er-rule my mind for once.—
 Come on, lord Hastings, will you go with me ?

Hast. I go, my lord.

Prince. Good lords, make all the speedy haste you may.

[*Exeunt Cardinal and Hastings.*
 Say,

⁵ *Ceremonious* for superstitious ; *traditional* for adherent to old customs.

WARBURTON.

⁶ But the more *gross*, that is, the more superstitious the age was, the stronger would be the imputation of violated sanctuary. The question, we see by what follows, is whether sanctuary could be claimed by an infant. The speaker resolves it in the negative, because it could be claimed by those only whose actions necessitated them to fly thither ; or by those who had an understanding to demand it ; neither of which could be an infant's case : It is plain then, the first line, which introduces this reasoning, should be read thus :

Weigh it but with the greenness of his age,

i. e. the young duke of York's, whom his mother had fled with to sanctuary. The corrupted reading of the old quarto is something nearer the true :

——the greatness of his age. WARBURTON.

This emendation is received by Hanmer, and is very plausible ; yet the common reading may stand :

Weigh it but with the grossness of this age,

You break not sanctuary,——

That is, compare the act of seizing him with the *gross* and licentious practices of *these times*, it will not be considered as a violation of sanctuary, for you may give such reasons as men now are used to admit. JOHNSON.

⁷ These arguments against the privilege of sanctuary are taken from Sir Thomas More's *Life of King Edward the Fifth*, published by Stowe :

“——And verily, I have heard of sanctuary men, but I never heard earst of sanctuary children,” &c. STEEVENS.

Say, uncle Gloster, if our brother come,
Where shall we sojourn till our coronation?

Glo. Where it seems best unto your royal self.
If I may counsel you, some day, or two,
Your highness shall repose you at the Tower:
Then where you please, and shall be thought most fit
For your best health and recreation.

Prince. I do not like the Tower, of any place:—
Did Julius Cæsar build that place, my lord?

Glo. He did, my gracious lord, begin that place;
Which, since, succeeding ages have re-edify'd.

Prince. Is it upon record? or else reported
Successively from age to age, he built it?

Buck. Upon record, my gracious lord.

Prince. But say, my lord, it were not register'd;
Methinks, the truth should live from age to age,
As 'twere retail'd to all posterity,⁸
Even to the general all-ending day.

Glo. So wise so young, they say, do ne'er live long.⁹

[*Aside.*
Prince.

⁸ And so it is: and, by that means, like most other *retailed* things, became adulterated. We should read:

—intail'd to all posterity;

which is finely and sensibly expressed, as if *truth* was the natural inheritance of our children; which it is impiety to deprive them of.

WARBURTON.

Retailed may signify diffused, dispersed. JOHNSON.

Retailed means handed down from one to another.—Goods *retailed*, are those which pass from one purchaser to another.—Richard uses the word *retailed* in the same sense in the fourth act, where speaking to the Queen of her daughter, he says,

“To whom I will *retail* my conquests won.” M. MASON.

Minshew in his Dictionary, 1617, besides the verb *retail* in the mercantile sense, has the verb “to *retai'e* or *retell*, G. *renombrer*, a Lat, *renumerare* ;” and in that sense, I conceive, it is employed here. MALONE.

⁹ *Is cadit ante senem, qui sapit ante diem*,
a proverbial line. STEEVENS.

Bright in his treatise on Melancholy, 1586. p. 52, says “I have knowne children languishing of the spleene, obstructed and altered in temper, talke with gravitie and wisdom, surpassing those tender yeares, and their judgement carrying a marvellous imitation of the wisdom of the ancient, having after a sorte attained that by disease, which other have by course of yeares: whereon I take it, the proverbe ariseth, that *they be of short life who are of wit so pregnant*.” REED.

Prince. What say you, uncle?

Glo. I say, without characters, fame lives long.
Thus, like the formal vice, Iniquity,
I moralize two meanings in one word.²

{ *Aside.*

Prince.

² By *vice*, the author means not *quality*, but a *person*. There was hardly an old *play*, till the period of the *Reformation*, which had not in it a *devil*, and a droll character, a jester; (who was to play upon the devil;) and this buffoon went by the name of a *Vice*. This *buffoon* was at first accoutred with a long jerkin, a cap with a pair of ass's ears, and a wooden dagger, with which (like another Harlequin) he was to make sport in belabouring the *devil*. This was the constant entertainment in the times of *popery*, whilst spirits, and witchcraft, and exorcising held their own. When the *Reformation* took place, the stage shook off some grossities, and encreased in refinements. The master-devil then was soon dismissed from the scene; and this buffoon was changed into a subordinate fiend, whose business was to range on earth, and seduce poor mortals into that personated vicious quality, which he occasionally supported; as, *iniquity* in general, *hypocrisy*, *usury*, *vanity*, *prodigality*, *gluttony*, &c. Now, as the fiend, (or *vice*,) who personated Iniquity (or Hypocrisy, for instance) could never hope to play his game to the purpose but by hiding his cloven foot, and assuming a semblance quite different from his real character; he must certainly put on a *formal* demeanour, *moralize* and prevaricate in his words, and pretend a *meaning* directly opposite to his *genuine* and *primitive intention*. If this does not explain the passage in question, 'tis all that I can at present suggest upon it. THEOBALD.

That the buffoon, or jester of the old English farces, was called the *vice*, is certain: and that, in their *moral* representations, it was common to bring in the deadly sins, is as true. Of these we have yet several remains. But that the *vice* used to assume the personages of those sins, is a fancy of Mr. Theobald's, who knew nothing of the matter. The truth is, the *vice* was always a fool or jester: and, (as the woman, in *The Merchant of Venice*, calls the clown, alluding to the character,) a *merry devil*. Whereas these mortal sins were so many sad serious ones. But what misled our editor was the name, *Iniquity*, given to this *vice*: But it was only on account of his unhappy tricks and rogueries. That it was given to him, and for the reason I mention, appears from a passage of Jonson's *Staple of News*. And, in *The Devil's an Ass*, we see this old *vice*, *Iniquity*, described more at large.

From all this, it may be gathered, that the text, where Richard compares himself to the *formal vice*, *Iniquity*, must be corrupt: and the interpolation of some foolish player; the *vice*, or *iniquity*, being not a *formal*, but a merry, buffoon character. Besides, Shakspeare could never make an exact speaker refer to this character, because the subject he is upon is *tradition* and *antiquity*, which have no relation to it; and because it appears from the turn of the passage, that he is apologizing for his equivocation by
a reputa-

Prince. That Julius Cæsar was a famous man ;
With what his valour did enrich his wit,

His

a *reputable* practice. To keep the reader no longer in suspense, my conjecture is, that Shakspeare wrote and pointed the lines in this manner :

*Thus like the formal-wise Antiquity,
I moralize : Two meanings in one word.*

Alluding to the mythologic learning of the ancients, of whom they are all here speaking. So that Richard's ironical apology is to this effect, You men of morals who so much extol your all-wise antiquity, in what am I inferior to it? which was but an equivocator as I am. And it is remarkable, that the Greeks themselves called their remote antiquity, *Διχόμυθος*, or the *equivocator*. So far as to the general sense ; as to that which arises particularly out of the corrected expression, I shall only observe, that *formal-wise* is a compound epithet, an extreme fine one, and admirably fitted to the character of the speaker, who thought all *wisdom* but *formality*. It must therefore be read for the future with a hyphen. My other observation is with regard to the pointing ; the common reading :

I moralize two meanings —

is nonsense : but reformed in this manner, very sensible :

Thus like the formal wise Antiquity

I moralize : Two meanings in one word.

i. e. I moralize as the ancients did. And how was that? the having two meanings to one word. A ridicule on the morality of the ancients, which he insinuates was no better than equivocating. WARBURTON.

This alteration Mr. Upton very justly censures. Dr. Warburton, has, in my opinion, done nothing but correct the punctuation, if indeed any alteration be really necessary. See the dissertation on the old *vice* at the end of this play.

To this long collection of notes may be added a question, to what equivocation Richard refers? The position immediately preceding, that *some lives long without characters*, that is, without the help of letters, seems to have no ambiguity. He must allude to the former line :

So young so wise, they say, do ne'er live long,

in which he conceals under a proverb, his design of hastening the prince's death. JOHNSON.

The Prince having caught some part of the former line, asks Richard what he says, who, in order to deceive him, preserves in his reply, the latter words of the line, but substitutes other words at the beginning of it, of a different import from those he had uttered.—This is the equivocation that Gloster really made use of, though it does not correspond with his own description of it.

I moralize—two meanings in one word.

Word is not here taken in its literal sense, but means a saying, a short sentence, as *motto* does in Italian, and *bon mot* in French.—So, in Jonson's *Every Man out of his Humour*, Pantarvolo says,

“ Let

His wit set down, to make his valour live :
 Death makes no conquest of this conqueror ;
 For now he lives in fame though not in life.—
 I'll tell you what, my cousin Buckingham.

Buck. What, my gracious lord ?

Prince. An if I live until I be a man,
 I'll win our ancient right in France again,
 Or die a soldier, as I liv'd a king.

Glo.

“ Let the word be, *Not without mustard* ; thy crest is rare.

M. MASON.

From the following stage direction, in an old dramatick piece, entituled, *Histrionastix*, or *The Player whipt*, 1610, it appears, that *the Vice* and *Iniquity* were sometimes distinct personages :

“ Enter a roaring devil, with *the Vice* on his back, *Iniquity* in one hand, and *Juventus* in the other.”

The devil likewise makes the distinction in his first speech :

“ Ho, ho, ho ! *these babes mine are all*,

“ *The Vice, Iniquitie, and Child Prodigal.*”

The following part of this note was obligingly communicated by the Rev. Mr. Bowle, of Idmestone near Salisbury. I know no writer who gives so complete an account of this obsolete character, as archbishop Harfnet, in his *Declaration of Popish Impostures*, p. 114, Lond. 1603 : “ It was a pretty part (he tells us) in the old church-playes, when the nimble *Vice* would skip up nimbly like a jackanapes into the devil's necke, and ride the devil a course, and belabour him with his wooden-dagger, till he made him roare, whereat the people would laugh to see the devil so *vice*-haunted.”

STEEVENS.

Dr. Warburton has endeavoured to support his capricious and violent alteration of the text by a very long note, which in my apprehension carries neither conviction, nor information with it.

The *Vice*, *Iniquity*, cannot with propriety, be said to *moralize* in general ; but in the old Moralities he, like Richard, did often “ *moralize two meanings in one word.*”

The *Vice* of the old moralities was a buffoon character, [See Cotgrave's Dict. “ *Badin*, A foole or *Vice* in a play.—*Mime*, A *vice*, foole, jester, &c. in a play.”] whose chief employment was to make the audience laugh, and one of the modes by which he effected his purpose was by double meanings, or playing upon words. In these moral representations, *Fraud*, *INIQUITY*, *Covetousness*, *Luxury*, *Gluttony*, *Vanity*, &c. were frequently introduced. Mr. Upton in a dissertation which, on account of its length, is annexed at the end of this play, has shewn, from Ben Jonson's *Staple of News*, and *The Devil's an Ass*, that *Iniquity* was sometimes the *Vice* of the Moralities. Mr. Steevens's note above, shews, that he was not always so.

The *formal Vice* perhaps means, the *shrewd*, the *sensible Vice*.—In *The Comedy of Errors*, “ a *formal man*” seems to mean, one in his senses ; a rational man. MALONE.

Glo. Short summers lightly ⁴ have a forward spring.

[*Aside.*

Enter YORK, HASTINGS, and the Cardinal.

Buck. Now, in good time, here comes the duke of York.

Prince. Richard of York! how fares our loving brother?

York. Well, my dread lord; ⁵ so must I call you now.

Prince. Ay, brother; to our grief, as it is yours:

Too late he died, ⁶ that might have kept that title,

Which by his death hath lost much majesty.

Glo. How fares our cousin, noble lord of York?

York. I thank you, gentle uncle. O, my lord,

You said, that idle weeds are fast in growth:

The prince my brother hath outgrown me far.

Glo. He hath, my lord.

York. And therefore is he idle?

Glo. O, my fair cousin, I must not say so.

York. Then is he more beholden to you, than I.

Glo. He may command me, as my sovereign;

But you have power in me, as in a kinsman.

York. I pray you, uncle, then, give me this dagger.

Glo. My dagger, little cousin? with all my heart.

Prince. A beggar, brother?

York. Of my kind uncle, that I know will give;

And, being but a toy, which is no grief to give. ⁷

Glo. A greater gift than that I'll give my cousin.

York. A greater gift! O, that's the sword to it?

Glo. Ay, gentle cousin, were it light enough.

York. O then, I see, you'll part but with light gifts;

In

⁴ Commonly, in ordinary course. JOHNSON.

That is, short summers are usually preceded by a forward spring; or in other words, and more appositely to *Gloster's* latent meaning, a premature spring is usually followed by a short summer. MALONE.

⁵ The original of this epithet applied to kings has been much disputed. In some of our old statutes, the king is called *Rex metuendissimus*.

JOHNSON.

⁶ i. e. too lately, the loss is too fresh in our memory. WARBURTON.

⁷ The reading of the quartos is — gift. The first folio reads:

And, being but a toy, which is no grief to give.

This reading, made a little more metrical, has been followed, I think erroneously, by all the editors. JOHNSON.

In weightier things you'll say a beggar, nay.

Glo. It is too weighty for your grace to wear.

York. I weigh it lightly,⁸ were it heavier.

Glo. What, would you have my weapon, little lord?

York. I would, that I might thank you as you call me.

Glo. How?

York. Little.

Prince. My lord of York will still be cross in talk;—
Uncle, your grace knows how to bear with him.

York. You mean, to bear me, not to bear with me;—
Uncle, my brother mocks both you and me;
Because that I am little, like an ape,⁹

He thinks that you should bear me on your shoulders.

Buck. With what a sharp-provided wit he reasons!
To mitigate the scorn he gives his uncle,
He prettily and aptly taunts himself:
So cunning, and so young, is wonderful.

Glo. My gracious lord, will't please you pass along?
Myself, and my good cousin Buckingham,
Will to your mother: to entreat of her,
To meet you at the Tower, and welcome you.

York. What, will you go unto the Tower, my lord?

Prince. My lord protector needs will have it so.

York.

⁸ i. e. I should still esteem it but a trifling gift, were it heavier. But the Oxford editor reads:

I'd weigh it lightly, —

i. e. I could manage it though it were heavier. **WARBURTON.**

Dr. Warburton is right. **STEEVENS.**

⁹ The reproach seems to consist in this: at country shows it was common to set the monkey on the back of some other animal, as a bear. The duke therefore in calling himself *ape*, calls his uncle *bear*. **JOHNSON.**

York also alludes to the protuberance on Gloster's back, which was commodious for carrying burdens, as it supplied the place of a porter's knot.

STEEVENS.

I do not believe that the reproach is what Johnson supposes, or that York meant to call his uncle a bear. He merely alludes to Richard's deformity, his high shoulder, or hump-back, as it is called. That was the scorn he meant to give his uncle. In the third act of the Third Part of *King Henry VI.* the same thought occurs to Richard himself, where describing his own figure, he says,

“ To make an envious mountain on my back,

“ Where sits deformity to mock my body. **M. MASON.**

York. I shall not sleep in quiet at the Tower.

Glo. Why, fir, what should you fear?

York. Marry, my uncle Clarence' angry ghost;
My grandam told me, he was murder'd there.

Prince. I fear no uncles dead.

Glo. Nor none that live, I hope.

Prince. An if they live, I hope, I need not fear.
But come, my lord, and, with a heavy heart,
Thinking on them, go I unto the Tower.

[*Exeunt Prince, YORK, HASTINGS, Cardinal, and Attendants.*]

Buck. Think you, my lord, this little prating York
Was not incensed by his subtle mother,²
To taunt and scorn you thus opprobriously?

Glo. No doubt, no doubt: O, 'tis a parlous boy;
Bold, quick, ingenious, forward, capable;³
He's all the mother's, from the top to toe.

Buck. Well, let them rest.—
Come hither, gentle Catesby; thou art sworn
As deeply to effect what we intend,
As closely to conceal what we impart:
Thou know'st our reasons urg'd upon the way;—
What think'st thou? is it not an easy matter
To make William lord Hastings of our mind,
For the instalment of this noble duke
In the seat royal of this famous isle?

Cate. He for his father's sake so loves the prince,
That he will not be won to aught against him.

Buck. What think'st thou then of Stanley? will not he?

Cate. He will do all in all as Hastings doth.

Buck. Well then, no more but this: Go, gentle Catesby,
And, as it were far off, sound thou lord Hastings,
How he doth stand affected to our purpose;
And summon him to-morrow to the Tower,
To sit about the coronation.
If thou dost find him tractable to us,

Encourage

² *Incensed* means here *incited*, or *suggested*. M. MASON.

³ —capable;] here, as in many other places in these plays, means intelligent, quick of apprehension. MALONE.

Encourage him, and tell him all our reasons ;
 If he be leaden, icy, cold, unwilling,
 Be thou so too ; and so break off the talk,
 And give us notice of his inclination :
 For we to-morrow hold divided councils,⁴
 Wherein thyself shalt highly be employ'd.

Glo. Commend me to lord William : tell him, Catesby,
 His ancient knot of dangerous adversaries
 To-morrow are let blood at Pomfret-castle ;
 And bid my friend, for joy of this good news,
 Give mistress Shore one gentle kiss the more.

Buck. Good Catesby, go, effect this business soundly.

Cate. My good lords both, with all the heed I can.

Glo. Shall we hear from you, Catesby, ere we sleep ?

Cate. You shall, my lord.

Glo. At Crosby-place, there shall you find us both.

[Exit CATESBY.]

Buck. Now, my lord, what shall we do, if we perceive
 Lord Hastings will not yield to our complots ?

Glo. Chop off his head, man ;—somewhat we will do :—
 And, look, when I am king, claim thou of me
 The earldom of Hereford, and all the moveables
 Whereof the king my brother was possess'd.

Buck. I'll claim that promise at your grace's hand.

Glo. And look to have it yielded with all kindness.
 Come, let us sup betimes ; that afterwards
 We may digest our complots in some form.

[Exeunt.]

⁴ That is, a *private consultation*, separate from the known and publick counsel. So, in the next scene, Hastings says :

“ Bid him not fear the *separated* councils.” JOHNSON.

This circumstance is conformable to history. See *Hall*, p. 13. REED.

Mr. Reed has shewn from Hall's Chronicle that this circumstance is founded on the historical fact. But Holinshed, Hall's copyist, was our author's authority : “ But the protectoure and the duke after that they had sent to the lord Cardinal,—the lord Stanley and the lord Hastings then lord Chamberlaine, with many other noblemen, to commune and devise about the coronation *in one place*, as fast were they in *another place*, contriving the contrarie, and to make the protectour king.” “ — the lord Stanley, that was after earle of Darby, wisely mistrusted it, and sayde unto the lorde Hastings, that he much mislyked *these two several counsels*.” MALONE.

SCENE II.⁵*Before Lord Hastings' House.**Enter a Messenger.**Mes.* My lord, my lord,— [knocking.]*Hast.* [within.] Who knocks?*Mes.* One from lord Stanley.*Hast.* [within.] What is't o'clock?*Mes.* Upon the stroke of four.*Enter HASTINGS.**Hast.* Cannot thy master sleep the tedious nights?*Mes.* So it should seem by that I have to say.

First, he commends him to your noble lordship.

Hast. And then,—*Mes.* And then he sends you word, he dreamt
To-night the boar had rased off his helm:⁶

Besides, he says, there are two councils held;

And that may be determin'd at the one,

Which may make you and him to rue at the other.

Therefore he sends to know your lordship's pleasure,—

If presently you will take horse with him,

And with all speed post with him toward the north,

To shun the danger that his soul divines.

Hast. Go, fellow, go, return unto thy lord;

Bid him not fear the separated councils:

His honour,⁷ and myself, are at the one;

And,

⁵ Every material circumstance in the following scene is taken from Holinshed's *Chronicle*, except that it is a knight with whom Hastings converses, instead of *Buckingham*. STEEVENS.

⁶ This term *raised* or *rashed*, is always given to describe the violence inflicted by a *boar*.

By the *boar*, throughout this scene, is meant Gloster, who was called the *boar*, or the *bog*, from his having a *boar* for his cognizance, and one of the supporters of his coat of arms. STEEVENS.

So Holinshed, after Hall and Sir Thomas More. MALONE.

⁷ This was the usual address to noblemen in Shakspeare's time.

MALONE.

In *Timon of Athens*, Act I. sc. i. the same address occurs: "All happiness to your honour!" STEEVENS.

And, at the other, is my good friend Catesby ;
 Where nothing can proceed, that toucheth us,
 Whereof I shall not have intelligence.
 Tell him, his fears are shallow, wanting instance :⁸
 And for his dreams—I wonder, he's so fond⁹
 To trust the mockery of unquiet slumbers :
 To fly the boar, before the boar pursues,
 Were to incense the boar to follow us,
 And make pursuit, where he did mean no chase.
 Go, bid thy master rise and come to me ;
 And we will both together to the Tower,
 Where, he shall see, the boar will use us kindly.

Mef. I'll go, my lord, and tell him what you say. [Exit.

Enter CATESBY.

Cate. Many good morrows to my noble lord !

Hast. Good morrow, Catesby ; you are early stirring :
 What news, what news, in this our tottering state ?

Cate. It is a reeling world, indeed, my lord ;
 And, I believe, will never stand upright,
 Till Richard wear the garland of the realm.

Hast. How ! wear the garland ? dost thou mean the
 crown ?

Cate. Ay, my good lord.

Hast. I'll have this crown of mine cut from my shoulders,
 Before I'll see the crown so foul misplac'd.
 But canst thou guess that he doth aim at it ?

Cate. Ay, on my life ; and hopes to find you forward
 Upon his party, for the gain thereof :
 And, thereupon, he sends you this good news,—
 That, this same very day, your enemies,
 The kindred of the queen, must die at Pomfret.

Hast. Indeed, I am no mourner for that news,
 Because they have been still my adversaries :
 But, that I'll give my voice on Richard's side,
 To bar my master's heirs in true descent,

God

⁸ That is, *wanting* some *example* or *act* of *malevolence*, by which they may be justified ; or which, perhaps, is nearer to the true meaning, *wanting* any *immediate* ground or reason. JOHNSON.

Instance seems to mean, *symptom* or *prognostick*. M. MASON.

⁹ —so fond—] i. e. so weak, silly. STEEVENS.

God knows, I will not do it, to the death.

Cate. God keep your lordship in that gracious mind!

Hast. But I shall laugh at this a twelve-month hence,—
That they, who brought me in my master's hate,
I live to look upon their tragedy.

Well, Catesby, ere a fortnight make me older,
I'll send some packing, that yet think not on't.

Cate. 'Tis a vile thing to die, my gracious lord,
When men are unprepar'd, and look not for it.

Hast. O monstrous, monstrous! and so falls it out
With Rivers, Vaughan, Grey: and so 'twill do
With some men else, who think themselves as safe
As thou, and I; who, as thou know'st, are dear
To princely Richard, and to Buckingham.

Cate. The princes both make high account of you,—
For they account his head upon the bridge. [*Aside.*]

Hast. I know, they do; and I have well deserv'd it.

Enter STANLEY.

Come on, come on, where is your boar-spear, man?
Fear you the boar, and go so unprovided?

Stan. My lord, good morrow; and good morrow,
Catesby:—

You may jest on, but by the holy rood,²
I do not like these several councils, I.

Hast. My lord, I hold my life as dear as yours;
And never, in my life, I do protest,
Was it more precious to me than 'tis now:
Think you, but that I know our state secure,
I would be so triumphant as I am?

Stan. The lords at Pomfret, when they rode from London,
Were jocund, and suppos'd their states were sure,
And they, indeed, had no cause to mistrust;
But yet, you see, how soon the day o'er-cast.
This sudden stab of rancour I misdoubt;³
Pray God, I say, I prove a needless coward!
What, shall we toward the Tower? the day is spent.

Hast.

² —the holy rood,] i. e. the cross. STEEVENS.

³ i. e. suspect it of danger. STEEVENS.

Hast. Come, come, have with you.⁴—Wot you what, my lord?

To-day the lords you talk of are beheaded.

Stan. They, for their truth,⁵ might better wear their heads,

Than some, that have accus'd them, wear their hats,
But come, my lord, let's away.

Enter a Purfuivant.

Hast. Go on before, I'll talk with this good fellow.

[*Exeunt STANLEY and CATESBY.*

How now, firrah? how goes the world with thee?

Purf. The better, that your lordship please to ask.

Hast. I tell thee, man, 'tis better with me now,
Than when thou met'st me last where now we meet:
Then was I going prisoner to the Tower,
By the suggestion of the queen's allies;
But now, I tell thee, (keep it to thyself,)
This day those enemies are put to death,
And I in better state than ere I was.

Purf. God hold it,⁶ to your honour's good content!

Hast. Gramercy, fellow: There, drink that for me.

[*Throwing him his purse.*

Purf. I thank your honour. [Exit PURSUIVANT.]

Enter a Priest,

Pr. Well met, my lord; I am glad to see your honour.

Hast. I thank thee, good sir John,⁷ with all my heart.
I am in your debt for your last exercise;⁸
Come the next sabbath, and I will content you.

Enter

⁴ A familiar phrase in parting, as much as, *take something along with you, or I have something to say to you.* JOHNSON.

This phrase so frequently occurs in Shakspeare, that I wonder Johnson should mistake its meaning. It signifies merely "I will go along with you;" and is an expression in use at this day. M. MASON.

⁵ That is, with respect to their *honesty*. JOHNSON.

⁶ That is, *continue* it. JOHNSON.

⁷ Sir was formerly the usual address to the inferior clergy. MALONE.

⁸ Performance of divine service. JOHNSON.

*Enter BUCKINGHAM.*⁹

Buck. What, talking with a priest, lord chamberlain?
Your friends at Pomfret, they do need the priest;
Your honour hath no shriving work in hand.²

Hast. 'Good faith, and when I met this holy man,
The men you talk of came into my mind.
What, go you toward the Tower?

Buck. I do, my lord; but long I cannot stay there:
I shall return before your lordship thence.

Hast. Nay, like enough, for I stay dinner there.

Buck. And supper too, although thou know'st it not.

[*Aside.*

Come, will you go?

Hast. I'll wait upon your lordship. [*Exeunt.*

SCENE III.

Pomfret. Before the Castle.

*Enter RATCLIFF, with a guard, conducting RIVERS, GREY,³
and VAUGHAN to execution.*

Rat. Come, bring forth the prisoners.

Riv.

I rather imagine it meant—for attending him in private to hear his
confession. MALONE.

Exercise, I believe, means only religious exhortation, or lecture. So, in
Othello:

“Much castigation, *exercise* devout. STEEVENS.

⁹ From the Continuation of Harding's Chronicle, 1543, where the
account given originally by Sir Thomas More is transcribed with some
additions, it appears that the person who held this conversation with
Hastings was Sir Thomas Howard, who is introduced in the last act of this
play as earl of Surrey. MALONE.

² *Shriving work* is confession. JOHNSON.

³ Queen Elizabeth Grey is deservedly pitied for losing her two sons;
but the royalty of their birth has so engrossed the attention of historians,
that they never reckon into the number of her misfortunes the murder of
this her second son, Sir Richard Grey. It is as remarkable how slightly
the death of our Earl Rivers is always mentioned, though a man invested
with such high offices of trust and dignity; and how much we dwell on
the execution of the Lord Chamberlain Hastings, a man in every light his
inferior. In truth, the generality draw their ideas of English story, from
the tragic rather than the historic authors. WALPOLE.

Riv. Sir Richard Ratcliff, let me tell thee this,—
To-day shalt thou behold a subject die,
For truth, for duty, and for loyalty.

Grey. God keep the prince from all the pack of you!
A knot you are of damned blood-fuckers.

Vaugh. You live, that shall cry woe for this hereafter.

Rat. Despatch; the limit ⁴ of your lives is out.

Riv. O Pomfret, Pomfret! O thou bloody prison,
Fatal and ominous to noble peers!

Within the guilty closure of thy walls,
Richard the second here was hack'd to death:

And, for more slander to thy dismal seat,
We give thee up our guiltless blood to drink.

Grey. Now Margaret's curse is fallen upon our heads,
When she exclaim'd on Hastings, you, and I,
For standing by when Richard stabb'd her son.

Riv. Then curs'd she Hastings, then curs'd she Buck-
ingham,

Then curs'd she Richard:—O, remember, God,

To hear her prayers for them, as now for us!

And for my sister, and her princely sons,—

Be satisfied, dear God, with our true bloods,

Which, as thou know'st, unjustly must be spilt!

Rat. Make haste, the hour of death is expiate.⁵

Riv. Come, Grey,—come, Vaughan,—let us here em-
brace;

Farewell, until we meet again in heaven.

[*Exeunt.*]

⁴ For the limited time. MALONE.

⁵ *Expiate* is used for *expiated*; so *confiscate*, *contaminate*, *consummate*, &c. &c. It seems to mean *fully completed*, and *ended*. MALONE.

I do not well understand the reading which Mr. Malone prefers, though I have left it in the text. Perhaps we should read—

——the hour of death is *expire*;

which accords with Shakspeare's phraseology, and needs no explanation.

STEEVENS.

SCENE

SCENE IV.

London. *A Room in the Tower.*

BUCKINGHAM, STANLEY, HASTINGS, *the Bishop of Ely*,⁶
CATESBY, LOVEL, and Others, sitting at a table: Officers
of the council attending.

Hast. Now, noble peers, the cause why we are met
Is—to determine of the coronation:

In God's name, speak, when is the royal day?

Buck. Are all things ready for that royal time?

Stan. They are; and wants but nomination.⁷

Ely. To-morrow then I judge a happy day.

Buck. Who knows the lord protector's mind herein?
Who is most inward⁸ with the noble duke?

Ely. Your grace, we think, should soonest know his
mind.

Buck. We know each other's faces: for our hearts,—
He knows no more of mine, than I of yours;
Nor I of his, my lord, than you of mine:—
Lord Hastings, you and he are near in love.

Hast. I thank his grace, I know he loves me well;
But, for his purpose in the coronation,
I have not founded him, nor he deliver'd
His gracious pleasure any way therein:
But you, my noble lord, may name the time;
And in the duke's behalf I'll give my voice,
Which, I presume, he'll take in gentle part.

Enter

⁶ Dr. John Morton; who was elected to that see in 1478. He was advanced to the see of Canterbury in 1486, and appointed Lord Chancellor in 1487. He died in the year 1500. This prelate, Sir Thomas More tells us, first devised the scheme of putting an end to the long contest between the houses of York and Lancaster, by a marriage between Henry earl of Richmond, and Elizabeth, the eldest daughter of Edward IV. and was a principle agent in procuring Henry when abroad to enter into a covenant for that purpose. MALONE.

⁷ i. e. the only thing wanting, is the appointment of a particular day for the ceremony. STEEVENS.

⁸ i. e. intimate, confidential. STEEVENS.

Enter GLOSTER.

Ely. In happy time, here comes the duke himself.

Glo. My noble lords and cousins, all, good morrow :
I have been long a sleeper ; but, I trust,
My absence doth neglect no great design,
Which by my presence might have been concluded.

Buck. And you not come upon your cue,⁹ my lord,
William lord Hastings had pronounc'd your part,—
I mean, your voice,—for crowning of the king.

Glo. Than my lord Hastings, no man might be bolder ;
His lordship knows me well, and loves me well.—
My lord of Ely, when I was last in Holborn,
I saw good strawberries² in your garden there ;
I do beseech you, send for some of them.

Ely. Marry, and will, my lord, with all my heart.

[*Exit ELY.*

Glo. Cousin of Buckingham, a word with you.

[*Takes him aside.*

Catesby hath founded Hastings in our business ;

And

⁹ This expression is borrowed from the theatre. The *cue*, *queue*, or *tail* of a speech, consists of the last words, which are the token for an entrance or answer. To *come on the cue*, therefore, is to come at the proper time. JOHNSON.

² The reason why the bishop was despatched on this errand, is not clearer in Holinshed, from whom Shakspeare adopted the circumstance, than in this scene, where it is introduced. Nothing seems to have happened which might not have been transacted with equal security in the presence of the reverend cultivator of *these strawberries*, whose complaisance is likewise recorded by the author of the Latin play on the same subject, in the British Museum :

*Eliensis artifex venis ? senem quies,
Juvenem labor decet : ferunt hortem tuum
Decora fraga plurimum producere.*

EPISCOPUS ELIENSIS,

*Nil tibi claudeter hortus quod meus
Producit ; esset lautius vellum mibi,
Quo sim tibi gratus.*

This circumstance of asking for the strawberries, however, may have been mentioned by the historians merely to show the unusual affability and good humour which the dissembling Gloster affected at the very time when he had determined on the death of Hastings. STEEVENS.

And finds the testy gentleman so hot,
That he will lose his head, ere give consent,
His master's child, as worshipfully he terms it,
Shall lose the royalty of England's throne.

Buck. Withdraw yourself awhile, I'll go with you.

[*Exeunt GLOSTER and BUCKINGHAM.*]

Stan. We have not yet set down this day of triumph.
To-morrow, in my judgement, is too sudden;
For I myself am not so well provided,
As else I would be, were the day prolong'd.

Re-enter Bishop of Ely.

Ely. Where is my lord protector? I have sent
For these strawberries.

Hast. His grace looks cheerfully and smooth this morning;
There's some conceit or other likes him well,³
When he doth bid good morrow with such spirit,
I think, there's ne'er a man in Christendom,
Can lesser hide his love, or hate, than he;
For by his face straight shall you know his heart.

Stan. What of his heart perceive you in his face,
By any likelihood ⁴ he show'd to-day?

Hast. Marry, that with no man here he is offended;
For, were he, he had shown it in his looks.

Re-enter GLOSTER and BUCKINGHAM.

Glo. I pray you all, tell me what they deserve,⁵
That do conspire my death with devilish plots

Of

³ *Conceit* is *thought*. MALONE.

Conceit, as used by Hastings, I believe signifies—*pleasant idea* or *fancy*. So Falstaff speaking of Poin—“He a good wit?—there is no more *conceit* in him, than is in a mallet.” STEEVENS.

⁴ *Semblance*; appearance. JOHNSON.

⁵ This story was originally told by Sir Thomas More, who wrote about thirty years after the time. His *History of King Richard III.* was inserted in Hall's *Chronicle*, from whence it was copied by Holinshed, who was Shakspeare's authority.

M. D. i. e. *Maister* John Dolman, the author of the Legend of Lord Hastings, in *The Mirror for Magistrates*, 1575, has thrown the same circumstances into verse.

Of damned witchcraft; and that have prevail'd
Upon my body with their hellish charms?

Hast. The tender love I bear your grace, my lord,
Makes me most forward in this noble presence
To doom the offenders: Whosoever they be,
I say, my lord, they have deserved death.

Glo. Then be your eyes the witness of their evil,
Look how I am bewitch'd; behold, mine arm
Is, like a blasted sapling, wither'd up:
And this is Edward's wife, that monstrous witch,
Consorted with that harlot, strumpet Shore,
That by their witchcraft thus have marked me.

Hast. If they have done this deed, my noble lord,—

Glo. If!⁶ thou protector of this damned strumpet,
Talk'st thou to me of ifs?—Thou art a traitor:—
Off with his head:—now, by Saint Paul I swear,
I will not dine until I see the same.—
Lovel, and Catesby, look, that it be done;⁷—

The

Morton, Bishop of Ely, was present at this council, and from him Sir Thomas More, who was born in 1480, is supposed to have had his information. Polydore Virgil, who began his history in 1505, tells the story differently. MALONE.

⁶ For this circumstance see *Holinshed*, *Hall*, and *The Mirror for Magistrates*. FARMER:

⁷ In former copies:

Lovel, and Ratcliffe, look, that it be done.

The scene is here in the Tower; and lord Hastings was cut off on that very day, when Rivers, Grey, and Vaughan suffered at Pomfret. How then could Ratcliff be both in Yorkshire and the Tower? In the scene preceding this, we find him conducting those gentlemen to the block. In the old quarto, we find it, *Exeunt: Manet Catesby with Hastings*. And in the next scene, before the Tower walls, we find Lovel and Catesby come back from the execution, bringing the head of Hastings. THEOBALD.

Mr. Theobald should have added, that, in the old quarto, no names are mentioned in Richard's speech. He only says—"some see it done." Nor, in that edition, does Lovel appear in the next scene; but only Catesby, bringing the head of Hastings. The confusion seems to have arisen, when it was thought necessary, that Catesby should be employed to fetch the mayor, who, in the quarto, is made to come without having been sent for. As some other person was then wanted to bring the head of Hastings, the poet, or the players, appointed Lovel and Ratcliff to that office, without reflecting that the latter was engaged in another service on the same day at Pomfret. TYRWHITT.

I have

The rest, that love me, rise, and follow me.

[*Exeunt Council, with GLOSTER and BUCKINGHAM.*

Hast. Woe, woe, for England! not a whit for me;

For I, too fond, might have prevented this:

Stanley did dream, the boar did raise his helm;

But I disdain'd it, and did scorn to fly.

Three times to-day my foot-cloth horse did stumble,⁸

And startled, when he look'd upon the Tower,

As loath to bear me to the slaughter-house.

O, now I want the priest that spake to me:

I now repent I told the pursuivant,

As too triumphing, how mine enemies,

To-day at Pomfret bloodily were butcher'd,

And I myself secure in grace and favour.

O, Margaret, Margaret, now thy heavy curse

Is lighted on poor Hastings' wretched head.

Cate. Despatch, my lord, the duke would be at dinner;

Make a short shrift, he longs to see your head.

Hast. O momentary grace of mortal men,

Which we more hunt for than the grace of God!

Who builds his hope in air of your fair looks,⁹

Lives like a drunken sailor on a mast;

Ready, with every nod, to tumble down

Into

I have adopted the emendation, because in *one* scene at least it prevents the glaring impropriety mentioned by Mr. Theobald. But unfortunately, as Mr. Tyrwhitt has observed, this very impropriety is found in the next scene, where *Ratcliff* is introduced, and where it cannot be corrected without taking greater liberties than perhaps are justifiable. For there, in consequence of the injudicious alteration made, I think, by the players, instead of—"Here comes the Mayor," the reading of the quarto, we find in the folio—

Rich. But what, is *Catesby* gone?

Buck. He is, and see he brings the Mayor along.

Catesby being thus employed, he cannot bring in the head of Hastings; nor can that office be assigned to *Lovel* only; because *Gloster* in the folio mentions *two* persons:

Be patient, they are friends; *Ratcliff*, and *Lovel*. MALONE.

⁸ To *stumble* was anciently esteem'd a bad omen. So, in *The Honest Lawyer*. "And just at the threshold Master Bromley *stumbled*. Signs! signs!"

The *housings* of a horse, and sometimes a horse himself, were anciently denominated a *foot-cloth*. STEEVENS.

⁹ So, Horace: *Nescius auræ fallacis*. JOHNSON.

Into the fatal bowels of the deep.

Low. Come, come, despatch; 'tis bootless to exclaim.

Hast. O, bloody Richard!—miserable England!

I prophecy the fearful'st time to thee,

That ever wretched age hath look'd upon.—

Come, lead me to the block,² bear him my head;

They smile at me, who shortly shall be dead.³ [Exeunt.

SCENE V.

The same. The Tower-walls.

*Enter GLOSTER and BUCKINGHAM, in rusty armour,⁴
marvellous ill-favour'd.*

Glo. Come, cousin, canst thou quake, and change thy
colour?

Murder thy breath in middle of a word,—

And then again begin, and stop again,

As if thou wert distraught, and mad with terror?

Buck. Tut, I can counterfeit the deep tragedian;

Speak, and look back, and pry on every side,

Tremble and start at wagging of a straw,

Intending deep suspicion:⁵ ghastly looks

Are at my service, like enforced smiles;

And both are ready in their offices,

At any time, to grace my stratagems.

But what, is Catesby gone?

Glo.

² William Lord Hastings was beheaded on the 13th of June, 1483. His eldest son by Catharine Neville, daughter of Richard Neville earl of Salisbury; and widow of William lord Bonville, was restored to his honours and estate by King Henry VII. in the first year of his reign.—The daughter of Lady Hastings by her first husband was married to the Marquis of Dorset, who appears in the present play. MALONE.

³ i. e. those who now smile at me, shall be shortly dead themselves.

MALONE.

⁴ Thus Holinshed: "The protector immediately after dinner, intending to set some colour upon the matter, sent in all haste for many substantial men out of the citie into the Tower; and at their coming, himselfe with the duke of Buckingham, stood harnessed in old ill-faring briganders, such as no man should weene that they would vouchsafe to have put upon their backes, except that some sudden necessitie had constrained them."

STEEVENS.

⁵ i. e. pretending. STEEVENS.

Glo. He is; and, see, he brings the mayor along.

Enter the Lord Mayor and CATESBY.

Buck. Let me alone to entertain him.—Lord mayor,—

Glo. Look to the draw-bridge there.

Buck. Hark, hark! a drum.

Glo. Catesby, o'erlook the walls.

Buck. Lord mayor, the reason we have sent for you,—

Glo. Look back, defend thee, here are enemies.

Buck. God and our innocence defend and guard us!

Enter LOVEL and RATCLIFF, with HASTINGS's head.

Glo. Be patient, they are friends; Ratcliff, and Lovel.

Lov. Here is the head of that ignoble traitor,
The dangerous and unsuspected Hastings.

Glo. So dear I lov'd the man, that I must weep.
I took him for the plainest harmless's't creature,⁶

That breath'd upon the earth a christian;
Made him my book, wherein my soul recorded

The history of all her secret thoughts:
So smooth he daub'd his vice with show of virtue,

That, his apparent open guilt omitted,—
I mean, his conversation⁷ with Shore's wife,—
He liv'd from all attainder of suspect.

Buck. Well, well, he was the covert'st shelter'd traitor
That ever liv'd.—Look you, my lord mayor,
Would you imagine, or almost believe,
(Wer't not, that by great preservation
We live to tell it you,) the subtle traitor
This day had plotted, in the council-house,
To murder me, and my good lord of Gloster?

May. What! had he so?

Glo. What! think you we are Turks or infidels?
Or that we would, against the form of law,

Proceed

⁶ The old copies read *harmless*; but grammar requires harmless's't, (i. e. harmleſſeſt) a common contraction, as I am assured, both in Leicestershire and Warwickshire. So afterwards, we have covert'st for covertest.

STEEVENS.

⁷ i. e. familiar intercourse. The phrase—*criminal conversation*, is yet in daily use. MALONE.

Proceed thus rashly in the villain's death ;
 But that the extreme peril of the case,
 The peace of England, and our persons' safety,
 Enforc'd us to this execution ?

May. Now, fair befall you ! he deserv'd his death ;
 And your good graces both have well proceeded,
 To warn false traitors from the like attempts.
 I never look'd for better at his hands,
 After he once fell in with mistress Shore.

Buck. Yet had we not determin'd he should die,
 Until your lordship came to see his end ;
 Which now the loving haste of these our friends,
 Somewhat against our meaning, hath prevented :
 Because, my lord, we would have had you heard
 The traitor speak, and timorously confess
 The manner and the purpose of his treasons ;
 That you might well have signify'd the same
 Unto the citizens, who, haply, may
 Misconstrue us in him, and wail his death.

May. But, my good lord, your grace's word shall serve,
 As well as I had seen, and heard him speak :
 And do not doubt, right noble princes both,
 But I'll acquaint our duteous citizens
 With all your just proceedings in this case.

Glo. And to that end we wish'd your lordship here,
 To avoid the censures of the carping world.

Buck. But since you came too late of our intent,
 Yet witness what you hear we did intend ;
 And so, my good lord mayor, we bid farewell.

[*Exit Lord Mayor.*]

Glo. Go, after, after, cousin Buckingham.
 The mayor towards Guildhall hies him in all post :—
 There, at your meetest vantage of the time,
 Infer the bastardy of Edward's children :
 Tell them, how Edward put to death a citizen,^a
 Only for saying—he would make his son
 Heir to the crown ; meaning, indeed, his house,
 Which, by the sign thereof, was termed so.

Moreover,

^a This person was *one Walker*, a substantial citizen and grocer at the *Crown* in Cheapside. GREY.

Moreover, urge his hateful luxury,
 And bestial appetite in change of lust ;
 Which stretch'd unto their servants, daughters, wives,
 Even where his raging eye, or savage heart,
 Without control, list'd to make his prey.
 Nay, for a need, thus far come near my person :—
 Tell them,⁹ when that my mother went with child
 Of that insatiate Edward, noble York,
 My princely father, then had wars in France ;
 And, by just computation of the time,
 Found, that the issue was not his begot ;
 Which well appeared in his lineaments,
 Being nothing like the noble duke my father ;
 Yet touch this sparingly, as 'twere far off ;
 Because, my lord, you know, my mother lives.

Buck. Doubt not, my lord ; I'll play the orator,
 As if the golden fee, for which I plead,
 Were for myself : and so, my lord, adieu.

Glo. If you thrive well, bring them to Baynard's castle ;²
 Where you shall find me well accompanied,
 With reverend fathers, and well-learned bishops.

Buck. I go ; and, towards three or four o'clock,
 Look for the news that the Guild-hall affords.

[Exit BUCKINGHAM.]

Glo. Go, Lovel, with all speed to Doctor Shaw,³—
 Go

⁹ Whatever reason W. Worcester might have for being so very particular, he expressly tells us that Edward was *conceived in the chamber next to the chapel of the Palace of Hatfield*. York was regent of France at that time, and had come over, it would seem, to visit his lady. RITSON.

² It was originally built by Baynard, a nobleman who (according to Stowe's account) came in with the conqueror. This edifice which stood in Thames Street, has long been pulled down, though part of its strong foundations are still visible at low water. The site of it is now a timber-yard. STEEVENS.

³ ———to doctor Shaw,—] This and the two following lines are not in the quarto. Shaw and Penker were two popular preachers.—It was formerly customary to publish the court creed from the pulpit at Saint Paul's Cross. As Richard now employed Dr. Shaw to support his claim to the crown, so, about fifteen years before, the great earl of Warwick employed his chaplain Dr. Goddard to convince the people that Henry VI. ought to be restored, and that Edward IV. was an usurper. MALONE.

Go thou [*to CAT.*] to friar Penker;⁴—bid them both
Meet me, within this hour, at Baynard's castle.

[*Exeunt LOVEL and CATESBY.*]

Now will I in, to take some privy order
To draw the brats of Clarence⁵ out of fight;
And to give notice, that no manner of person⁶
Have, any time, recourse unto the princes.

[*Exeunt.*]

SCENE VI.

A Street.

Enter a Scrivener.

Scriv. Here is the indictment of the good lord Hastings;
Which in a set hand fairly is engross'd,
'That it may be to-day read o'er in Paul's.
And mark how well the sequel hangs together:—
Eleven hours I have spent to write it over.

For

⁴ This *Pinker* or *Penker* was provincial of the *Augustine* friars. See *Speed*. STEEVENS.

⁵ Edward earl of Warwick, who the day after the battle of Bosworth, was sent by Richmond from Sherif hutton Castle (where Gloster had confined him) to the Tower, without even the shadow of an allegation against him, and executed with equal injustice on Tower-hill on the 21st of November, 1499; and Margaret, afterwards married to Sir Richard de la Pole, the last princess of the house of Lancaster; who was created by King Henry VIII. countess of Salisbury, and in the 31st year of his reign, (1540) at the age of seventy, was put to death by the sanguinary king then on the throne, as her unfortunate and innocent brother had before fallen a victim to the jealous policy of that crafty tyrant Henry VII.

The immediate cause of his being put to death was, that Ferdinand king of Spain was unwilling to consent to the marriage of his daughter Katharine to Arthur prince of Wales, while the earl of Warwick lived, there being during his life-time (as Ferdinand conceived) no assurance of the prince's succession to the crown.

The murder of the earl of Warwick (for it deserves no other name) made such an impression on Katherine, that when she was first informed of Henry the Eighth's intention to repudiate her, she exclaimed, "I have not offended, but it is a just judgement of God, for my former marriage was made in blood." MALONE.

⁶ —no manner of person—] The folio reads—no manner person, which is nonsense. I suppose the true reading is—no man, or person; as in the latter term females are included. STEEVENS.

For yesternight by Catesby was it sent me?
 The precedent⁷ was full as long a doing:
 And yet within these five hours Hastings liv'd,
 Untainted, unexamin'd, free, at liberty.
 Here's a good world the while!—Who is so gross,
 That cannot see this palpable device?
 Yet who so bold, but says—he sees it not?
 Bad is the world; and all will come to nought,
 When such bad dealing must be seen in thought.⁸ [Exit.]

SCENE VII.

*The same. Court of Baynard's Castle.*⁹

Enter GLOSTER, and BUCKINGHAM, meeting.

Glo. How now, how now? what say the citizens?

Buck. Now by the holy mother of our Lord,
 The citizens are mum, say not a word.

Glo. Touch'd you the bastardy of Edward's children?

Buck. I did; with his contract with Lady Lucy,²

And

⁷ The original draft from which the engrossment was made.

MALONE.

⁸ That is, seen in silence, without notice or detection. JOHNSON.

⁹ A castle in Thames-street, which had belonged to Richard duke of York, and at this time was the property of his grandson King Edward V.

MALONE.

² The king had been familiar with this lady before his marriage, to obstruct which his mother alledged a precontract between them: "Whereupon, says the historian, dame Elizabeth Lucye was sente for, and albeit she was by the kyng hys mother, and many other, put in good comfort to affirme that she was assured to the kynge, yet when she was solempnly sworne to say y^e truth, she confessed she was never ensured. Howbeit, she sayd his grace spake suche loving wordes to her, that she verily hoped that he would have married her; and that yf such kynde woordes had not bene, she woulde never have showed such kindnesse to him to lette hym so kyndely gette her wyth chylde." *Hall*, Edward V. fo. 19. RITSON.

This objection to king Edward's marriage with lady Grey, is said by Sir Thomas More to have been made by the dutchess dowager of York, Edward's mother, who was averse to the match, before he espoused that lady. But Elizabeth Lucy, the daughter of one Wyatt, and the wife of one Lucy, being sworn to speak the truth, declared that the king had not been affianced to her, though she owned she had been his concubine. Philip de Comines, a contemporary historian, says that Edward, previous to

And his contract by deputy in France ;
 The insatiate greediness of his desires,
 And his enforcement of the city wives ;
 His tyranny for trifles ; his own bastardy,—
 As being got, your father then in France ;⁹
 And his resemblance, being not like the duke.
 Withal, I did infer your lineaments,—
 Being the right idea of your father,
 Both in your form and nobleness of mind :
 Lay'd open all your victories in Scotland,
 Your discipline in war, wisdom in peace,
 Your bounty, virtue, fair humility ;
 Indeed, left nothing, fitting for your purpose,
 Untouch'd, or slightly handled in discourse.
 And, when my oratory grew to an end,
 I bade them, that did love their country's good,
 Cry—*God save Richard, England's royal king !*

Glo. And did they so ?

Buck. No, so God help me, they spake not a word ;
 But, like dumb statuas, or breathless stones,²

Star'd

to his marriage with lady Grey, was married to an English lady by the bishop of Bath, who revealed the secret ; and according to the Chronicle of Croyland this lady was lady Eleanor Butler, widow of lord Butler of Sudley, and daughter to the great earl of Shrewsbury. On this ground the children of Edward were declared illegitimate by the only parliament assembled by King Richard III. ; but no mention was made of Elizabeth Lucy.

Shakspeare followed Holinshed, who copied Hall, as Hall transcribed the account given by Sir Thomas More. MALONE.

⁹ This tale is supposed to have been first propagated by the duke of Clarence, soon after he, in conjunction with his father-in-law the earl of Warwick, restored King Henry VI. to the throne ; at which time he obtained a settlement of the crown on himself and his issue, after the death of Henry and his heirs male. Sir Thomas More says, that the duke of Gloucester soon after Edward's death revived this tale ; but Mr. Walpole very justly observes, that it is highly improbable that Richard should have urged such a topick to the people ; that he should “ start doubts concerning his own legitimacy, which was too much connected with that of his brothers to be tossed and bandied about before the multitude.” The same ingenious writer has also shewn, that Richard “ lived in perfect harmony with his mother, and lodged with her in her palace at this very time.” *Historick Doubts*, quarto, 1768. MALONE.

² See Mr. Reed's very decisive account of the word—*statua*, in a note on *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, Vol. I. STEEVENS.

Star'd on each other, and look'd deadly pale.
 Which when I saw, I reprehended them;
 And ask'd the mayor, what meant this wilful silence:
 His answer was,—the people were not us'd
 To be spoke to, but by the recorder.
 Then he was urg'd to tell my tale again;—
Thus saith the duke, thus hath the duke inferr'd;
 But nothing spoke in warrant from himself.
 When he had done, some followers of mine own,
 At lower end o' the hall, hurl'd up their caps,
 And some ten voices cry'd, *God save king Richard!*
 And thus I took the vantage of those few,—
Thanks, gentle citizens, and friends, quoth I;
This general applause, and cheerful shout,
Argues your wisdom, and your love to Richard:
 And even here brake off, and came away.

Glo. What tongueless blocks were they; Would they not
 speak?

Will not the mayor then, and his brethren, come?

Buck. The mayor is here at hand; Intend some fear;³
 Be not you spoke with, but by mighty suit:
 And look you get a prayer-book in your hand,
 And stand between two churchmen, good my lord;
 For on that ground I'll make a holy descant:
 And be not easily won to our requests;
 Play the maid's part, still answer nay, and take it.

Glo. I go; And if you plead as well for them,
 As I can say nay to thee⁴ for myself,
 No doubt we'll bring it to a happy issue.

Buck.

³ Perhaps, *pretend*; though *intend* will stand in the sense of giving attention. JOHNSON.

One of the ancient senses of to *intend* was certainly to *pretend*.

STEEVENS.

⁴ I think it must be read:

—— if you plead as well for them

As I must say, nay to them for myself. JOHNSON.

Perhaps the change is not necessary. Buckingham is to plead for the citizens; and if (says Richard) you speak for them as plausibly as I in my own person, or for my own purposes, shall seem to deny your suit, there is no doubt but we shall bring all to a happy issue. STEEVENS.

Buck. Go, go, up to the leads; the lord mayor knocks.
[Exit GLOSTER.]

Enter the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Citizens.

Welcome, my lord: I dance attendance here:
I think, the duke will not be spoke withal.—

Enter, from the Castle, CATESBY.

Now, Catesby? what says your lord to my request?

Cate. He doth entreat your grace, my noble lord,
To visit him to-morrow, or next day:
He is within, with two right reverend fathers,
Divinely bent to meditation;
And in no worldly suit would he be mov'd,
To draw him from his holy exercise.

Buck. Return, good Catesby, to the gracious duke;
Tell him, myself, the mayor and aldermen,
In deep designs, in matter of great moment,
No less importing than our general good,
Are come to have some conference with his grace.

Cate. I'll signify so much unto him straight. [Exit.]

Buck. Ah, ah, my lord, this prince is not an Edward!
He is not lolling on a lewd day-bed,⁵
But on his knees at meditation;
Not dallying with a brace of courtezans,
But meditating with two deep divines;
Not sleeping, to engross⁶ his idle body,
But praying, to enrich his watchful soul:
Happy were England, would this virtuous prince
Take on himself the sovereignty thereof;
But, sure, I fear, we shall ne'er win him to it.

May. Marry, God defend his grace should say us nay!⁷

Buck. I fear he will: Here Catesby comes again;—

⁵ i. e. a couch, or sofa. STEEVENS.

⁶ To fatten; to pamper. JOHNSON.

⁷ This pious and courtly Mayor was Edmund Shaw, brother to Dr. Shaw, whom Richard had employed to prove his title to the crown, from the pulpit at St. Paul's Cross. MALONE.

Re-enter

Re-enter CATESBY.

Now Catesby, what says his grace?

Cate. He wonders to what end you have assembled
Such troops of citizens to come to him,
His grace not being warn'd thereof before:
He fears, my lord, you mean no good to him.

Buck. Sorry I am, my noble cousin should
Suspect me, that I mean no good to him:
By heaven, we come to him in perfect love;
And so once more return and tell his grace.

[*Exit CATESBY.*

When holy and devout religious men
Are at their beads, 'tis hard to draw them thence;
So sweet is zealous contemplation.

*Enter GLOSTER, in a gallery, above, between two Bishops.*⁸
CATESBY returns.

May. See where his grace stands 'tween two clergymen!

Buck. Two props of virtue for a christian prince,
To stay him from the fall of vanity:
And, see, a book of prayer in his hand;
True ornaments to know a holy man.⁹—
Famous Plantagenet, most gracious prince,
Lend favourable ear to our requests;
And pardon us the interruption
Of thy devotion, and right christian zeal.

Glo. My lord, there needs no such apology;
I rather do beseech you pardon me,
Who, earnest in the service of my God,

Neglect

⁸ "At the last he came out of his chamber, and yet not downe to them, but in a galary over them, with a bishop on every hande of hym, where thei beneth might see hym and speake to hym, as though he woulde not yet come nere them, til he wist what they meant," &c. *Hall's Chronicle.* FARMER.

So also Holinshed after him. The words "*with a bishop on every bande of hym,*" are an interpolation by Hall, or rather by Grafton, not being found in Sir Thomas More's *History of King Richard III.* folio 1557, from whom the rest of the sentence is transcribed. MALONE.

⁹ i. e. to know a holy man *by.* MALONE.

Neglect the visitation of my friends.

But, leaving this, what is your grace's pleasure?

Buck. Even that, I hope, which pleaseth God above,
And all good men of this ungovern'd isle.

Glo. I do suspect, I have done some offence,
That seems disgracious in the city's eye;
And that you come to reprehend my ignorance.

Buck. You have, my lord; Would it might please your
grace,

On our entreaties, to amend your fault!

Glo. Else wherefore breathe I in a Christian land?

Buck. Know, then, it is your fault, that you resign
The supreme seat, the throne majestic,
The scepter'd office of your ancestors,
Your state of fortune, and your due of birth,
The lineal glory of your royal house,
To the corruption of a blemish'd stock:
Whilst, in the mildness of your sleepy thoughts,
(Which here we waken to our country's good,)
'The noble isle doth want her proper limbs;
Her face defac'd with scars of infamy,
Her royal stock graft with ignoble plants,²
And almost shoulder'd in the swallowing gulf
Of dark forgetfulness³ and deep oblivion.
Which to recure,⁴ we heartily solicit
Your gracious self to take on you the charge

And

² Shakspeare seems to have recollected the text on which Dr. Shaw preached his remarkable sermon at St. Paul's Cross: "Bastard slips shall never take deep root." MALONE.

³ What it is to be *shoulder'd in a gulph*, Hanmer is the only editor who seems not to have known: for the rest let it pass without observation. He reads:

Almost shoulder'd into th' swallowing gulph.

I believe we should read:

And almost smoulder'd in the swallowing gulph,

That is, almost *smother'd*, covered and lost. JOHNSON.

I suppose the old reading to be the true one.

Shoulder'd has the same meaning as *rudely thrust into*. STEEVENS.

Shoulder'd is, I believe, the true reading;—not, thrust in by the shoulders, but, immersed up to the shoulders. MALONE.

⁴ To *recure* is to *recover*. This word is frequently used by Spenser; and both as a verb and a substantive in Lyly's *Endymion*, 1591. STEEVENS.

And kingly government of this your land :
 Not as protector, steward, substitute,
 Or lowly factor for another's gain ;
 But as successively, from blood to blood,
 Your right of birth, your empery, your own.
 For this, conformed with the citizens,
 Your very worshipful and loving friends,
 And by their vehement instigation,
 In this just suit come I to move your grace.

Glo. I cannot tell, if to depart in silence,
 Or bitterly to speak in your reproof,
 Best fitteth my degree, or your condition :
 If, not to answer,—you might haply think,
 Tongue-ty'd ambition, not replying, yielded
 To bear the golden yoke of sovereignty,
 Which fondly you would here impose on me ;
 If to reprove you for this suit of yours,
 So season'd with your faithful love to me,
 Then, on the other side, I check'd my friends.
 Therefore,—to speak, and to avoid the first ;
 And then, in speaking, not to incur the last,—
 Definitively thus I answer you.
 Your love deserves my thanks ; but my desert
 Unmeritable, shuns your high request.
 First, if all obstacles were cut away,
 And that my path were even to the crown,
 As the ripe revenue and due of birth ;
 Yet so much is my poverty of spirit,
 So mighty, and so many, my defects,
 That I would rather hide me from my greatness,—
 Being a bark to brook no mighty sea,—
 Than in my greatness covet to be hid,
 And in the vapour of my glory smother'd.
 But, God be thank'd, there is no need of me ;
 (And much I need to help you,^s if need were ;) Will
 The royal tree hath left us royal fruit,
 Which, mellow'd by the stealing hours of time,

^s And I want much of the ability requisite to give you help, if help were needed. JOHNSON.

Will well become the seat of majesty,
 And make, no doubt, us happy by his reign.
 On him I lay what you would lay on me,
 The right and fortune of his happy stars,—
 Which, God defend, that I should wring from him!

Buck. My lord, this argues conscience in your grace;
 But the respects thereof are nice and trivial,⁶
 All circumstances well considered.

You say, that Edward is your brother's son;
 So say we too, but not by Edward's wife:
 For first he was contráct to lady Lucy,
 Your mother lives a witness to his vow;
 And afterwards by substitute betroth'd
 To Bona, sister to the king of France.⁷
 These both put by, a poor petitioner,⁸
 A care-craz'd mother to a many sons,
 A beauty-waning and distressed widow,
 Even in the afternoon of her best days,
 Made prize and purchase of his wanton eye,
 Seduc'd the pitch and height of all his thoughts
 To base declension and loath'd bigamy:⁹
 By her, in his unlawful bed, he got
 This Edward, whom our manners call—the prince.

More

⁶ *Nice* is generally used by Shakspeare in the sense of minute, trifling, of petty import. So, in *Romeo and Juliet*:

“The letter was not *nice*, but full of charge.” MALONE.

⁷ See *King Henry VI.* P. III. Act III. sc. iii. Bona was daughter to the duke of Savoy, and sister to Charlotte, wife to Lewis XI. King of France. MALONE.

⁸ See *King Henry VI.* P. III. Act III. MALONE.

⁹ *Bigamy*, by a cannon of the council of Lyons, A. D. 1274, (adopted in England by a statute in 4 Edw. I.) was made unlawful and infamous. It differed from *polygamy*, or having two wives at once; as it consisted in either marrying two virgins successively, or once marrying a widow.

BLACKSTONE.

So Sir T. More, copied by Hall and Holinshed: “—the only *widow-bead* of Elizabeth Grey, though she were in all other things convenient for you, should yet suffice, as me seemeth, to restraine you from her marriage, sith it is an unfitting thing, and a verie blemish and high disparagement to the sacred majestie of a prince, (that ought as nigh to approach priesthood in cleanness, as he doth in dignity,) to be defouled with *bigamie* in his first marriage.” MALONE.

More bitterly could I expostulate,
 Save that, for reverence to some alive,²
 I give a sparing limit to my tongue.
 Then, good my lord, take to your royal self
 This proffer'd benefit of dignity :
 If not to bless us and the land withal,
 Yet to draw forth your noble ancestry
 From the corruption of abusing time,
 Unto a lineal true-derived course.

May. Do, good my lord; your citizens entreat you.

Buck. Refuse not, mighty lord, this proffer'd love.

Cate. O, make them joyful, grant their lawful suit.

Glo. Alas, why would you heap those cares on me ?

I am unfit for state and majesty :—

I do beseech you, take it not amiss ;

I cannot, nor I will not yield to you.

Buck. If you refuse it,—as in love and zeal,
 Loth to depose the child, your brother's son ;
 As well we know your tendernefs of heart,
 And gentle, kind, effeminate remorse,³
 Which we have noted in you to your kindred,
 And equally, indeed, to all estates,—
 Yet know, whe'r you accept our suit or no,
 Your brother's son shall never reign our king ;
 But we will plant some other in the throne,
 To the disgrace and downfall of your house.
 And, in this resolution, here we leave you ;—
 Come, citizens, we will entreat no more.

[*Exeunt BUCKINGHAM and Citizens.*]

Cate. Call them again, sweet prince, accept their suit ;
 If you deny them, all the land will rue it.

Glo. Will you enforce me to a world of cares ?
 Well, call them again ; I am not made of stone,

But

² The duke here hints at a topick which he had touched upon in his address to the citizens, the pretended bastardy of Edward and Clarence. By "some alive," is meant the dutchess of York, the mother of Edward and Richard. MALONE.

³ i. e. pity. See our author, *passim*. STEEVENS.

But penetrable to your kind entreaties, [Exit CATESBY.
Albeit against my conscience and my soul.—

Re-enter BUCKINGHAM, and the rest.

Cousin of Buckingham,—and sage, grave men,—
Since you will buckle fortune on my back,
To bear her burden, whe'r I will, or no,
I must have patience to endure the load:
But if black scandal, or foul-fac'd reproach,
Attend the sequel of your imposition,
Your mere enforcement shall acquittance me
From all the impure blots and stains thereof;
For God he knows, and you may partly see,
How far I am from the desire of this.

May. God blefs your grace! we see it, and will say it.

Glo. In saying so, you shall but say the truth.

Buck. Then I salute you with this royal title,—
Long live king Richard, England's worthy king!

All. Amen.

Buck. To-morrow may it please you to be crown'd?

Glo. Even when you please, since you will have it so.

Buck. To-morrow then we will attend your grace;
And so, most joyfully, we take our leave.

Glo. Come, let's to our holy work again:—

[To the Bishops.

Farewell, good cousin;—farewell, gentle friends.⁴ [Exeunt.

ACT IV. SCENE I.

Before the Tower.

*Enter, on one side, Queen ELIZABETH, Duchess of York, and
Marquis of DORSET; on the other, Anne Duchess of Gloster,⁵
leading Lady Margaret Plantagenet, Clarence's young
daughter.*

Duch. Who meets us here?—My niece Plantagenet

Led

⁴ To this act should, perhaps, be added the next scene, so will the coronation pass between the acts; and there will not only be a proper interval of action, but the conclusion will be more forcible. JOHNSON.

⁵ We have not seen this lady since the second scene of the first act, in which

Led in the hand of her kind aunt of Gloster?⁶
 Now, for my life, she's wand'ring to the Tower,
 On pure heart's love, to greet the tender prince.—
 Daughter, well met.

Anne. God give your graces both
 A happy and a joyful time of day!

Q. Eliz. As much to you, good sister! Whither away?

Anne. No further than the Tower; and, as I guess,
 Upon the like devotion as yourselves,
 To gratulate the gentle princes there.

Q. Eliz. Kind sister, thanks; we'll enter all together:

Enter BRAKENBURY.

And, in good time, here the lieutenant comes.—
 Master lieutenant, pray you, by your leave,
 How doth the prince, and my young son of York;

Brak. Right well, dear madam: By your patience,
 I may not suffer you to visit them;
 The king hath strictly charg'd the contrary.

Q. Eliz. The king! who's that?

Brak. I mean, the lord protector.

Q. Eliz. The Lord protect him from that kingly title!
 Hath he set bounds between their love, and me?
 I am their mother, Who shall bar me from them?

Duch. I am their father's mother, I will see them.

Anne. Their aunt I am in law, in love their mother:
 Then bring me to their sights; I'll bear thy blame,
 And take thy office from thee, on my peril.

Brak.

which she promised to meet Richard at Crosby-place. She was married about the year 1472. MALONE.

⁶ Here is a manifest intimation, that the dutchess of Gloster leads in somebody in her hand; but there is no direction marked in any of the copies, from which we can learn who it is. I have ventured to guess it must be Clarence's young daughter. The old dutchess of York calls her *niece*, i. e. grand-daughter; as grand-children are frequently called *nephews*.

THEOBALD.

So, in *Othello*, *nephews* for *grandchildren*: “—you'll have your daughter cover'd with a Barbary horse, you'll have your *nephews* neigh to you.”

MALONE.

Brak. No, madam, no, I may not leave it so;⁷
I am bound by oath, and therefore pardon me.

[*Exit BRAKENBURY.*]

Enter STANLEY.

Stan. Let me but meet you, ladies, one hour hence,
And I'll salute your grace of York as mother,
And reverend looker-on of two fair queens.—
Come, madam, you must straight to Westminster.

[*To the Duchess of Gloster.*]

There to be crowned Richard's royal queen.

Q. Eliz. Ah, cut my lace afunder!

That my pent heart may have some scope to beat,
Or else I swoon with this dead-killing news.

Anne. Despightful tidings! O unpleasing news!

Dor. Be of good cheer:—Mother, how fares your grace?

Q. Eliz. O Dorset, speak not to me, get thee gone,
Death and destruction dog thee at the heels;
Thy mother's name is ominous to children:
If thou wilt outstrip death, go cross the seas,
And live with Richmond, from the reach of hell.
Go, hie thee, hie thee from this slaughterhouse,
Lest thou encrease the number of the dead;
And make me die the thrall of Margaret's curse,—
Nor mother, wife, nor England's counted queen.

Stan. Full of wise care is this your counsel madam:—
Take all the swift advantage of the hours;
You shall have letters from me to my son
In your behalf, to meet you on the way:
Be not ta'en tardy by unwise delay.

Duch. O ill-dispersed wind of misery!—
O my accursed womb, the bed of death;
A cockatrice haste thou hatch'd to the world,
Whose unavoided eye is murderous!⁸

Stan. Come, madam, come; I in all haste was sent.

Anne. And I with all unwillingness will go.—

O, would

⁷ That is, *I may not so resign my office*, which you offer to take on you at your peril. JOHNSON.

⁸ The cockatrice is a serpent supposed to originate from a cock's egg.

O, would to God, that the inclusive verge
Of golden metal, that must round my brow,
Were red-hot steel, to fear me to the brain!⁹

Anointed let me be with deadly venom;
And die, ere men can say—God save the queen!

Q. Eliz. Go, go, poor soul, I envy not thy glory;
To feed my humour, wish thyself no harm.

Anne. No! why?—When he, that is my husband now,
Came to me, as I follow'd Henry's corse;
When scarce the blood was well wash'd from his hands,
Which issu'd from my other angel husband,
And that dead faint which then I weeping follow'd;
O, when, I say, I look'd on Richard's face,
This was my wish,—*Be thou, quoth I, accurs'd,
For making me, so young, so old a widow!
And when thou wed'st, let sorrow haunt thy bed;
And be thy wife (if any be so mad)
More miserable by the life of thee,
Than thou hast made me by my dear lord's death!*
Lo, ere I can repeat this curse again,
Even in so short a space, my woman's heart
Grossly grew captive to his honey words,
And prov'd the subject of mine own soul's curse:
Which ever since hath held mine eyes from rest;

For

⁹ She seems to allude to the ancient mode of punishing a regicide, or any other egregious criminal, viz. by placing a crown of iron, heated red-hot upon his head.

In some of the monkish accounts of a place of future torment, a *burning crown* is likewise appropriated to those who deprived any lawful monarch of his kingdom. STEVENS.

John the son of Vaivode Stephen having defeated the army of Hungarian peasants, called Croisadoes, in 1514, caused their general, “called George, to be stript naked, upon whose head the executioner set a crown of hot burning iron.” Goulart's *Admirable and Memorable Histories*, 1607. This is the fact to which Goldsmith alludes:

“*Luke's iron crown, and Damien's bed of steel.*”

Though it was *George*, and not his brother *Luke*, who was so punished: but *George's* would not suit the poet's metre. The earl of Atholl, who was executed on Account of the murder of James I. king of Scots, was, previous to his death, “crowned with a hot iron.” See Holinshed.

RITSON.

For never yet one hour in his bed
 Did I enjoy the golden dew of sleep,
 Put with his timorous dreams ² was still awak'd.
 Besides, he hates me for my father Warwick;
 And will, no doubt, shortly be rid of me.

Q. Eliz. Poor heart, adieu; I pity thy complaining.

Anne. No more than with my soul I mourn for yours.

Dor. Farewell, thou woful welcomer of glory!

Anne. Adieu, poor soul, that tak'st thy leave of it!

Duch. Go thou to Richmond, and good fortune guide thee!—

[*To* DORSET.

Go thou to Richard, and good angels tend thee!—

[*To* ANNE.

Go thou to sanctuary, and good thoughts possess thee!

[*To* Q. ELIZABETH.

I to my grave, where peace and rest lie with me!

Eighty odd years ³ of sorrow have I seen,

And each hour's joy wreck'd with a week of teen.⁴

Q. Eliz. Stay yet; look back, with me, unto the Tower.—

Pity, you ancient stones, those tender babes,

Whom envy hath immur'd within your walls!

Rough cradle for such little pretty ones!

Rude ragged nurse! old fullen play-fellow⁵

For

² 'Tis recorded by Polydore Vergil, that Richard was frequently disturbed by terrible dreams: this is therefore no fiction. JOHNSON.

³ Shakspeare has here, I believe, spoken at random. The present scene is in 1483. Richard duke of York the husband of this lady, had he been then living, would have been but *seventy-three* years old, and we may reasonably suppose that his duchess was younger than he was. Nor did she go speedily to her grave. She lived till 1495. MALONE.

⁴ *Teen* is sorrow. STEEVENS.

⁵ "Short pleasure, long lament," is one of Ray's proverbial sentences. MALONE.

⁵ To call the Tower *nurse* and *play-fellow* is very harsh: perhaps part of this speech is addressed to the Tower, and part to the lieutenant.

JOHNSON.

The last line of this speech,

So foolish sorrow bids your stones farewell,

proves that the whole of it is addressed to the Tower, and apologizes for the absurdity of that address, by attributing it to sorrow. M. MASON.

For tender princes, use my babies well!
So foolish sorrow bids your stones farewell.⁶

[*Exeunt.*]

S C E N E II.

A Room of state in the Palace.

Flourish of trumpets. Richard, as king upon his throne; BUCKINGHAM, CATESBY, a Page, and Others.

K. Rich. Stand all apart.—Cousin of Buckingham,—

Buck. My gracious sovereign.

K. Rich. Give me thy hand: Thus high, by thy advice,
And thy assistance, is king Richard seated:—
But shall we wear these glories for a day?
Or shall they last, and we rejoice in them?

Buck. Still live they, and forever let them last!

K. Rich. Ah, Buckingham, now do I play the touch,⁷
To try if thou be current gold, indeed:—
Young Edward lives;—Think now what I would speak.

Buck. Say on, my loving lord.

K. Rich. Why, Buckingham, I say, I would be king.

Buck. Why, so you are, my thrice-renowned liege.

K. Rich. Ha! am I king? 'Tis so: but Edward lives.

Buck. True, noble prince.

K. Rich. O bitter consequence,

That Edward still should live,—true, noble prince!—

Cousin, thou wast not wont to be so dull:—

Shall I be plain? I wish the bastards dead;

And I would have it suddenly perform'd.

What say'st thou now? speak suddenly, be brief.

Buck. Your grace may do your pleasure.

K. Rich. Tut, tut, thou art all ice, thy kindness freezes:
Say, have I thy consent, that they shall die?

Buck. Give me some breath, some little pause, dear lord,
Before I positively speak in this:
I will resolve your grace immediately.

[*Exit BUCKINGHAM.*

Cat.

⁶ Hither the third act should be extended, and here it very properly ends with a pause of action. JOHNSON.

⁷ To play the touch is to represent the touchstone. STEEVENS.

Cate. The king is angry ; see, he gnaws his lip.⁸

[*Aside.*

K. Rich. I will converse with iron-witted fools,

[*descends from his throne.*

And unrespective boys ;⁹ none are for me,

That look into me with confederate eyes :—

High-reaching Buckingham grows circumspect.—

Boy,—

Page. My lord.

K. Rich. Know'st thou not any, whom corrupting gold
Would tempt unto a close exploit² of death ?

Page. I know a discontented gentleman,
Whose humble means match not his haughty mind :

Gold were as good as twenty orators,

And will, no doubt, tempt him to any thing.

K. Rich. What is his name ?

Page. His name, my lord, is—Tyrrel.

K. Rich. I partly know the man ; Go, call him hither,
boy.— [Exit Page.

The deep-revolving witty³ Buckingham

No more shall be the neighbour to my counsels :

Hath he so long held out with me untir'd,

And stops he now for breath ?—well, be it so.—

Enter STANLEY.

How now, lord Stanley ? what's the news ?

Stan.

Know, my loving lord,⁴
The

⁸ Several of our ancient historians observe, that this was an accustomed action of Richard, whether he was pensive or angry. STEEVENS

⁹ *Unrespective* is inattentive to consequences, inconsiderate.

STEEVENS.

Unrespective is, devoid of cautious and prudential consideration. MALONE.

² —close exploit—] Is secret act. JOHNSON.

³ —witty—] In this place signifies judicious or cunning. A wit was not at this time employed to signify a man of fancy, but was used for wisdom or judgement. STEEVENS.

⁴ Surely, we should adopt Sir Thomas Hanmer's regulation, and give the passage thus :

How now, lord Stanley ? what's the news ?

My lord, &c.

Are the omitted words—*know* and *loving*, of so much value, that measure must continue to be sacrificed for their preservation ? STEEVENS.

The marquis Dorset, as I hear, is fled
To Richmond, in the parts where he abides.

K. Rich. Come hither, Catesby: rumour it abroad,
That Anne my wife is very grievous sick;
I will take order for her keeping close.⁵
Enquire me out some mean-born gentleman,
Whom I will marry straight to Clarence' daughter:—
The boy is foolish,⁶ and I fear not him.—
Look, how thou dream'st!—I say again, give out,
That Anne my queen is sick, and like to die:
About it; for it stands me much upon,⁷
To stop all hopes, whose growth may damage me.—

[*Exit CATESBY.*]

I must be marry'd to my brother's daughter,
Or else my kingdom stands on brittle glass:—
Murder her brothers, and then marry her!
Uncertain way of gain! But I am in
So far in blood, that sin will pluck on sin.
Tear-falling pity dwells not in this eye.—

Re-enter Page, with TYRREL.

Is thy name—Tyrrel?⁸

Tyr.

⁵ i. e. I will take measures that shall oblige her to keep close.

STEEVENS.

⁶ Shakspeare has here perhaps anticipated the folly of this youth. He was at this time, I believe, about ten years old, and we are not told by any historian that he had then exhibited any symptoms of folly. Being confined by Henry VII. immediately after the battle of Bosworth, and his education being consequently entirely neglected, he is described by Polydore Vergil at the time of his death (in 1499) as an idiot; and his account (which was copied by Hall and Holinshed) was certainly a sufficient authority for Shakspeare's representation. MALONE.

⁷ i. e. it is of the utmost consequence to my designs. STEEVENS.

⁸ *Is thy name—Tyrrel?* It seems, that a late editor (who boasts much of his fidelity in “marking the places of action, both general and particular, and supplying scenical directions”) throughout this scene, has left king Richard on his throne; whereas he might have learnt from a passage in Sir John Harrington's *Metamorphosis of Ajax*, 1596, that the monarch appeared, during the present interview with Tyrrel, on an elevation of much less dignity. STEEVENS.

For Richard's mode of proceeding on this occasion, there are, it appears, many ancient and dignified precedents. “Maximilian the emperor,” says
old

Tyr. James Tyrrel, and your most obedient subject.

K. Rich. Art thou, indeed?

Tyr. Prove me, my gracious lord.

K. Rich. Dar'st thou resolve to kill a friend of mine?

Tyr. Please you; but I had rather kill two enemies.

K. Rich. Why, then thou hast it; two deep enemies,
Foes to my rest, and my sweet sleep's disturbers,
Are they that I would have thee deal upon:⁹

Tyrrel, I mean those bastards in the Tower.

Tyr. Let me have open means to come to them,
And soon I'll rid you from the fear of them.

K. Rich. Thou sing'st sweet musick. Hark, come hither,
Tyrrel;

Go, by this token:—Rise, and lend an ear: [Whispers.

There is no more but so:—Say, it is done,

And I will love thee, and prefer thee for it.

Tyr. I will despatch it straight. [Exit.

Re-enter BUCKINGHAM.

Buck. My lord, I have consider'd in my mind
The late demand that you did sound me in.

K. Rich. Well, let that rest. Dorset is fled to Richmond.

Buck. I hear the news, my lord.

K. Rich. Stanley, he is your wife's son:—Well look to it.

Buck. My lord, I claim the gift, my due by promise,
For which your honour and your faith is pawn'd;
The earldom of Hereford,² and the moveables,

Which

old Montaigne, “with other customes of his had this one, most contrary to other princes, (who, to dispatch their weightiest affaires, make often their c—e s—l their regal throne or council-chamber,) which was,” &c.

MALONE.

⁹ i. e. act upon. We should now say—deal with; but the other was the phraseology of our author's time. MALONE.

² Thomas duke of Gloster, the fifth son of Edward the Third, married one of the daughters and coheirs of Humphrey de Bohun earl of Hereford. The duke of Gloster's nephew, Henry earl of Derby, (the eldest son of John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, the fourth son of Edward the Third,) who was afterwards King Henry IV. married the other daughter

Which you have promised I shall possess.

K. Rich. Stanley, look to your wife; if she convey Letters to Richmond, you shall answer it.

Buck. What says your highness to my just request?

K. Rich. I do remember me,—Henry the sixth Did prophecy, that Richmond should be king, When Richmond was a little peevish boy.

A king!—perhaps³—

Buck. My lord,—

K. Rich. How chance, the prophet could not at that time, Have told me, I being by,⁴ that I should kill him?

Buck.

ter of the earl of Hereford. The moiety of the Hereford estate, which had been possessed by that king, was seized on by Edward IV. as legally devolved to the crown, on its being transferred from the house of Lancaster to that of York. Henry Stafford duke of Buckingham was lineally descended from Thomas duke of Gloster, his only daughter Anne having married Edmund earl of Stafford, and Henry being the great grandson of Edmund and Anne. In this right he and his ancestors had possessed one half of the Hereford estate; and he claimed and *actually obtained* from Richard III. after he usurped the throne, the restitution of the other half, which had been seized on by Edward; and also the earldom of Hereford, and the office of Constable of England, which had long been annexed by inheritance to that earldom. See Dugdale's *Baronage*, Vol. I. p. 168, 169. Many of our historians however ascribe the breach between him and Richard to Richard's refusing to restore the moiety of the Hereford estate; and Shakspeare has followed them.

Thomas duke of Gloster was created earl of Hereford in 1386 by King Richard the II. on which ground the duke of Buckingham had some pretensions to claim a new grant of the *title*; but with respect to the moiety of the estate, he had not a shadow of right to it; for supposing that it devolved to Edward IV. with the crown, it became, after the murder of his sons, the joint property of his daughters. If it did not devolve to King Edward IV. it belonged to the right heirs of King Henry IV.

MALONE.

³ From hence to the words, *Thou troublest me, I am not in the vein*—have been left out ever since the first editions, but I like them well enough to replace them. POPP.

The allusions to the plays of *Henry VI.* are no weak proofs of the authenticity of these disputed pieces. JOHNSON.

These allusions, I trust, have been sufficiently accounted for in the *Dissertation* annexed to the preceding play. MALONE.

⁴ The duke of Gloster was not by when Henry uttered the prophecy. Our author seldom took the trouble to turn to the plays to which he referred. MALONE.

Buck. My lord, your promise for the earldom,—

K. Rich. Richmond!—When last I was at Exeter,
The mayor in courtesy shew'd me the castle,
And call'd it—Rouge-mont: at which name, I started;
Because a bard of Ireland told me once,
I should not live long after I saw Richmond.

Buck. My lord,—

K. Rich. Ay, what's o'clock?

Buck. I am thus bold

To put your grace in mind of what you promis'd me.

K. Rich. Well, but what is't o'clock?

Buck. Upon the stroke

Of ten.

K. Rich. Well, let it strike.⁵

Buck. Why let it strike?

K. Rich. Because that, like a Jack,⁶ thou keep'st the
stroke

Betwixt thy begging and my meditation.

I am

⁵ This seems to have been a proverbial sentence. So, in *Pierce's Supererogation*, &c. by Gabriel Harvey, 4to. 1593: "Let the clock strike: I have lost more howers, and lose nothing if I find equity." MALONE.

⁶ An image, like those at St. Dunstan's church in Fleet-street, and at the market-houses at several towns in this kingdom, was usually called a *Jack of the clock-house*. See Cowley's *Discourse on the Government of Oliver Cromwell*. [Vol. II. p. 650. edit. 1710.] Richard resembles Buckingham to one of those automations, and bids him not suspend the stroke on the clock-bell, but strike, that the hour may be past, and himself be at liberty to pursue his meditations. SIR J. HAWKINS.

Perhaps these figures were called *Jacks*, because the engines of that name which turn the spit were anciently ornamented with such a puppet.

In *Lantern and Candle-light*, or *The Bellman's Second Night-walk*, &c. by Decker, is a passage "of a new and cunning drawing of money from gentlemen," which may tend to a somewhat different explanation of the word—*strike*. "There is another fraternitie of wandring pilgrims, who merrily call themselves *Jacks of the Clock-house*. The *jacke of a clock-house* goes upon screws, and his office is to do nothing but *strike*: so does this noise (for they walke up and down like fiddlers) travaille with motions, and and whatever their motions get them, is called *striking*." STEEVENS.

A Jack with such a figure as Chapman hath described, was for many years exhibited, as a sign, at the door of a White-Smith's shop in the narrowest part of the Strand. HENLEY.

These automations were called *Jacks* of the clock-house, because *Jack* in our author's time was a common appellation for a mean, contemptible fellow, employed by others in servile offices. MALONE.

I am not in the giving vein to-day.

Buck. Why, then resolve me whe'r you will, or no.

K. Rich. Thou troublest me; I am not in the vein.

[*Exeunt King RICHARD and Train.*]

Buck. And is it thus? repays he my deep service
With such contempt? made I him king for this?

O, let me think on Hastings; and be gone

To Brecknock,⁷ while my fearful head is on.

[*Exit.*]

SCENE III.

The same.

Enter TYRREL.

Tyr. The tyrannous and bloody act is done;
The most arch deed of piteous massacre,
That ever yet this land was guilty of.
Dighton, and Forrest, whom I did suborn
To do this piece of ruthless butchery,
Albeit they were flesh'd villains, bloody dogs,
Melting with tendernefs and mild compassion,
Wept like two children, in their death's sad story.
O thus, quoth Dighton, lay the gentle babes,—
Thus, thus, quoth Forrest, girdling one another
Within their alabaster innocent arms:
Their lips were four red roses on a stalk,
Which, in their summer beauty, kiss'd each other.
A book of prayers on their pillow lay;⁸
Which once, quoth Forrest, almost chang'd my mind;
But, O, the devil — there the villain stopp'd;
When Dighton thus told on,—we smothered
The most replenished sweet work of nature,
That from the prime creation ere she fram'd.—
Hence both are gone with conscience and remorse,

They

⁷ To the Castle of Brecknock in Wales, where the duke of Buckingham's estate lay. MALONE.

⁸ These circumstances were probably adopted from the old song of *The most cruel Murther of Edward V. &c.* in *The Golden Garland of Princely Delight*. The thirteenth edition of this collection was published in 1690.

It must be owned, however, that there is nothing to assist us in ascertaining the exact date of this and many other of our ancient ballads.

They could not speak; and so I left them both,
To bear this tidings to the bloody king.

Enter King RICHARD.

And here he comes:—All health, my sovereign lord!

K. Rich. Kind Tyrrel! am I happy in thy news?

Tyr. If to have done the thing you gave in charge
Beget your happiness, be happy then,
For it is done.

K. Rich. But didst thou see them dead?

Tyr. I did, my lord.

K. Rich. And buried, gentle Tyrrel?

Tyr. The chaplain of the Tower hath buried them;
But where, to say the truth, I do not know.

K. Rich. Come to me, Tyrrel, soon at after supper,
When thou shalt tell the process of their death.
Mean time, but think how I may do thee good,
And be inheritor of thy desire.
Farewell, till then.

Tyr. I humbly take my leave. [Exit.]

K. Rich. The son of Clarence have I penn'd up close;⁹
His daughter meanly have I match'd in marriage;²
The sons of Edward sleep in Abraham's bosom,
And Anne my wife hath bid the world good night.
Now, for I know the Bretagne Richmond³ aims

At

⁹ In Sheriff Hutton castle, Yorkshire; where he remained 'till the coming of Henry VII. who immediately after the battle of Bosworth sent him to the Tower, and some few years after, most treacherously and barbarously put him to death; being, from a total want of education and commerce with mankind, so ignorant, that he could not, according to *Hall*, discern a goose from a capon. With this unfortunate young nobleman ended the male line of the illustrious house of Plantagenet. *RITSON.*

² To Sir Richard Pole, Knt. This lady at seventy years of age, without any legal process, and for no crime but her relation to the crown, was beheaded in the Tower by that sanguinary tyrant Henry VIII. Her son, Lord Montague, had been put to death a few years before, in the same manner, and for the same crime; and the famous Cardinal Pole, another of her children, only escaped the fate of his mother and brother, by keeping out of the butcher's reach. *RITSON.*

³ He thus denominates Richmond, because after the battle of Tewksbury he had taken refuge in the court of Francis II. duke of Bretagne, where by the procurement of King Edward IV. he was kept a long time in a kind of honourable custody. See note on sc. iv. *MALONE.*

At young Elizabeth, my brother's daughter,
And, by that knot, looks proudly on the crown,
To her go I, a jolly thriving wooer.

Enter CATESBY.

Cate. My lord,—

K. Rich. Good news or bad, that thou com'st in so bluntly?

Cate. Bad news, my lord: Morton is fled to Richmond;
And Buckingham, back'd with the hardy Welchmen,
Is in the field, and still his power encreaseth.

K. Rich. Ely with Richmond troubles me more near,
Than Buckingham and his rash-levied strength.
Come,—I have learn'd, that fearful commenting
Is leaden servitor⁴ to dull delay;
Delay leads impotent and snail-pac'd beggary:
Then fiery expedition be my wing,
Jove's Mercury, and herald for a king!
Go, muster men: My council is my shield;
We must be brief, when traitors brave the field. [*Exeunt.*

SCENE IV.

The same. Before the Palace.

Enter Queen MARGARET.

Q. Mar. So, now prosperity begins to mellow,
And drop into the rotten mouth of death.
Here in these confines sily have I lurk'd,
To watch the waning of mine enemies.
A dire induction⁵ am I witness to,
And will to France; hoping the consequence
Will prove as bitter, black, and tragical.
Withdraw thee, wretched Margaret! who comes here?

⁴ Timorous thought and cautious disquisition are the dull attendants on delay. JOHNSON.

⁵ —dire induction—] *Induction* is preface, introduction, first part. It is so used by Sackville in our author's time. JOHNSON.

Enter

Enter Queen ELIZABETH and the Duchess of YORK

Q. Eliz. Ah, my poor princes! ah, my tender babes!
My unblown flowers, new-appearing sweets!
If yet your gentle souls fly in the air,
And be not fix'd in doom perpetual,
Hover about me with your airy wings,
And hear your mother's lamentation!

Q. Mar. Hover about her; say, that right for right⁶
Hath dimm'd your infant morn to aged night.

Duch. So many miseries have craz'd my voice,
That my woe-wearied tongue is still and mute,—
Edward Plantagenet, why art thou dead?

Q. Mar. Plantagenet doth quit Plantagenet,
Edward for Edward pays a dying debt.

Q. Eliz. Wilt thou, O God, fly from such gentle lambs,
And throw them in the entrails of the wolf?
When didst thou sleep,⁷ when such a deed was done?

Q. Mar. When holy Harry died, and my sweet son.

Duch. Dead life, blind sight, poor mortal living ghost,
Woe's

⁶ This is one of those conceits which our author may be suspected of loving better than propriety. *Right for right* is justice answering to the claims of justice. So, in this play:

“ ——— That forehead

“ Where should be branded, if that right were right,—

JOHNSON.

In the third scene of the first act Margaret was reproached with the murder of young Rutland, and the death of her husband and son were imputed to the divine vengeance roused by that wicked act. “So just is God to right the innocent.” Margaret now perhaps means to say, the right of me, an injured mother, whose son was slain at Tewksbury, has now operated as powerfully as that right which the death of Rutland gave you to divine justice, and has destroyed your children in their turn.

MALONE.

⁷ That is, When, before the present occasion, didst thou ever sleep during the commission of such an action? Thus the only authentick copies now extant; the quarto, 1598, and the first folio. The editor of the second folio changed *When* to *Why*, which has been adopted by all the subsequent editors; though Margaret's answer evidently refers to the word found in the original copy. MALONE.

I have admitted this reading, though I am not quite certain of its authenticity. The reply of Margaret might have been designed as an interrogatory echo to the last words of the Queen. STEEVENS.

Woe's scene, world's shame, grave's due by life usurp'd,
 Brief abstract and record of tedious days,
 Rest thy unrest on England's lawful earth, [Sitting down.
 Unlawfully made drunk with innocent blood!

Q. Eliz. Ah, that thou would'st as soon afford a grave,
 As thou canst yield a melancholy seat;
 Then would I hide my bones, not rest them here!
 Ah, who hath any cause to mourn, but we?

[Sitting down by her.

Q. Mar. If ancient sorrow be most reverent,
 Give mine the benefit of seniory,⁸
 And let my griefs frown on the upper hand.
 If sorrow can admit society, [Sitting down with them.
 Tell o'er your woes again by viewing mine:—
 I had an Edward, till a Richard kill'd him;
 I had a husband, till a Richard kill'd him;
 Thou hadst an Edward, till a Richard kill'd him;
 Thou hadst a Richard, till a Richard kill'd him.

Duch. I had a Richard too, and thou didst kill him;
 I had a Rutland too, thou help'st to kill him.

Q. Mar. Thou hadst a Clarence too, and Richmond kill'd
 him;
 From forth the kennel of thy womb hath crept
 A hell-hound, that doth hunt us all to death.
 That dog, that had his teeth before his eyes,
 To worry lambs, and lap their gentle blood;
 That foul defacer of God's handy-work:
 That excellent grand tyrant of the earth,
 That reigns in galled eyes of weeping souls,
 Thy womb let loose, to chase us to our graves.—
 O upright, just, and true-disposing God,

How

⁸ —seniory,] For seniority. JOHNSON.

The word in the quarto is *signorie*, in the folio *signeury*, and it has been printed *signiory* in the late editions: but as in general modern spelling has been adopted, I know not why the ancient mode should be adhered to in this particular instance. In *The Comedy of Errors*, p. 316, *senior* has been properly printed by all the modern editors, though the words in the old copy are—"We'll draw cuts for the *signior*." The substantive in the text is evidently formed by our author from hence. MALONE.

How do I thank thee, that this carnal ⁹ cur
Preys on the issue of his mother's body,
And makes her pew-fellow ² with others' moan!

Duch. O, Harry's wife, triumph not in my woes;
God witness with me, I have wept for thine.

Q. Mar. Bear with me; I am hungry for revenge,
And now I cloy me with beholding it.

Thy Edward he is dead, that kill'd my Edward;

Thy other Edward dead, to quit my Edward;

Young York he is but boot,³ because both they

Match not the high perfection of my loss.

Thy Clarence he is dead, that stabb'd my Edward;

And the beholders of this tragick play,

The adulterate Hastings,⁴ Rivers, Vaughan, Grey,

Untimely smother'd in their dusky graves.

Richard yet lives, hell's black intelligencer;

Only reserv'd their factor, to buy souls,

And send them thither: But at hand, at hand,

Ensues his piteous and unpitied end:

Earth gapes, hell burns, fiends roar, saints pray,⁵

To have him suddenly convey'd from hence:—

Cancel his bond of life, dear God, I pray,

That

⁹ This word, in the present instance, may signify *carnivorous*, though in *Hamlet* it is used for *slaughterous*:

“Of carnal, bloody, and unnatural acts.” STEEVENS.

² *Pew-fellow* seems to be companion. We have now a new phrase, nearly equivalent, by which we say of persons in the same difficulties, that they are in *the same box*. JOHNSON.

Pew-fellow is a word yet in use. SIR J. HAWKINS.

³ *Boot* is that which is thrown in to mend a purchase. JOHNSON.

⁴ I believe Shakspeare wrote:

The adulterer Hastings,—— WARBURTON.

Adulterate is right. We say *metals* are *adulterate*; and *adulterate* sometimes means the same as *adulterer*. In either sense, on this occasion, the epithet will suit. Hastings was *adulterate*, as Margaret has try'd his friendship and found it faithless; he was an *adulterer*, as he cohabited with Jane Shore during the life of her husband. So, the Ghost in *Hamlet*, speaking of the King, says:

“—that incestuous, that *adulterate* beast.” STEEVENS.

⁵ This imperfect line is not injudiciously completed by some former editor:

*Earth gapes, hell burns, fiends roar for him; saints pray,
To have, &c.* STEEVENS.

That I may live to say, The dog is dead !

Q. Eliz. O, thou didst prophecy, the time would come,
That I should wish for thee to help me curse
That bottled spider, that foul bunch-back'd toad.

Q. Mar. I call'd thee then, vain flourish of my fortune ;
I call'd thee then, poor shadow, painted queen ;
The presentation of but what I was,
The flattering index of a direful pageant,⁷
One heav'd a high, to be hurl'd down below :
A mother only mock'd with two fair babes ;
A dream of what thou wast ; a garish flag,
To be the aim of every dangerous shot ;⁸
A sign of dignity, a breath, a bubble ;
A queen in jest, only to fill the scene.
Where is thy husband now ? where be thy brothers ?
Where be thy two sons ? wherein dost thou joy ?
Who sues, and kneels, and says—God save the queen ?
Where be the bending peers that flatter'd thee ?
Where be the thronging troops that follow'd thee ?
Decline all this,⁹ and see what now thou art.
For happy wife, a most distressed widow ;
For joyful mother, one that wails the name ;
For one being sued to, one that humbly sues ;
For queen, a very caitiff crown'd with care :
For one that scorn'd at me, now scorn'd of me ;
For one being fear'd of all, now fearing one ;
For one commanding all, obey'd of none.
Thus hath the course of justice wheel'd about,
And left thee but a very prey to time ;
Having no more but thought of what thou wert,
To torture thee the more, being what thou art.

Thou

⁷ *Pageants* are dumb shows, and the poet meant to allude to one of these, the index of which promised a happier conclusion. The pageants then displayed on public occasions were generally preceded by a brief account of the order in which the characters were to walk. These indexes were distributed among the spectators, that they might understand the meaning of such allegorical stuff as was usually exhibited. The index of every book was anciently placed before the beginning of it. STEEVENS.

⁸ Alluding to the dangerous situation of those persons to whose care the standards of armies were entrusted. STEEVENS.

⁹ i. e. run through all this from first to last. MALONE.

Thou did'st usurp my place, And dost thou not
 Usurp the just proportion of my sorrow?
 Now thy proud neck bears half my burden'd yoke;
 From which even here I slip my wearied head,
 And leave the burden of it all on thee.
 Farewell, York's wife,—and queen of sad mischance,—
 These English woes shall make me smile in France.

Q. Eliz. O thou well skill'd in curses, stay a while,
 And teach me how to curse mine enemies.

Q. Mar. Forbear to sleep the night, and fast² the day;
 Compare dead happiness with living woe;
 Think that thy babes were fairer than they were,
 And he, that slew them, fouler than he is:
 Bettering thy loss makes the bad-causer worse;³
 Revolving this will teach thee how to curse.

Q. Eliz. My words are dull, O, quicken them with
 thine!

Q. Mar. Thy woes will make them sharp, and pierce
 like mine. [Exit *Q. MARGARET.*

Duch. Why should calamity be full of words?

Q. Eliz. Windy attorneys to their client woes,
 Airy succeders of intestate joys,⁴
 Poor breathing orators of miseries!
 Let them have scope: though what they do impart
 Help nothing else, yet do they ease the heart.

Duch. If so, then be not tongue-ty'd: go with me,

And

² *Fast* has no connection with the preceding word *forbear*; the meaning being,—Sleep not at night, and fast during the day. The quarto reads—to sleep the *nights*, and fast the *days*. MALONE.

³ We must either read this line thus:—

Bettering thy loss, *make* the bad-causer worse,
 which I believe to be the true reading, or include it in a parenthesis.

M. MASON.

⁴ As I cannot understand the reading of the folio—*intestine*, I have adopted another from the quarto in 1597:

Airy succeders of intestate joys:

i. e. words, tun'd to complaints, succeed joys that are dead; and unbequeath'd to them, to whom they should properly descend. THEOBALD.

The metaphor is extremely harsh. The joys already possessed being all consumed and passed away, are supposed to have died intestate, that is, to have made no will, having nothing to bequeath; and mere verbal complaints are their successors, but inherit nothing but misery. MALONE.

And in the breath of bitter words let's smother
My damned son, that thy two sweet sons smother'd.

[*Drum within.*]

I hear his drum,—be copious in exclams.

Enter King RICHARD, and his Train, marching.

K. Rich. Who intercepts me in my expedition?

Duch. O, she, that might have intercepted thee,
By strangling thee in her accursed womb,
From all the slaughters, wretch, that thou hast done.

Q. Eliz. Hid'st thou that forehead with a golden crown,
Where should be branded, if that right were right,
The slaughter of the prince that ow'd that crown,²
And the dire death of my poor sons, and brothers?
Tell me, thou villain-slave, where are my children?

Duch. Thou toad, thou toad, where is thy brother
Clarence?

And little Ned Plantagenet, his son?

Q. Eliz. Where is the gentle Rivers, Vaughan, Grey?

Duch. Where is kind Hastings?

K. Rich. A flourish, trumpets!—strike alarum, drums!
Let not the heavens hear these tell-tale women
Rail on the Lord's anointed: Strike, I say.—

[*Flourish. Alarums*]

Either be patient, and entreat me fair,
Or with the clamorous report of war
Thus will I drown your exclamations.

Duch. Art thou my son?

K. Rich. Ay; I thank God, my father, and yourself.

Duch. Then patiently hear my impatience.

K. Rich. Madam, I have a touch of your condition,³
That cannot brook the accent of reproof.

Duch. O, let me speak.

K. Rich. Do then; but I'll not hear.

Duch. I will be mild and gentle in my words.

K. Rich. And brief, good mother; for I am in haste.

Duch.

² i. e. that possessed it. STEEVENS.

³ A *spice* or *particle* of your temper or disposition. JOHNSON.

Duch. Art thou so hasty? I have staied for thee,
God knows, in torment and in agony.

K. Rich. And came I not at last to comfort you?

Duch. No, by the holy rood, thou know'st it well,
Thou cam'st on earth to make the earth my hell.

A grievous burden was thy birth to me;

Tetchy⁴ and wayward was thy infancy;

Thy school-days, frightful, desperate, wild, and furious;

Thy prime of manhood, daring, bold, and venturous;

Thy age confirm'd, proud, subtle, sly, and bloody,

More mild, but yet more harmful, kind in hatred:

What comfortable hour canst thou name,

That ever grac'd me⁵ in thy company?

K. Rich. 'Faith, none, but Humphrey Hour,⁶ that call'd
your grace

To

⁴ Is touchy, peevish, fretful, ill-temper'd. RITSON.

⁵ To *grace* seems here to mean the same as to *bless*, to make happy.
So, *gracious* is kind, and *graces* are favours. JOHNSON.

⁶ This may probably be an allusion to some affair of gallantry of which the duchess had been suspected. I cannot find the name in Holinshed. Surely the poet's fondness for a quibble has not induced him at once to personify and christen that *hour* of the day which summoned his mother to breakfast.

So, in *The Wit of a Woman*, 1604: "Gentlemen, time makes us brief: our old mistress, *Hour*, is at hand."

Shakspeare might indeed by this strange phrase (*Humphrey Hour*) have designed to mark the hour at which the good Duchess was as hungry as the followers of *Duke Humphrey*.

The common cant phrase of *dining with duke Humphrey*, I have never yet heard satisfactorily explained. It appears, however, from a satirical pamphlet called *The Guls Horn-booke*, 1609, written by T. Decker, that in the ancient church of St. Paul, one of the ailes was called *Duke Humphrey's Walk*; in which those who had no means of procuring a dinner, affected to loiter.

See likewise *Foure letters and certain Sonnets*, by Gabriel Harvey, 1592:

"——to seeke his dinner in Poules with *duke Humphrey*: to licke dishes, to be a beggar."

Again, in *The Return of the Knight of the Post*, &c. by Nash, 1606:

"——in the end comming into Poules, to behold the old *duke* and his guests," &c.

Again, in *A wonderful, strange, and miraculous Prognostication, for this Year*, &c. 1591, by Nash: "——fundry fellowes in their silkes shall be appointed to keepe *duke Humfrye* company in Poules, because they know not where to get their dinners abroad."

To breakfast once, forth of my company.
 If I be so disgracious in your sight,
 Let me march on, and not offend you, madam.—
 Strike up the drum.

Duch. I pr'ythee, hear me speak.

K. Rich. You speak too bitterly.

Duch. Hear me a word;

For I shall never speak to thee again.

K. Rich. So.

Duch. Either thou wilt die, by God's just ordinance,
 Ere from this war thou turn a conqueror;
 Or I with grief and extreme age shall perish,
 And never look upon thy face again.
 Therefore, take with thee my most heavy curse;
 Which, in the day of battle, tire thee more,
 Than all the complete armour that thou wear'st!
 My prayers on the adverse party fight;
 And there the little souls of Edward's children
 Whisper the spirits of thine enemies,
 And promise them success and victory.
 Bloody thou art, bloody will be thy end;
 Shame serves thy life,⁷ and doth thy death attend. [Exit.]

Q. Eliz. Though far more cause, yet much less spirit to
 curse

Abides

If it be objected that *duke Humphrey* was buried at St. Albans, let it likewise be remember'd that cenotaphs were not uncommon.

STEEVENS.

It appears from Stowe's *Survey*, 1598, that *Sir John Betw Campe*, son to Guy, and brother to Thomas, earls of Warwick, who dyed in 1358, had "a faire monument" on the south side of the body of St. Paul's church. "He," says Stowe, "is by ignorant people misnamed to be *Humphrey Duke of Gloster*, who lyeth honourably buried at Saint Albans, twentie miles from London: And therefore such as merily professe themselves to serve Duke Humphrey in Powles, are to bee punished here, and sent to Saint Albons, there to be punished againe, for theyr absence from theyr maister, as they call him." RITSON.

I believe nothing more than a quibble was meant. In our poet's twentieth Sonnet we find a similar conceit; a quibble between *lues* (colours) and *Hughes*, (formerly spelt *Herwes*) the person addressed. MALONE.

⁷ To *serve* is to *accompany*, servants being near the persons of their masters. JOHNSON.

Abides in me ; I say amen to her.

[*Going.*

K. Rich. Stay, madam,⁸ I must speak a word with you.

Q. Eliz. I have no more sons of the royal blood,
For thee to murder : for my daughters, Richard,—
They shall be praying nuns, not weeping queens ;
And therefore level not to hit their lives.

K. Rich. You have a daughter call'd—Elizabeth,
Virtuous and fair, royal and gracious.

Q. Eliz. And must she die for this ? O, let her live,
And I'll corrupt her manners, stain her beauty ;
Slander myself, as false to Edward's bed ;
Throw over her the veil of infamy :
So she may live unscarr'd of bleeding slaughter,
I will confess she was not Edward's daughter.

K. Rich. Wrong not her birth, she is of royal blood.⁹

Q. Eliz. To save her life, I'll say—she is not so.

K. Rich. Her life is safest only in her birth.

Q. Eliz. And only in that safety died her brothers.

K. Rich. Lo, at their births² good stars were opposite.

Q. Eliz. No, to their lives bad friends were contrary.

K. Rich. All unavoided³ is the doom of destiny.

Q. Eliz. True, when avoided grace makes destiny :
My babes were destin'd to a fairer death,
If grace had bless'd thee with a fairer life.

K. Rich. You speak, as if that I had slain my cousins.

Q. Eliz. Cousins, indeed ; and by their uncle cozen'd
Of comfort, kingdom, kindred, freedom, life.
Whose hands soever lanc'd their tender hearts,
Thy head, all indirectly, gave direction :⁴
No doubt the murderous knife was dull and blunt,
Till it was whetted on thy stone-hard heart,⁵
To revel in the entrails of my lambs.

But

⁸ On this dialogue 'tis not necessary to bestow much criticism, part of it is ridiculous, and the whole improbable. JOHNSON.

⁹ The folio reads—she is a royal princess. STEEVENS.

² Perhaps we should read—No, at their births— TYRWHITT.

³ i. e. unavoidable. MALONE.

⁴ This is a jingle in which Shakspeare perhaps found more delight than his readers. STEEVENS.

⁵ This conceit seems also to have been a great favourite of our author. We meet with it more than once. STEEVENS.

But that still use⁶ of grief makes wild grief tame,
 My tongue should to thy ears not name my boys,
 'Till that my nails were anchor'd in thine eyes;
 And I, in such a desperate bay of death,
 Like a poor bark, of sails and tackling reft,
 Rush all to pieces on thy rocky bosom.

K. Rich. Madam, so thrive I in my enterprize,
 And dangerous success of bloody wars,
 As I intend more good to you and yours,
 Than ever you or yours by me were harm'd!

Q. Eliz. What good is cover'd with the face of heaven,
 To be discover'd, that can do me good?

K. Rich. The advancement of your children, gentle lady.

Q. Eliz. Up to some scaffold, their to lose their heads?

K. Rich. No, to the dignity and height of fortune,
 The high imperial type⁷ of this earth's glory.

Q. Eliz. Flatter my sorrows with report of it;
 Tell me, what state, what dignity, what honour,
 Canst thou demise⁸ to any child of mine?

K. Rich. Even all I have; ay, and myself and all,
 Will I withal endow a child of thine;
 So in the Lethe of thy angry soul
 Thou drown the sad remembrance of those wrongs,
 Which, thou supposest, I have done to thee.

Q. Eliz. Be brief, lest that the process of thy kindness
 Last longer telling than thy kindness' date.

K. Rich. Then know, that, from my soul, I love thy
 daughter.

Q. Eliz. My daughter's mother thinks it with her soul.

K. Rich.

⁶ — still use —] i. e. constant use. STEEVENS.

⁷ Type is exhibition, show, display. JOHNSON.

I think it means *emblem*, one of its usual significations. — By the imperial type of glory, Richard means a crown. M. MASON.

The canopy placed over a pulpit is still called by architects a type. It is, I apprehend, in a similar sense that the word is here used. HENLEY.

⁸ To demise is to grant, from *demittere*, to devolve a right from one to another. STEEVENS.

The constant language of leases is, “ — *demised*, granted, and to farm let.” But I believe the word is used by no poet but Shakspeare. For *demise*, the reading of the quarto, and first folio, the editor of the second folio arbitrarily substituted *devise*. MALONE.

K. Rich. What do you think?

Q. Eliz. That thou dost love my daughter, from thy soul:

So, from thy soul's love, didst thou love her brothers;
And, from my heart's love, I do thank thee for it.

K. Rich. Be not so hasty to confound my meaning:
I mean, that with my soul I love thy daughter,
And do intend to make her queen of England.

Q. Eliz. Well then, who dost thou mean shall be her king?

K. Rich. Even he, that makes her queen; Who else should be?

Q. Eliz. What, thou?

K. Rich. Even so: What think you of it, madam?

Q. Eliz. How canst thou woo her?

K. Rich. That I would learn of you,
As one being best acquainted with her humour.

Q. Eliz. And wilt thou learn of me?

K. Rich. Madam, with all my heart.

Q. Eliz. Send to her, by the man that slew her brothers,

A pair of bleeding hearts: thereon engrave,
Edward, and York; then, haply, will she weep:
Therefore present to her,—as sometime Margaret⁹
Did to thy father, steep'd in Rutland's blood,—
A handkerchief; which, say to her, did drain
The purple sap from her sweet brother's body,
And bid her wipe her weeping eyes withal.
If this inducement move her not to love,
Send her a letter of thy noble deeds;
Tell her, thou mad'st away her uncle Clarence,
Her uncle Rivers; ay, and, for her sake,
Mad'st quick conveyance with her good aunt Anne.

K. Rich. You mock me, madam; this is not the way
To win your daughter.

Q. Eliz. There is no other way;
Unless thou could'st put on some other shape,
And not be Richard that hath done all this.

K. Rich. Say, that I did all this for love of her?

Q. Eliz.

⁹ Here is another reference to the plays of *Henry VI.* JOHNSON.

Q. *Eliz.* Nay, then indeed, she cannot choofe but have thee,²

Having bought love with fuch a bloody spoil.³

K. *Rich.* Look, what is done cannot be now amended :
Men fhall deal unadvifedly fometimes,
Which after-hours give leifure to repent.
If I did take the kingdom from your fons,
To make amends, I'll give it to your daughter.
If I have kill'd the iffue of your womb,
To quicken your increafe, I will beget
Mine iffue of your blood upon your daughter.
A grandam's name is little lefs in love,
Than is the doting title of a mother ;
They are as children, but one ftep below,
Even of your mettle, of your very blood ;
Of all one pain,—fave for a night of groans
Endur'd of her,⁴ for whom you bid like forrow.⁵
Your children were vexation to your youth,
But mine fhall be a comfort to your age.
The lofs, you have, is but—a fon being king,
And, by that lofs, your daughter is made queen.
I cannot make you what amends I would,
Therefore accept fuch kindnefs as I can.
Dorset your fon, that, with a fearful foul,
Leads difcontented fteps in foreign foil,

This

² [Old copy—*bate*.] The fenfe feems to require that we fhould read :
—but love thee,

ironically. TYRWHITT.

As this is evidently fpoken ironically, I agree with Tyrwhitt, that the prefent reading is corrupt, but fhould rather amend it by reading “ have you,” than “ love you ;” as the word *have* is more likely to have been miftaken for *bate*, the traces of the letters being nearly the fame.

M. MASON.

As this conjecture is, in my opinion, at once fortunate and judicious, I have placed it in the text. A fomewhat correfponding error had happened in *Coriolanus*, laft fpeech of fcene iv. Act IV. where *have* was apparently given inftead of—*bate*. STEEVENS.

³ *Spoil* is wafte, havock. JOHNSON.

⁴ *Of* in the language of Shakfpeare's age was frequently ufed for *by*.

MALONE.

⁵ *Bid* is in the paff tense from *bide*. JOHNSON.

This fair alliance quickly shall call home
 To high promotions and great dignity :
 The king, that calls your beauteous daughter,—wife,
 Familiarly shall call thy Dorset—brother ;
 Again shall you be mother to a king,
 And all the ruins of distressful times
 Repair'd with double riches of content.
 What ! we have many goodly days to see :
 The liquid drops of tears that you have shed,
 Shall come again transform'd to orient pearl ;
 Advantaging their loan, with interest
 Of ten-times-double gain of happiness.⁶
 Go then, my mother, to thy daughter go ;
 Make bold her bashful years with your experience ;
 Prepare her ears to hear a wooer's tale ;
 Put in her tender heart the aspiring flame
 Of golden sov'reignty ; acquaint the princess
 With the sweet silent hours of marriage joys :
 And when this arm of mine hath chastised
 The petty rebel, dull-brain'd Buckingham,
 Bound with triumphant garlands will I come,
 And lead thy daughter to a conqueror's bed ;
 To whom I will retail my conquest won,⁷
 And she shall be sole victress, Cæsar's Cæsar.

Q. Eliz. What were I best to say ? her father's brother
 Would be her lord ? Or shall I say, her uncle ?
 Or, he that slew her brothers, and her uncles ?
 Under what title shall I woo for thee,
 That God, the law, my honour, and her love,
 Can make seem pleasing to her tender years ?

K. Rich. Infer fair England's peace by this alliance.

Q. Eliz.

⁶ [The folio—*love*.] My easy emendation will convince every reader that *love* and *lone* are made out of one another only by a letter turned upside down. *The tears that you have lent to your afflictions, shall be turn'd into gems ; and requite you by way of interest, &c.* THEOBALD.

How often the letters u and n are confounded in these copies, has been shewn in various places. MALONE.

⁷ To *retail* (as Mr. M. Mason has observed in a note on Act III. sc. i. is to hand down from one to another. Richard, in the present instance, means to say he will *transmit* the benefit of his victories to Elizabeth.

Q. Eliz. Which she shall purchase with still lasting war.

K. Rich. Tell her, the king, that may command, entreats.

Q. Eliz. That at her hands, which the king's King forbids.⁸

K. Rich. Say, she shall be a high and mighty queen.

Q. Eliz. To wail the title, as her mother doth.

K. Rich. Say, I will love her everlastingly.

Q. Eliz. But how long shall that title, ever, last?

K. Rich. Sweetly in force unto her fair life's end.

Q. Eliz. But how long fairly shall her sweet life last?

K. Rich. As long as heaven, and nature, lengthens it.

Q. Eliz. As long as hell, and Richard, likes of it.

K. Rich. Say, I, her sov'reign, am her subject low.

Q. Eliz. But she, your subject, loaths such sov'reignty.

K. Rich. Be eloquent in my behalf to her.

Q. Eliz. An honest tale speeds best, being plainly told.

K. Rich. Then, in plain terms tell her my loving tale.

Q. Eliz. Plain, and not honest, is too harsh a style.

K. Rich. Your reasons are too shallow and too quick.

Q. Eliz. O, no, my reasons are too deep and dead;—

Too deep and dead, poor infants, in their graves.

K. Rich. Harp not on that string, madam; that is past.

Q. Eliz. Harp on it still shall I, till heart-strings break.

K. Rich. Now, by my george, my garter, and my crown,—

Q. Eliz. Profan'd, dishonour'd, and the third usurp'd.

K. Rich. I swear.

Q. Eliz. By nothing; for this is no oath.

Thy george, profan'd, hath lost his holy honour;

Thy garter, blemish'd, pawn'd his knightly virtue;

Thy crown, usurp'd, disgrac'd his kingly glory:

If something thou would'st swear to be believ'd,

Swear then by something that thou hast not wrong'd.

K. Rich. Now by the world,—

Q. Eliz. 'Tis full of thy foul wrongs.

K. Rich. My father's death,—

Q. Eliz. Thy life hath that dishonour'd.

K. Rich. Then, by myself,—

Q. Eliz.

⁸ Alluding to the prohibition in the Levitical law. See Leviticus xviii.

Q. Eliz. Thyself is self-mis-us'd.

K. Rich. Why then, by God,—

Q. Eliz. God's wrong is most of all.

If thou had'st fear'd to break an oath by him,
The unity, the king thy brother made,
Had not been broken, nor my brother slain.
If thou had'st fear'd to break an oath by him,
The imperial metal, circling now thy head,
Had grac'd the tender temples of my child;
And both the princes had been breathing here,
Which now, two tender bed-fellows for dust,⁹
Thy broken faith hath made a prey for worms.
What can'st thou swear by now?

K. Rich. By the time to come.

Q. Eliz. That thou hast wronged in the time o'er-past;
For I myself have many tears to wash
Hereafter time, for time past, wrong'd by thee.
The children live, whose parents thou hast slaughter'd,
Ungovern'd youth, to wail it in their age:
The parents live, whose children thou hast butcher'd,
Old barren plants, to wail it with their age.
Swear not by time to come; for that thou hast
Misus'd ere us'd, by times ill-us'd o'er-past.

K. Rich. As I intend to prosper, and repent!
So thrive I in my dangerous attempt
Of hostile arms! myself myself confound!
Heaven, and fortune, bar me happy hours!
Day, yield me not thy light; nor, night, thy rest!
Be opposite all planets of good luck
To my proceeding, if, with pure heart's love,
Immaculate devotion, holy thoughts,
I tender not thy beauteous princely daughter!
In her consists my happiness and thine;
Without her, follows to myself, and thee,
Herself, the land, and many a christian soul,
Death, desolation, ruin, and decay:
It cannot be avoided, but by this;

It

⁹ Mr. Roderick observes, that the word *two* is without any force, and would read:

Which now too tender, &c. STEEVENS,

It will not be avoided, but by this ;
 Therefore, dear mother, (I must call you so,)
 Be the attorney of my love to her.
 Plead what I will be, not what I have been ;
 Not my deserts, but what I will deserve ;
 Urge the necessity and state of times,
 And be not peevish found in great designs.

Q. Eliz. Shall I be tempted of the devil thus ?

K. Rich. Ay, if the devil tempt thee to do good.

Q. Eliz. Shall I forget myself, to be myself ?

K. Rich. Ay, if your self's remembrance wrong yourself.

Q. Eliz. But thou didst kill my children.

K. Rich. But in your daughter's womb I bury them :
 Where, in that nest of spicery, they shall breed²
 Selves of themselves, to your recomforture.

Q. Eliz. Shall I go win my daughter to thy will ?

K. Rich. And be a happy mother by the deed.

Q. Eliz. I go.—Write to me very shortly,
 And you shall understand from me her mind.

K. Rich. Bear her my true love's kifs, and so farewell.

[*Kissing her.* Exit *Q. ELIZABETH.*
 Relenting fool, and shallow, changing—woman !
 How now ? what news ?

Enter RATCLIFF; CATESBY following.

Rat. Most mighty sovereign, on the western coast
 Rideth a puissant navy ; to the shore
 Throng many doubtful hollow-hearted friends,
 Unarm'd, and unresolv'd to beat them back :
 'Tis thought, that Richmond is their admiral ;
 And there they hull, expecting but the aid
 Of Buckingham, to welcome them ashore.

K. Rich. Some light-foot friend post to the duke³ of Norfolk :—

Ratcliff, thyself,—or Catesby ; where is he ?

Cate.

² Alluding to the Phoenix. STEEVENS.

³ Richard's precipitation and confusion is in this scene very happily represented by inconsistent orders, and sudden variations of opinion.

JOHNSON.

Cate. Here, my good lord.

K. Rich. Catesby, fly to the duke.

Cate. I will, my lord, with all convenient haste.

K. Rich. Ratcliff, come hither; Post to Salisbury;
When thou com'st thither,—Dull unmindful villain,

[*To CATESBY.*

Why stay'st thou here, and go'st not to the duke?

Cate. First, mighty liege, tell me your highness' pleasure,
What from your grace I shall deliver to him.

K. Rich. O, true, good Catesby;—Bid him levy straight
The greatest strength and power he can make,
And meet me suddenly at Salisbury.

Cate. I go.

[*Exit.*

Rat. What, may it please you, shall I do at Salisbury?

K. Rich. Why, what would'st thou do there, before I go?

Rat. Your highness told me, I should post before.

Enter STANLEY.

K. Rich. My mind is chang'd.—Stanley, what news with
you?

Stan. None good, my liege, to please you with the hear-
ing;

Nor none so bad, but well may be reported.

K. Rich. Heyday, a riddle! neither good, nor bad!
What need'st thou run so many miles about,
When thou may'st tell thy tale the nearest way?
Once more, what news?

Stan. Richmond is on the seas.

K. Rich. There let him sink, and be the seas on him!
White-liver'd runagate, what doth he there?

Stan. I know not, mighty sovereign, but by guess.

K. Rich. Well, as you guess?

Stan. Stirr'd up by Dorset, Buckingham, and Morton,
He makes for England, here to claim the crown.

K. Rich. Is the chair empty? is the sword unsway'd?
Is the king dead? the empire unpossess'd?
What heir of York⁴ is there alive, but we?

And

⁴ i. e. What son of Richard duke of York? RITSON.

Richard asks this question in the plenitude of power, and no one dares

And who is England's king, but great York's heir?

Then, tell me, what makes he upon the seas?

Stan. Unless for that, my liege, I cannot guess.

K. Rich. Unless for that he comes to be your liege,
You cannot guess wherefore the Welshman comes.

Thou wilt revolt, and fly to him, I fear.

Stan. No, mighty liege; therefore mistrust me not.

K. Rich. Where is thy power then, to beat him back?
Where be thy tenants, and thy followers?

Are they not now upon the western shore,
Safe-conducting the rebels from their ships?

Stan. No, my good lord, my friends are in the north.

K. Rich. Cold friends to me: What do they in the
north:

When they should serve their sovereign in the west?

Stan. They have not been commanded, mighty king:
Pleaseth your majesty to give me leave,
I'll muster up my friends; and meet your grace,
Where and what time your majesty shall please.

K. Rich. Ay, ay, thou would'st be gone to join with Rich-
mond:

I will not trust you, sir.

Stan. Most mighty sovereign,
You have no cause to hold my friendship doubtful;
I never was, nor never will be false.

K. Rich. Well, go, muster men. But, hear you, leave
behind

Your son, George Stanley: look your heart be firm,
Or else his head's assurance is but frail.

Stan.

to answer him. But they whom he addresses, had they not been intimidated, might have told him, that there was a male heir of the house of York alive, who had a better claim to the throne than he; Edward earl of Warwick, the only son of the Usurper's elder brother, George duke of Clarence; and Elizabeth, the eldest daughter of Edward IV, and all her sisters, had a better title than either of them. MALONE.

The issue of king Edward had been pronounced *illegitimate*, the duke of Clarence *attainted of high-treason*,—and the usurper declared “the *undoubted heir of Richard duke of York*,”—by *act of parliament*: so that, as far as such a proceeding can alter the constitution, and legalize usurpation and murder, he is perfectly correct and unanswerable. RITSON.

Stan. So deal with him, as I prove true to you.

[*Exit* STANLEY.]

Enter a Messenger.

Mes. My gracious sovereign, now in Devonshire,
As I by friends am well advertised,
Sir Edward Courtney, and the haughty prelate,
Bishop of Exeter, his elder brother,
With many more confederates, are in arms.

Enter another Messenger.

2. *Mes.* In Kent, my liege, the Guildfords are in arms;
And every hour more competitors⁵
Flock to the rebels, and their power grows strong.

Enter another Messenger.

3. *Mes.* My lord, the army of great Buckingham—

K. Rich. Out on ye, owls! nothing but songs of death?

[*He strikes him.*]

There, take thou that, till thou bring better news.

3. *Mes.* The news I have to tell your majesty,
Is,—that, by sudden floods and fall of waters,
Buckingham's army is dispers'd and scatter'd;
And he himself wander'd away alone,
No man knows whither.

K. Rich. O, I cry you mercy:
There is my purse, to cure that blow of thine.
Hath any well-advised friend proclaim'd
Reward to him that brings the traitor in?

3. *Mes.* Such proclamation hath been made, my liege.

Enter another Messenger.

4. *Mes.* Sir Thomas Lovel, and lord marquis Dorset,
'Tis said, my liege, in Yorkshire are in arms.

But

⁵ That is, more opponents. JOHNSON.

Competitors do not here mean *opponents*, but *associates*. See a note on this subject in *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, where Sir Proteus, speaking of Valentine, says,

“Myself in counsel his *competitor*.”

That is, his *associate*. M. MASON.

But this good comfort bring I to your highness,—
 The Bretagne navy is dispers'd by tempest :
 Richmond, in Dorsetshire, sent out a boat
 Unto the shore, to ask those on the banks,
 If they were his assistants, yea, or no ;
 Who answer'd him, they came from Buckingham
 Upon his party : he, mistrusting them,
 Hois'd sail, and made his course again for Bretagne.⁶

K. Rich. March on, march on, since we are up in arms ;
 If not to fight with foreign enemies,
 Yet to beat down these rebels here at home.

Enter CATESBY.

Cate. My liege, the duke of Buckingham is taken,
 That is the best news ; That the earl of Richmond
 Is with a mighty power landed at Milford,⁷
 Is colder news, but yet they must be told.⁸

K. Rich.

⁶ Henry Tudor, earl of Richmond, the eldest son of Edmund of Hadham earl of Richmond, (who was half-brother to King Henry VI.) by Margaret, the only daughter of John the first duke of Somerset, who was grandson to John of Gaunt duke of Lancaster, was carried by his uncle Jasper earl of Pembroke immediately after the battle of Tewksbury into Britany, where he was kept in a kind of honourable custody by the duke of Bretagne, and where he remained till the year 1484, when he made his escape and fled for protection to the French court. Being considered at that time as nearest in blood to King Henry VI. all the Lancastrian party looked up to him even in the life-time of King Edward IV. who was extremely jealous of him ; and after Richard *usurped* the throne, they with more confidence supported Richmond's claim. The claim of Henry duke of Buckingham was in some respects inferior to that of Richmond ; for he was descended by his mother from Edmund the second duke of Somerset, the younger brother of duke John ; by his father from Thomas duke of Gloster, the younger brother of John of Gaunt : but whatever priority the earl of Richmond might claim by his mother, he could not plead any title through his father, who in fact had no Lancastrian blood whatsoever : nor was his maternal title of the purest kind, for John the first earl of Somerset was an illegitimate son of John of Gaunt. MALONE.

⁷ The earl of Richmond embarked with about 2000 men at Harfleur in Normandy, August 1st, 1485, and landed at Milford Haven on the 7th. He directed his course to Wales, hoping the Welch would receive him cordially, as their countryman, he having been born at Pembroke, and his grandfather being Owen Tudor, who married Katharine of France, the widow of King Henry V. MALONE.

⁸ This was the language of Shakspeare's time, when the word *news* was often considered as plural. MALONE.

K. Rich. Away towards Salisbury ; while we reason here,⁴
 A royal battle might be won and lost :—
 Some one take order, Buckingham be brought
 To Salisbury ;—the rest march on with me. [Exeunt.]

SCENE V.

A Room in Lord Stanley's House.

Enter STANLEY and Sir Christopher URSWICK.

Stan. Sir Christopher, tell Richmond this from me :⁵—
 That, in the sty of this most bloody boar,
 My son George Stanley is frank'd up in hold ;
 If I revolt, off goes young George's head ;

The

⁴ i. e. while we talk here. MALONE.

⁵ The person, who is called Sir Christopher here, and who has been styled so in the *Dramatis Personæ* of all the impressions, I find by the chronicles to have been Christopher Urfwick, a bachelor in divinity ; and chaplain to the countess of Richmond, who had intermarried with the lord Stanley. This priest, the history tells us, frequently went backwards and forwards, unsuspected, on messages betwixt the countess of Richmond, and her husband, and the young earl of Richmond, whilst he was preparing to make his descent on England. THEOBALD.

This Christopher Urfwick was afterwards Almoner to King Henry VII. and retired to Hackney where he died in 1521. On his tomb, still to be seen in that church, it is said “ Ad exteros reges undecies pro patria Legatus ; Deconatum Eboracensem, Archidia conatum Richmundie, Decanatum Windeforise, habitos vivens reliquit. Episcopatum Norwicensem oblatum recusavit.—Weever, who has printed this inscription, concludes his eulogium thus : “ here let him rest as an example for all our great prelates to admire, and for few or none to imitate.” REED.

Dr. Johnson has observed, that *Sir* was anciently a title assumed by graduates. This the late Mr. Guthrie disputes ; and says, it was a title sold by the pope's legates, &c. that his holiness might be on the same footing with the king. STEEVENS.

In *The Scornful Lady* of Beaumont and Fletcher, Welford says to Sir Roger, the curate, “ I acknowledge you to be your art's master.” — “ I am but a *bachelor of art*, sir,” replies Sir Roger. Mr. Guthrie would have done well to have informed us, how Sir Roger could possibly have bought his title of the pope's nuncio ; when, as Abigail tells us, he had only “ twenty nobles *de claro*, besides his pigges *in posse*.” FARMER.

The title of *Sir* is still appropriated to Bachelors of arts in the University of Dublin ; and the word *Bachelor* evidently derived from the French *bas Chevalier*, that is, a lower kind of Knight.—This accounts for the title of *Sir* being given to Bachelors. M. MASON.

The fear of that withholds my present aid.
But, tell me, where is princely Richmond now?

Chris. At Pembroke, or at Ha'rford-west, in Wales.

Stan. What men of name resort to him?

Chris. Sir Walter Herbert, a renowned foldier;
Sir Gilbert Talbot, fir William Stanley;
Oxford, redoubted Pembroke, fir James Blunt,
And Rice ap Thomas, with a valiant crew;
And many other of great fame and worth:
And towards London do they bend their course,
If by the way they be not fought withal.

Stan. Well, hie thee to thy lord; commend me to him;
Tell him, the queen hath heartily consented
He shall espouse Elizabeth her daughter.
These letters will resolve him of my mind.
Farewell. [*Gives papers to Sir Christopher.* [*Exeunt.*

ACT V. SCENE I.

Salisbury. *An open place.*

Enter the Sheriff, and Guard, with BUCKINGHAM, led to execution.

Buck. Will not king Richard let me speak with him? ⁶

Sher. No, my good lord; therefore be patient.

Buck. Hastings, and Edward's children, Rivers, Grey,
Holy king Henry, and thy fair son Edward,
Vaughan, and all that have miscarried
By underhand corrupted foul injustice;
If that your moody discontented souls
Do through the clouds behold this present hour,
Even

⁶ The reason why the duke of Buckingham solicited an interview with the king, is explained in *King Henry VIII.* Act I:

“ ——— I would have play'd
“ The part my father meant to act upon
“ The usurper Richard; who, being at Salisbury,
“ Made suit to come in his presence; which, if granted,
“ As he made semblance of his duty, would
“ Have put his knife into him.” STEEVENS.

Even for revenge mock my destruction!—

'This is All-Souls' day, fellows, is it not?

Sher. It is, my lord.

Buck. Why, then All-Souls' day is my body's doomsday.

This is the day, which, in king Edward's time,

I wish'd might fall on me, when I was found

False to his children, or his wife's allies:

This is the day, wherein I wish'd to fall

By the false faith of him whom most I trusted;

This, this All-Souls' day to my fearful soul,

Is the determin'd respite of my wrongs,⁷

That high All-fer which I dally'd with,

Hath turn'd my feigned prayer on my head,

And given in earnest what I begg'd in jest.

Thus doth he force the swords of wicked men

To turn their own points on their masters' bosoms:

Thus Margaret's curse falls heavy on my neck,—

When he, quoth she, shall split thy heart with sorrow,

Remember Margaret was a prophetess.——

Come, firs, convey me to the block of shame;

Wrong hath but wrong, and blame the due of blame.⁸

[*Exeunt* BUCKINGHAM, &c.]

⁷ Hanmer has rightly explained it, the time to which the punishment of his wrongs was *respited*.

Wrongs in this line means *wrongs* done, or injurious practices.

JOHNSON.

⁸ This scene should, in my opinion, be added to the foregoing act, so the fourth act will have a more full and striking conclusion, and the fifth act will comprise the business of the important day, which put an end to the competition of York and Lancaster. Some of the quarto editions are not divided into acts, and it is probable, that this and many other plays were left by the author in one unbroken continuity, and afterwards distributed by chance, or what seems to have been a guide very little better, by the judgement or caprice of the first editors. JOHNSON.

SCENE II.

Plain near Tamworth.

Enter, with drum and colours, RICHMOND, OXFORD,⁹ Sir James BLUNT,² Sir Walter HERBERT, and Others, with forces, marching.

Richm. Fellows in arms, and my most loving friends,
Bruis'd underneath the yoke of tyranny,
Thus far into the bowels of the land
Have we march'd on without impediment;
And here receive we from our father Stanley
Lines of fair comfort and encouragement.
The wretched, bloody, and usurping boar,
That spoil'd your summer fields, and fruitful vines,
Swills your warm blood³ like wash, and makes his trough
In your embowell'd bosoms,⁴—this foul swine

Lies

⁹ John de Vere earl of Oxford, a zealous Lancastrian, who after a long confinement in Hames Castle in Picardy, escaped from thence in 1484, and joined the earl of Richmond at Paris. He commanded the Archers at the battle of Bosworth. MALONE.

² He had been captain of the Castle of Hames, and assisted the earl of Oxford in his escape. MALONE.

³ This sudden change from the past time to the present, and *vice versa*, is common in Shakspeare. So, in the argument prefixed to his *Rape of Lucrece*: "The same night he treacherously *stealt* into her chamber, violently *ravished* her," &c. MALONE.

⁴ Exenterated; ripped up: alluding, perhaps, to the Promethean vulture; or, more probably, to the sentence pronounced in the English courts against traitors, by which they are condemn'd to be hanged, *drawn*, that is, *embowelled*, and quartered. JOHNSON.

Drawn, in the sentence pronounced upon traitors only, signifies to be *drawn by the heels or on a hurdle* from the prison to the place of execution. So, Dr. Johnson has properly expounded it in *Measure for Measure*, Act II. So, Holinshed in the year 1569, and Stowe's *Chronicle*, edit. 1614, p. 162, 171, 418, 763, 766. Sometimes our historians use a colloquial inaccuracy of expression in writing, hanged, *drawn*, and quarter'd; but they often express it—*drawn*, hanged, and quartered; and sometimes they add—*bowelled*, or his bowels taken out, which would be tautology, if the same thing was implied in the word *drawn*. TOLLET.

Drawn in the sense of *embowelled*, is never used but in speaking of a *fowl*. It is true, *embowelling* is also part of the sentence in high treason, but in order of time it comes after *drawing* and *hanging*.

BLACKSTONE.

Lies now even in the centre of this isle,
Near to the town of Leicester, as we learn :
From Tamworth thither, is but one day's march.
In God's name, cheerly on, courageous friends,
To reap the harvest of perpetual peace
By this one bloody trial of sharp war.

Oxf. Every man's conscience is a thousand swords,⁵
To fight against that bloody homicide.

Herb. I doubt not, but his friends will turn to us.

Blunt. He hath no friends, but who are friends for fear ;
Which, in his dearest need, will fly from him.

Richm. All for our vantage. Then, in God's name,
march :

True hope is swift, and flies with swallow's wings,⁶
King's it makes gods, and meaner creatures kings. [*Exeunt.*

SCENE III.

Bosworth Field.

*Enter King RICHARD, and forces; the Duke of NORFOLK,
Earl of SURREY, and Others.*

K. Rich. Here pitch our tents, even here in Bosworth
field.—

My lord of Surrey, why look ye so sad ?

Sur. My heart is ten times lighter than my looks.

K. Rich. My lord of Norfolk,—

Nor. Here, most gracious liege.

K. Rich. Norfolk, we must have knocks ; Ha! must
we not ?

Nor. We must both give and take, my loving lord.

K. Rich. Up with my tent : Here will I lie to-night ;⁷

[*Soldiers begin to set up the king's tent.*
But

⁵ Alluding to the old adage, "*Conscientia mille testes.*"

BLACKSTONE.

⁶ Drayton calls joy,

" — the swallow-winged joy." STEEVENS.

⁷ Richard is reported not to have slept in his tent on the night before the battle, but in the town of Leicester. STEEVENS.

But where, to-morrow?—Well, all's one for that.—

Who hath descry'd the number of the traitors?

Nor. Six or seven thousand is their utmost power.

K. Rich. Why, our battalia trebles that account:⁸

Besides, the king's name is a tower of strength,

Which they upon the adverse faction want.—

Up with the tent.—Come, noble gentlemen,

Let us survey the vantage of the ground;—

Call for some men of sound direction:⁹—

Let's want no discipline, make no delay;

For, lords, to-morrow is a busy day.

[*Exeunt.*]

Enter, on the other side of the field, RICHMOND, Sir William Brandon, Oxford, and other lords.² Some of the soldiers pitch RICHMOND's Tent.

Richm. The weary sun hath made a golden set,

And, by the bright track of his fiery car,

Gives token of a goodly day to-morrow.—

Sir William Brandon, you shall bear my standard.—

Give me some ink and paper³ in my tent;—

I'll

⁸ Richmond's forces are said to have been only five thousand; and Richard's army consisted of about twelve thousand men. But lord Stanley lay at a small distance with three thousand men, and Richard may be supposed to have reckoned on them as his friends, though the event proved otherwise. MALONE.

⁹ True judgement; tried military skill. JOHNSON.

² The direction in the folio, is—"Enter Richmond and Sir William Brandon, Oxford and *Dorset*." In the quarto only, "Enter Richmond, with the *lordes*." This is one of numerous proofs that many of the alterations in the folio edition of this play were made by the players, and not by Shakspeare; for Shakspeare had been informed by Holinshed that *Dorset* was not at the battle of Bosworth; Richmond before his leaving Paris having borrowed a sum of money from the French king, Charles the Eighth, and having left the Marquis of Dorset and Sir John Bouchier as hostages for the payment. MALONE.

³ I have placed these lines as they stand in the first editions: the rest place them three speeches before, after the words *Sir William Brandon, you shall bear my standard*; interrupting what there follows; *The earl of Pembroke, &c.* I think them more naturally introduced here, when he is retiring to his tent and considering what he has to do that night. POPE.

I have followed the folio, which, of this play, is by far the most correct copy. I do not find myself much influenced by Mr. Pope's remark.

STEEVENS.

I'll draw the form and model of our battle,
 Limit ⁴ each leader to his several charge,
 And part in just proportion our small power.
 My lord of Oxford,—you, sir William Brandon,—
 And you, sir Walter Herbert, stay with me:
 The earl of Pembroke keeps his regiment; ⁵—
 Good captain Blunt, bear my good night to him,
 And by the second hour in the morning
 Desire the earl to see me in my tent:—
 Yet one thing more, good captain, do for me;
 Where is lord Stanley quarter'd, do you know?

Blunt. Unless I have mista'en his colours much,
 (Which, well I am assur'd, I have not done,)
 His regiment lies half a mile at least
 South from the mighty power of the king.

Richm. If without peril it be possible,
 Sweet Blunt, make some good means ⁶ to speak with him,
 And give him from me this most needful note.

Blunt. Upon my life, my lord, I'll undertake it;
 And so, God give you quiet rest to-night!

Richm. Good night, good captain Blunt. Come, gentlemen,
 Let us consult upon to-morrow's business;
 In to my tent, the air is raw and cold.

[They withdraw into the Tent.]

*Enter, to his Tent, King RICHARD, NORFOLK, RATCLIFF,
 and CATESBY.*

K. Rich. What is't o'clock?

Cate. It's supper time, my lord;
 It's nine o'clock.⁷

K. Rich.

⁴ *Limit* —] i. e. appoint. STEEVENS.

⁵ i. e. remains with it. Thus we say of a person confined by illness—he *keeps* his chamber, or his bed. STEEVENS.

⁶ i. e. adopt some convenient measure. STEEVENS.

⁷ So the folio. The quarto reads—It is *six* of the clock; full supper time. MALONE.

I think, we ought to read—*six* instead of *nine*. A supper at so late an hour as *nine* o'clock, in the year 1485, would have been a prodigy.

STEEVENS.

K. Rich. I will not sup to-night.—

Give me some ink and paper.—

What, is my beaver easier than it was?—

And all my armour laid into my tent?

Cate. It is, my liege; and all things are in readiness.

K. Rich. Good Norfolk, hie thee to thy charge;
Use careful watch, choose trusty sentinels.

Nor. I go, my lord.

K. Rich. Stir with the lark to-morrow, gentle Norfolk.

Nor. I warrant you, my lord. [Exit.

K. Rich. Ratcliff,—

Rat. My lord?

K. Rich. Send out a pursuivant at arms
To Stanley's regiment; bid him bring his power
Before sun-rising, lest his son George fall
Into the blind cave of eternal night.—

Fill me a bowl of wine.—Give me a watch :⁸—

[To CATESBY.

Saddle white Surrey for the field to-morrow.—

Look

⁸ A *watch* has many significations, but I should believe that it means in this place not a sentinel, which would be regularly placed at the king's tent; nor an instrument to measure time, which was not used in that age; but a watch-light, a candle to burn by him; the light that afterwards *burnt blue*; yet a few lines after, he says:

Bid my guard watch,

which leaves it doubtful whether *watch* is not here a sentinel. JOHNSON.

A *watch*, i. e. guard, would certainly be placed about a royal tent, without any request of the king concerning it.

I believe, therefore, that particular kind of candle is here meant, which was anciently called a *watch*, because, being marked out into sections, each of which was a certain portion of time in burning, it supplied the place of the more modern instrument by which we measure the hours. I have seen these candles represented with great nicety in some of the pictures of Albert Durer. STEEVENS.

Lord Bacon mentions a species of light called an *all-night*, which is a wick set in the middle of a large cake of wax. JOHNSON.

The word *give* shows, I think, that a *watch-light* was intended. Cole has in his Dictionary, 1679, *Watch-candle*. MALONE.

⁹ So, in Holinshed's Chronicle (copied from Hall's, Sig. II. iii. b.) "Then he (inuirowed with his gard) with a frowning countenance and cruell visage, mounted on a great *white courser*, and followed with his footmen," &c. p. 754. STEEVENS.

Look that my staves be found,² and not too heavy.

Ratcliff,—

Kat. My lord?

K. Rich. Saw'st thou the melancholy lord Northumberland?³

Rat. Thomas the earl of Surrey, and himself,
Much about cock-shut time,⁴ from troop to troop,

Went

² *Staves* are the wood of the lances. JOHNSON.

As it was usual to carry more lances than one into the field, the lightness of them was an object of consequence. *Hall* informs us, that at the jousts in honour of the marriage of Mary, the younger sister of King Henry VIII. with the king of France, that “a gentleman called Anthony Bownarme came into the field all armed, and on his body brought in fight x speres, that is to wyt, iii speres set in every styroppe forward, and under every thigh ii speres upwarde, and under his left arme was one spere backward, and the 10th in his hand,” &c. STEEVENS.

³ Richard calls him *melancholy*, because he did not join heartily in his cause. “Henry the fourth earle of Northumberland,” says Holinshed, “whether it was by the commandement of King Richarde putting diffidence in him, or he did it for the love and favour he bare unto the earle [of Richmond], stood still with a great company, and intermixed not in the battaile; which was [after the battle] incontinently received into favour, and made of the counsaile.” MALONE.

⁴ *Cock-shut time*,] i. e. twilight. In Mr. Whalley's note upon *Ben Jonson*, Vol. V. p. 204. “a *Cockshut* is said to be a net to catch woodcocks; and as the time of taking them in this manner is in the twilight, either after sun-set or before its rising, *cock-shut* light may very properly express the evening or the morning twilight.” The particular form of such a net, and the manner of using it, is delineated and described in *Dictionary Rusticum*, 2 vols. 8vo. 3d edit. 1726, under the word *cock-roads*. It is the custom of the woodcock to lie close all day, and towards evening he takes wing, which act of flight might anciently be termed his *shoot* or *shot*. So, the ballast of a ship is said to *shoot*, when it runs from one side to the other. This etymology gives us, perhaps, the original signification of the word, without any recourse for it to the name of a net, which might receive its denomination from the time of the day, or from the occasion on which it was used; for I believe there was a net which was called a *cock-shot*. Holinshed's *Description of Britain*, p. 110, calls a stone which naturally has a hole in it, “an apt *cocke-shot* for the devil to run through;” which, I apprehend, alludes to the resemblance of the hole in the stone to the meshes of a net. TOLLET.

I must support my interpretation against Mr. Tollet. He in part admits, and then proceeds to overthrow it. And I will support it by the very instance Mr. Steevens adduced in his favour. The ballast of a ship may be

Went through the army, cheering up the soldiers.

K. Rich. I am satisfy'd. Give me a bowl of wine:
I have not that alacrity of spirit,
Nor cheer of mind, that I was wont to have.—
So, set it down.—Is ink and paper ready?

Rat. It is, my lord.

K. Rich. Bid my guard watch; leave me.
About the mid of night, come to my tent
And help to arm me.—Leave me, I say.

[*King RICHARD retires into his tent. Exeunt RAT-
CLIFF and CATESBY.*

Richmond's Tent opens, and discovers him, and his officers, &c.

Enter STANLEY.

Stan. Fortune and victory sit on thy helm!

Richm. All comfort that the dark night can afford,

Be

be said to *shoot*; as we now say, to *shoot* coals, or corn out of a sack; but it was never yet said that a woodcock *shoots*, when he takes his evening flight. *Cock-shoot*, in the passage Mr Steevens cites, is certainly a substantive, and the accusative case after the verb *watch*, which is confirmed by what follows, *or a limed bush*. And when the *cockshut* net is fixed, a person always stands by to watch and manage it. A similar expression is in Hall's Satires:

“To watch a sinking cock, upon the shore —.”

WHALLEY.

The passage from Hall is misquoted. He alludes to Fishing and says—

“Or watch a sinking corke upon the shore.” Edit. 1602, *Virgidemiarum*, Lib. 4. p. 33. STEEVENS.

That *cockshut* time meant twilight, is ascertained by Minshew's Dictionary, 1617. See the latter word. MALONE.

Ogilby, in his *Paraphrase of Æsop's Fables*, 4to. 1651. p. 6. introduces this expression in a way which perhaps strengthens Mr. Tollet's opinion that *cockshoot* was taken from the flight of the woodcock. He makes the pine boast,

“— when loud winds make *cock-shoots* thro' the wood,

“Rending down mighty oaks, I firme have stood.”

Here, I apprehend, Ogilby means to describe hurricanes which, by blowing down the trees, made glades or partial openings in the woods.

Be to thy person, noble father-in-law !

Tell me, how fares our loving mother ?

Stan. I, by attorney,⁵ blefs thee from thy mother,
Who prays continually for Richmond's good :
So much for that.—The silent hours steal on,
And flaky darknefs breaks within the east.
In brief, for fo the feafon bids us be,
Prepare thy battle early in the morning ;
And put thy fortune to the arbitrement
Of bloody ftrokes, and mortal-ftaring war,⁶
I, as I may, (that which I would, I cannot,)
With beft advantage will deceive the time,⁷
And aid thee in this doubtful fhock of arms :
But on thy fide I may not be too forward,
Left, being feen, thy brother tender George
Be executed⁸ in his father's fight.
Farewell : The leifure and the fearful time

Cuts

⁵ By deputation. JOHNSON.

⁶ Thus the old copies. I fuppofe, by *mortal-ftaring war* is meant—
war that looks big, or ftares fatally on its victims. STEEVENS.

I fufpect the poet wrote—*mortal-fcaring war.* MALONE.

I adhere to the old reading. So, in *Antony and Cleopatra*, Enobarbus
fays of Antony who is iffuing out to battle—

“ Now he'll out-ftare the lightning.” STEEVENS.

⁷ I will take the beft opportunity to elude the dangers of this con-
juncture. JOHNSON.

⁸ So Holinshed after Hall : “ When the faid lord Stanley would have
departed into his country to vifit his familie, and to recreate and refrefhe
his fpirits, as he openly faid, (but the truth was to the intent to be in a
perfite readineffe to join the earle of Richmonde at his firft arrival in
Englande,) the king in no wife would fuffer him to depart before he had
left as an hofage in the court, George Stanley, lord Strange, his firft
begotten fon and heir.”—

“ The lord Stanley lodged in the fame town, [Stafford] and hearing
that the earle of Richmond was marching thitherward, gave to him place,
diflodging him and his,—to avoid all fufpicion, being afraide leaft if he
fhould be feen openly to be a factor or ayder to the earle, his fon-in-law,
before the day of battayle, that king Richard, which yet not utterly put
him in diffidence and miftruft, would put to fome evil death his fon and
heir apparent.”

The young nobleman whom the poet calls George Stanley, was created
Baron Strange, in right of his wife, by King Edward IV. in 1482.

Cuts off the ceremonious vows of love,⁹
 And ample interchange of sweet discourse,
 Which so long funder'd friends should dwell upon;
 God give us leisure for these rites of love!
 Once more, adieu.—Be valiant, and speed well!

Richm. Good lords, conduct him to his regiment:
 I'll strive, with troubled thoughts, to take a nap;
 Lest leaden slumber peise me down to-morrow,
 When I should mount with wings of victory:
 Once more, good night, kind lords and gentlemen.

[*Exeunt* Lords, &c. *with* STANLEY.

O Thou! whose captain I account myself,
 Look on my forces with a gracious eye;
 Put in their hands thy bruising irons² of wrath,
 That they may crush down with a heavy fall
 The usurping helmets of our adversaries!
 Make us thy ministers of chastisement,
 That we may praise thee in thy victory!
 To thee I do commend my watchful soul,
 Ere I let fall the windows of mine eyes;
 Sleeping, and waking, O, defend me still!

[*Sleeps.*

*The Ghost³ of Prince Edward, son to Henry the Sixth, rises
 between the two tents.*

Ghost. Let me sit heavy on thy soul to-morrow!

[*To* King RICHARD.
 Think,

⁹ We have still a phrase equivalent to this, however harsh it may seem, *I would do this, if leisure would permit*, where *leisure*, as in this passage, stands for *want of leisure*. JOHNSON.

² The allusion is to the ancient mace. HENLEY.

³ The account given by Polydore Vergil, which was copied by Hall and Holinshed, is as follows: "The same went, that he had the same night [the night before the battle of Bosworth] a dreadful and terrible dream; for it seemed to him being aslepe, that he saw *diverse ymages lyke terrible devilles*, which pulled and haled him, not sufferying him to take any quiet or reste. The which straunge vision not so sodaynly strake his heart with a sodayne feare, but it stuffed his head and troubled his mind with many busy and dreadful imaginations. And least that it might be suspected that he was abashed for fear of his enemies, and for that cause looked so piteously, he recited and declared to his familiar friends, of the morning,

Think, how thou stab'dst me in my prime of youth
At Tewksbury; Despair therefore, and die!—
Be cheerful, Richmond; for the wronged souls
Of butcher'd princes fight in thy behalf:
King Henry's issue, Richmond, comforts thee.

The Ghost of King Henry the Sixth rises.

Ghost. When I was mortal, my anointed body.

[*To King* RICHARD.]

By thee was punched full of deadly holes:
Think on the Tower, and me; Despair, and die;
Harry the sixth bids thee despair and die!—
Virtuous and holy, be thou conqueror.

[*To* RICHMOND.]

Harry, that prophecy'd thou should'st be king,⁴
Doth comfort thee in thy sleep; Live, and flourish!⁵

The Ghost of Clarence rises.

Ghost. Let me sit heavy on thy soul to-morrow!

[*To King* RICHARD.]

I, that was wash'd to death with fulsome wine,⁶
Poor Clarence, by thy guile betray'd to death!
To-morrow in the battle think on me,
And fall thy edgeless sword;⁷ Despair, and die!—

[*To* RICHMOND.]

Thou morning, his *wonderfull vyssion*, and fearfull dreame." I quote from Hol-
inshed, because he was Shakspeare's authority.

Polydore Vergil, as I have already observed, began to write his history
about twenty years after Richard's death. MALONE.

⁴ The prophecy, to which this allusion is made, was uttered in one of
the parts of *Henry the Sixth*. JOHNSON.

⁵ Surely we should read, with Sir Thomas Hanmer:

Doth comfort thee in sleep; Live thou and flourish! STEEVENS.

⁶ *Fulsome*, was sometimes used, I think, in the sense of *unctuous*. The
wine in which the body of Clarence was thrown, was *Malmsey*.

MALONE.

If Clarence had been choaked by this wine, he might fairly enough have
employed the epithet *fulsome* in its vulgar and accepted sense.—Shakspeare,
however, seems to have forgot himself. The duke (as appears from Act I.
sc. ult.) was killed before he was thrown into the Malmsey butt, and con-
sequently could not be *washed to death*. STEEVENS.

⁷ *Fall*, in the present instance, is a verb active, signifying *to drop*, or
let fall. STEEVENS.

Thou offspring of the house of Lancaster,
The wronged heirs of York do pray for thee;
Good angels guard thy battle! Live and flourish!

The Ghosts of Rivers, Grey, and Vaughan, rise.

Riv. Let me sit heavy on thy soul to-morrow,
[*To King RICHARD.*

Rivers, that died at Pomfret! Despair, and die!

Grey. Think upon Grey, and let thy soul despair!

[*To King RICHARD.*

Vaug. Think upon Vaughan; and, with guilty fear,
Let fall thy lance! Despair, and die!

[*To King RICHARD.*

All. Awake! and think, our wrongs in Richard's bosom

[*To RICHMOND.*

Will conquer him;—awake, and win the day!

The Ghost of Hastings rises.

Ghost. Bloody and guilty, guiltily awake;
[*To King RICHARD.*

And in a bloody battle end thy days!

Think on lord Hastings; and despair, and die!—

Quiet untroubled soul, awake, awake!

[*To RICHMOND.*

Arm, fight, and conquer, for fair England's sake!

The Ghosts of the two young Princes rise.

Ghosts. Dream on thy cousins smother'd in the Tower;

Let us be lead within thy bosom, Richard,

And weigh thee down to ruin, shame, and death!

Thy nephews' souls bid thee despair and die.—

Sleep, Richmond, sleep in peace, and wake in joy;

Good angels guard thee from the boar's annoy!

Live, and beget a happy race of kings!

Edward's unhappy sons do bid thee flourish.

The Ghost of Queen Anne rises.

Ghost. Richard, thy wife, that wretched Anne thy wife,

That never slept a quiet hour with thee,⁸
 Now fills thy sleep with perturbations;
 To-morrow in the battle think on me,
 And fall thy edgeless sword; Despair and die!—
 Thou, quiet soul, sleep thou a quiet sleep;

[To RICHMOND.]

Dream of success and happy victory;
 Thy adversary's wife doth pray for thee.

The Ghost of Buckingham rises.

Ghost. The first was I, that help'd thee to the crown;

[To King RICHARD.]

The last was I, that felt thy tyranny:
 O, in the battle think on Buckingham,
 And die in terror of thy guiltiness!
 Dream on, dream on, of bloody deeds and death;
 Fainting, despair; despairing, yield thy breath!—
 I died for hope,⁹ ere I could lend thee aid:

[To RICHMOND.]

But cheer thy heart, and be thou not dismay'd:

God,

⁸ *That never slept a quiet hour with thee,*] Shakspeare was probably here thinking of Sir Thomas More's animated description of Richard, which Holinshed transcribed: "I have heard (says Sir Thomas) by credible report of such as were secret with his chamberlaine, that after this abominable deed done [the murder of his nephews] he never had quiet in his mind. He never thought himself sure where he went abroad; his eyes whirled about; his body privily fenced; his hand ever upon his dagger; his countenance and manner like one always readie to strike againe. He took ill rest a-nights; lay long waking and musing, sore wearied with care and watch; rather slumbered than slept, troubled with sea full crames; suddenly sometime start up, leapt out of bed, and ran about the chamber; so was his restless heart continually tost and tumbled with the tedious impression and stormy remembrances of his abominable deede."

With such a companion well might Anne say, that she never *slept one quiet hour.* MALONE.

⁹ i. e. I died for wishing well to you. But Mr. Theobald, with great sagacity, conjectured *holpe* or *aid*; which give the line this fine sense, *I died for giving thee aid before I could give thee aid.* WARBURTON.

Sir Thomas Hanmer reads:

I died forsook,——

and supports his conjecture, as follows:

"This

God, and good angels, fight on Richmond's side;
And Richard falls in height of all his pride.

[*The Ghosts vanish. King RICHARD starts out of his dream.*]

K. Rich. Give me another horse,²—bind up my wounds,—
Have mercy, Jesu!—Soft; I did but dream.—
O coward conscience, how dost thou afflict me!—
The lights burn blue,³—It is now dead midnight.

Cold

“ This, as appears from history, was the case of the duke of Buckingham: that being stopp'd with his army upon the banks of Severn by great deluges of rain, he was deserted by his soldiers, who being in great distress, half famished for want of victuals, and destitute of pay, disbanded themselves and fled.”

Sir Thomas Hanmer's emendation is very plausible; but may not the meaning of the expression be, *I died for only having hoped to give you that assistance*, which I never had it in my power to afford you in reality?

It may, however, be observed, that *fore*, or *for*, when joined to a verb, had anciently a negative signification, So, in *Macbeth*:

“ — He shall live a man *forb'd*.”

As to *bid* was to pray, so to *forbid* had the meaning directly opposite, i. e. to curse. In *Antony and Cleopatra*, to *for speak* is to speak against. In *Hamlet*, and *The Midsummer Night's Dream*, to *for do* is the very reverse of to do. *Holpen* or *bolp* is the old participle passive of *help*, and is used in *Macbeth*:

“ — his great love, sharp as his spur, hath *bolp* him

“ To his home before us.”

Instead of *for hope*, we may therefore read *forbolpe*, which would mean *unaided, abandon'd, deserted, unbelp'd*, which was the real misfortune of the duke of Buckingham. STEEVENS.

Perhaps we should read:

I died *fore-done*, &c.

So, in *Hamlet*, Act V.

“ *Fore-do* its own life.” TYRWHITT.

² There is in this, as in many of our author's speeches of passion, something very trifling, and something very striking. Richard's debate, whether he should quarrel with himself, is too long continued, but the subsequent exaggeration of his crimes is truly tragical. JOHNSON.

³ So, in Lyly's *Galathea*, 1592: “ I thought there was some *spirit* in it because it burnt so *blue*; for my mother would often tell me when the *candle burnt blue*, there was some ill *spirit* in the house.” It was anciently supposed that fire was a preservative against evil spirits; “ because,” says Nash, in *Pierce Penniless's Supplication to the Devil*, 1595, “ when any *spirit* appeareth, the lights by little and little goe out as it were of their own

Cold fearful drops stand on my trembling flesh.
 What do I fear? myself? there's none else by:
 Richard loves Richard; that is, I am I.
 Is there a murderer here? No;—Yes; I am:
 'Then fly,—What, from myself? Great reason: Why?
 Lest I revenge. What? Myself on myself?
 I love myself. Wherefore? for any good,
 That I myself have done unto myself?
 O, no: alas, I rather hate myself,
 For hateful deeds committed by myself.
 I am a villain; Yet I lie, I am not.
 Fool, of thyself speak well:—Fool, do not flatter.
 My conscience hath a thousand several tongues,
 And every tongue brings in a several tale,
 And every tale condemns me for a villain.
 Perjury, perjury, in the high'st degree,
 Murder, stern murder, in the dir'st degree;
 All several sins, all us'd in each degree,
 Throng to the bar, crying all,—Guilty! guilty!
 I shall despair.—There is no creature loves me;
 And, if I die, no soul will pity me:—
 Nay, wherefore should they? since that I myself
 Find in myself no pity to myself.
 Methought, the souls of all that I had murder'd ⁴

Came

own accord, and *the takers* are by degrees extinguished." The *takers* are the spirits who blast or take. So, in *King Lear*:

“ — strike her young bones,

“ Ye taking airs, with lameness!” STEEVENS.

⁴ These lines stand with so little propriety at the end of this speech, that I cannot but suspect them to be misplaced. Where then shall they be inserted? Perhaps after these words:

Fool, do not flatter. JOHNSON.

I agree with Johnson in supposing that this and the two following lines have been misplaced, but I differ from him with respect to their just situation.—The place, in my opinion, in which they might be introduced with the most propriety, is just ten lines further on, after the words

Ratcliff, I fear, I fear,—

Methought, &c.

And then Ratcliff's reply,

Nay, good my lord, be not afraid of shadows,

would be natural; whereas as the text is now regulated, Ratcliff bids him not be afraid of shadows, without knowing that he had been haunted by them;

Came to my tent; and every one did threat
To-morrow's vengeance on the head of Richard.

Enter RATCLIFF.

Rat. My lord,—

K. Rich. Who's there?

Rat. Ratcliff, my lord: 'tis I. The early village cock
Hath twice done salutation to the morn;
Your friends are up, and buckle on their armour.

K. Rich. O, Ratcliff, I have dream'd a fearful dream!—
What thinkest thou? will our friends prove all true?

Rat. No doubt, my lord.

K. Rich. Ratcliff, I fear, I fear,—

Rat. Nay, good my lord, be not afraid of shadows.

K. Rich. By the apostle Paul, shadows to-night
Have struck more terror to the soul of Richard,
Than can the substance of ten thousand soldiers,
Armed in proof, and led by shallow Richmond.
It is not yet near day. Come, go with me;
Under our tents I'll play the eaves-dropper,
To hear, if any mean to shrink from me.

[*Exeunt King RICHARD and RATCLIFF.*]

Richmond wakes. Enter OXFORD and Others.

Lords. Good morrow, Richmond.

Richm.

them; unless we suppose that the idea of shadows is included in what Richard calls a *frightful dream*. M. MASON.

Either the two and twenty intermediate lines are not Shakspeare's, or are so unworthy of him, that it were to be wished they could with propriety be degraded to the margin. I wonder that Dr. Johnson, who thought the subsequent lines misplaced, did not perceive that their connection with the preceding part of the speech, ended at *trembling flesh*, was interrupted solely by this apparent interpolation, which is in the highest degree childish and unnatural. RITSON.

I rather suppose these lines (though genuine) to have been crossed out of the stage manuscript by Shakspeare himself, and afterwards restored by the original but tasteless editor of his play.

Burbage, the first performer of Richard, might, for obvious reasons, have requested their dismissal; or the poet discovering how awkwardly they stood, might, "without a prompter," have discarded them.

STEEVENS.

Richm. 'Cry mercy, lords, and watchful gentlemen,
That you have ta'en a tardy fluggard here.

Lords. How have you slept, my lord?

Richm. The sweetest sleep, and fairest-boding dreams,
That ever enter'd in a drowsy head,
Have I since your departure had, my lords.
Methought, their souls, whose bodies Richard murder'd,
Came to my tent, and cry'd—On! victory!
I promise you, my heart is very jocund
In the remembrance of so fair a dream.
How far into the morning is it, lords?

Lords. Upon the stroke of four.

Richm. Why, then 'tis time to arm, and give direction.—
[*He advances to the troops.*]

More than I have said, loving countrymen,
The leisure and enforcement of the time
Forbids to dwell on: Yet remember this,—
God, and our good cause, fight upon our side;
The prayers of holy saints, and wronged souls,
Like high-rear'd bulwarks, stand before our faces;
Richard except, those, whom we fight against,
Had rather have us win, than him they follow.
For what is he they follow? truly, gentlemen,
A bloody tyrant, and a homicide;
One rais'd in blood, and one in blood establish'd;
One that made means⁵ to come by what he hath,
And slaughter'd those that were the means to help him;
A base foul stone, made precious by the foil
Of England's chair,⁶ where he is falsely set;
One that hath ever been God's enemy:

Then,

⁵ To *make means* was, in Shakspeare's time, often used in an unfavourable sense, and signified—to come at any thing by indirect practices.

STEEVENS.

⁶ It is plain that *foil* cannot here mean that of which the obscurity recommends the brightness of the diamond. It must mean the leaf (*feuille*) or thin plate of metal in which the stone is set. JOHNSON.

Nothing has been, or is still more common, than to put a bright-coloured foil under a cloudy or low-prized stone. The same allusion is common to many writers. STEEVENS.

'England's chair' means England's throne: Set is used equivocally.

MALONE.

Then, if you fight against God's enemy,
 God will, in justice, ward you as his soldiers;
 If you do sweat to put a tyrant down,
 You sleep in peace, the tyrant being slain;
 If you do fight against your country's foes,
 Your country's fat shall pay your pains the hire;
 If you do fight in safeguard of your wives,
 Your wives shall welcome home the conquerors;
 If you do free your children from the sword,
 Your childrens' children quit⁷ it in your age.
 Then, in the name of God, and all these rights,
 Advance your standards, draw your willing swords:
 For me, the ransom of my bold attempt⁸
 Shall be this cold corpse on the earth's cold face;
 But if I thrive, the gain of my attempt
 The least of you shall share his part thereof.
 Sound, drums and trumpets, boldly and cheerfully;
 God, and saint George!⁹ Richmond, and victory.

[*Exeunt.*]

Re-enter King RICHARD, RATCLIFF, Attendants and Forces.

K. Rich. What said Northumberland, as touching Richmond?

Rat. That he was never trained up in arms.

K. Rich. He said the truth: and what said Surrey then?

Rat. He smil'd and said, the better for our purpose.

K. Rich.

⁷ —quit—] i. e. requite. STEEVENS.

⁸ The *fine* paid by me in atonement for my rashness shall be my dead corpse. JOHNSON.

⁹ *Saint George* was the common cry of the English soldiers when they charged the enemy. The author of the old *Arte of Warre*, printed in the latter end of queen Elizabeth's reign, formally enjoins the use of this cry among his military laws, p. 84.

In Beaumont and Fletcher's *Knight of the Burning Pestle*, that admirable and early ridicule of romance-writing, where the champion *Ralph* is going to attack the *Barber*, or the huge giant *Barbaroso*, the burlesque is heightened, when, with much solemnity, and as if a real heroic encounter had been going forward, he cries out, "*Saint George!* set on before, march squire and page." Act III. sc. i. And afterwards, when the engagement begins, *Ralph* says, "*St. George for me!*" and *Barbaroso*, "*Gargantua for me!*"

T. WARTON.

K. Rich. He was i'the right; and so, indeed, it is.

[*Clock strikes.*

Tell the clock there.—Give me a calendar.—

Who saw the sun to-day?

Rat.

Not I, my lord.

K. Rich. Then he disdains to shine; for, by the book,
He should have brav'd the east ² an hour ago:
A black day will it be to somebody.—

Ratcliff,—

Rat. My lord?

K. Rich. The sun will not be seen to day;
The sky doth frown and lour upon our army.
I would, these dewy tears were from the ground.
Not shine to-day! Why, what is that to me,
More than to Richmond? for the self-same heaven,
That frowns on him, looks sadly upon him.

Enter NORFOLK.

Nor. Arm, arm, my lord; the foe vaunts in the field.

K. Rich. Come, bustle, bustle;—Comparison my
horse;—

Call up lord Stanley, bid him bring his power;—

I will lead forth my soldiers to the plain,

And thus my battle shall be ordered.

My foreward shall be drawn out all in length,³

Consisting equally of horse and foot;

Our archers shall be placed in the midst;

John duke of Norfolk, Thomas earl of Surrey,

Shall have the leading of this foot and horse.

They thus directed, we ourself will follow

In the main battle; whose puissance on either side

Shall be well winged with our chiefest horse.

This,

² i. e. made it splendid. STEEVENS.

³ So Holinshed: "King Richard havynge all things in a readines went forth with the army out of his tentes, and began to set his men in aray: first the forward set forth a marvellous length, both of horsemen and also of footemen,—and to the foremost part of all the bowmen as a strong fortresse for them that came after; and over this John duke of Norfolk was head captain. After him followed the king with a mighty sort of men."

This, and saint George to boot !⁴—What think'st thou Norfolk ?

Nor. A good direction, warlike sovereign.—

This found I on my tent this morning. [Giving a scrawl.

K. Rich. *Jocky of Norfolk, be not too bold,* [reads.

For Dickon thy master⁵ is bought and sold.

A thing devised by the enemy.—

Go, gentlemen, every man unto his charge :

Let not our babbling dreams⁶ affright our souls ;

Conscience is but a word that cowards use,

Devis'd at first to keep the strong in awe ;

Our strong arms be our conscience, swords our law.

March on, join bravely, let us to't pell-mell ;

If not to heaven, then hand in hand to hell.—

What shall I say more than I have infer'd ?

Remember whom you are to cope withal ;—

A sort of vagabonds,⁷ rascals, and run-aways,

A scum of Breagnes, and base lackey peasants,

Whom their o'er-cloyed country vomits forth

To desperate ventures and assur'd destruction.

You sleeping safe, they bring you to unrest ;

You having lands, and blest'd with beauteous wives,

They would restrain the one,⁸ distain the other.

And

⁴ That is, this is the order of our battle, which promises success ; and over and above this, is the protection of our patron saint. JOHNSON.

To boot is (as I conceive) to help, and not *over and above*. HAWKINS.

Mr. Hawkins is certainly right. So, in *King Richard II* :

“ Mine innocence, and Saint George to thrive.”

The old English phrase was, *Saint George to borrow*. MALONE.

⁵ *Diccon* is the ancient vulgar familiarization of *Richard*. In *Gammer Gurton's Needle*, 1575, *Diccon* is the name of the Bedlam. In the words—*bought and sold*, I believe, there is somewhat proverbial. STEEVENS.

⁶ I suspect these six lines to be an interpolation ; but if Shakspeare was really guilty of them in his first draught, he probably intended to leave them out when he substituted the much more proper harangue that follows. TYRWHITT.

⁷ A sort, that is, a company, a collection. JOHNSON.

⁸ i. e. they would lay restrictions on the possession of your lands ; impose conditions on the proprietors of them. Dr. Warburton for *restrain* substituted *distrain*, which has been adopted by all the subsequent editors. “ To *distrain*,” says he, “ is to seize upon ;” but to *distrain* is not to seize generally, but to seize goods, cattle, &c. for non-payment of rent,
or

And who doth lead them, but a paltry fellow,
Long kept in Bretagne at our mother's cost ? ⁵

A milk-

or for the purpose of enforcing the process of courts. The *restrictions* likely to be imposed by a conquering enemy on lands, are imposts, contributions, &c. or absolute confiscation. MALONE.

⁵ This is spoken by Richard, of Henry earl of Richmond: but they were far from having any *common* mother, but England: and the earl of Richmond was not subsisted abroad at the nation's public charge. During the greatest part of his residence abroad, he was watched and restrained almost like a captive; and subsisted by supplies conveyed from the countess of Richmond, his mother. It seems probable, therefore, that we must read:

Long kept in Bretagne at his mother's cost. THEOBALD.

Our *mother's cost* ?] Mr. Theobald perceives to be wrong: he reads therefore, and all the editors after him:

Long kept in Bretagne at his mother's cost.

But give me leave to transcribe a few more lines from Holinshed, and you will find at once, that Shakspeare had been there before me:

“ You see further, how a companie of traitors, theeves, outlaws and runagates be aiders and partakers of this feate and enterprize.—And to begin with the erle of Richmond, captaine of this rebellion, he is a Welch milkfop—brought up by *my moother's* meanes and mine, like a captive in a close cage in the court of Francis duke of Britaine.” p. 756.

Holinshed copies this *verbatim* from his brother chronicler, Hall, edit. 1548. fol. 54. but his printer has given us by accident the word *moother* instead of *brother*; as it is in the original, and ought to be in Shakspeare.

FARMER.

See a letter of King Richard III. persuading his subjects to resist Henry Tydder, &c. in Sir John Fenn's *Collection of the Paston Letters*, Vol. II. p. 318. HENLEY.

Henry Earl of Richmond was long confined in the court of the duke of Britaine, and supported there by Charles duke of Burgundy, who was *brother-in-law* to King Richard. Hence Mr. Theobald justly observed that *mother* in the text was not conformable to the fact. But Shakspeare, as Dr. Farmer has observed, was led into this error by Holinshed, where he found the preceding passage in an oration which Hall, in imitation of the ancient historians, invented, and exhibited as having been spoken by the king to his soldiers before the battle of Bosworth.

If, says a Remarker, [Mr. Ritson,] it ought to be so in Shakspeare, why stop at this correction, and why not in *King Henry V.* print *præcarissimus* instead of *præclarissimus* ? And indeed if *brother* is to be substituted for *mother* here, there can be no reason why all other similar errors should not be corrected in like manner. But the Remarker misunderstood Dr. Farmer's words, which only mean—as it is in the original, and *as Shakspeare ought to have written.* Dr. Farmer did not say—“ as it ought to be printed in Shakspeare.”

In

A milk-sop, one that never in his life
 Felt so much cold as over shoes in snow?
 Let's whip these stragglers o'er the seas again;
 Lash hence these over-weening rags of France,
 These famish'd beggars, weary of their lives;
 Who, by their dreaming on this fond exploit,
 For want of means, poor rats, had hang'd themselves:
 If we be conquer'd, let men conquer us,
 And not these bastard Breagnes; whom our fathers
 Have in their own land beaten, bobb'd, and thump'd,
 And, on record, left them the heirs of shame.
 Shall these enjoy our lands? lie with our wives?
 Ravish our daughters?—Hark, I hear their drum.

[*Drum afar off.*]

Fight, gentlemen of England! fight, bold yeomen!
 Draw, archers, draw your arrows to the head!

Spur

In all the other places where Shakspeare has been led into errors by mistakes of the press, or by false translations, his text has been very properly exhibited as he wrote it; for it is not the business of an editor to new-write his author's works. Thus, in *Antony and Cleopatra*, Act IV. sc. i. we have—"Let the old ruffian know, I have many other ways to die;" though we know the sense of the passage in Plutarch there copied is,—that "*he* [the old ruffian] hath many other ways to die." Again, in *Julius Cæsar*, Antony is still permitted to say, that Cæsar had left the Roman people his arbours and orchards "*on this side Tyber*," though it ought to be—"on *that* side Tyber;" both which mistakes Shakspeare was led into by the ambiguity and inaccuracy of the old translation of Plutarch.

In like manner in *King Henry V.* *præclarissimus* is exhibited as it was written by Shakspeare, instead of *præcarissimus*; and in the same play I have followed our author in printing Lewis the *tenth*, though Lewis the *ninth* was the person meant: an error into which he was led, as in the present instance, by a mistake of the press.

For all such inaccuracies the poet, and not his editor, is responsible: and in the passage now under our consideration more particularly the text ought not to be disturbed, because it ascertains a point of some moment; namely that Holinshed and not Hall, was the historian that Shakspeare followed. Of how much consequence this is, the reader may ascertain by turning to the *Dissertation on the plays of King Henry VI.* where this circumstance, if I do not deceive myself, contributes not a little in addition to the other proofs there adduced, to settle a long-agitated question, and to shew that those plays were *re-written* by Shakspeare, and not his *original* composition. MALONE.

Spur your proud horses hard, and ride in blood ;
Amaze the welkin with your broken staves ! ⁶—

Enter a Messenger.

What says lord Stanley ? will he bring his power ?

Mes. My lord, he doth deny to come.

K. Rich. Off instantly with his son George's head.

Nor. My lord, the enemy is pass'd the marsh ; ⁷

After the battle let George Stanley die.

K. Rich. A thousand hearts are great within my bosom ;
Advance our standards, set upon our foes ;
Our ancient word of courage, fair Saint George,
Inspire us with the spleen of fiery dragons !
Upon them ! Victory sits on our helms. [*Exeunt.*

SCENE IV.

Another part of the field.

*Alarum. Excursions. Enter NORFOLK, and forces ; to him
CATESBY.*

Cate. Rescue, my lord of Norfolk, rescue, rescue !
The king enacts more wonders than a man,
Daring an opposite to every danger ; ⁸

His

⁶ That is, *fright the skies with the shivers of your lances.* JOHNSON.

⁷ There was a large marsh in Bosworth plain between the two armies. Henry pass'd it, and made such a disposition of his forces that it served to protect his right wing. By this movement he gained also another point, that his men should engage with the sun behind them, and in the faces of his enemies : a matter of great consequence when bows and arrows were in use. MALONE.

⁸ Perhaps the poet wrote :

Daring and opposite to every danger. TYRWHITT.

The old reading is perhaps right. *An opposite* is frequently used by Shakspeare and the contemporary writers, for *adversary*.

The sense then should seem to be, that king Richard enacts wonders, *daring the adversary he meets with to every danger attending single combat.*

MALONE.

To dare a single opposite to every danger, is no very wonderful exploit. — I should therefore adopt Tyrwhitt's amendment, which infers that he flew to oppose every danger, wherever it was to be found, and read with him, "*and opposite.*" M. MASON.

His horse is slain, and all on foot he fights,
Seeking for Richmond in the throat of death :
Rescue, fair lord, or else the day is lost !

Alarum. Enter King RICHARD.

K. Rich. A horse! a horse! my kingdom for a horse!

Cate. Withdraw, my lord, I'll help you to a horse.

K. Rich. Slave, I have set my life upon a cast,
And I will stand the hazard of the die :
I think, there be six Richmonds in the field ;
Five have I slain to-day, instead of him : ⁹—
A horse! a horse! my kingdom for a horse! ² [Exeunt.

*Alarums. Enter King RICHARD and RICHMOND; and
exeunt fighting. Retreat, and flourish. Then enter RICH-
MOND, STANLEY, bearing the crown, with divers other
Lords, and Forces.*

Richm. God, and your arms, be prais'd, victorious friends;
The day is ours, the bloody dog is dead.

Stan. Courageous Richmond, well hast thou acquit thee!
Lo, here, this long-usurped royalty,

From

⁹ Shakspeare had employed this incident with historical propriety in the first Part of *King Henry IV.* STEEVENS.

Shakspeare had good ground for this poetical exaggeration. Richard, according to Polydore Vergil, was determined, if possible, to engage with Richmond in single combat. For this purpose he rode furiously to that quarter of the field where the earl was; attacked his standard-bearer, Sir William Brandon, and killed him; then assaulted Sir John Cheney, whom he overthrew: having thus at length cleared his way to his antagonist, he engaged in single combat with him, and probably would have been victorious, but that at that instant Sir William Stanley with three thousand men joined Richmond's army, and the royal forces fled with great precipitation. Richard was soon afterwards overpowered by numbers, and fell, fighting bravely to the last moment. MALONE.

² Some inquiry hath been made for the first performers of the capital characters of Shakspeare.

We learn, that Burbage, the *alter Roscius* of Camden, was the original Richard, from a passage in the poems of Bishop Corbet; who introduced his host at Bosworth describing the battle:

“ But when he would have said king Richard died,

“ And call'd a horse, a horse, he Burbage cried.” FARMER.

From the dead temples of this bloody wretch³
 Have I pluck'd off, to grace thy brows withal;
 Wear it, enjoy it, and make much of it.

Richm. Great God of heaven, say, amen, to all!—
 But, tell me first, is young George Stanley living?

Stan. He is, my lord, and safe in Leicester town;
 Whither, if it please you, we may now withdraw us.

Richm. What men of name are slain on either side?

Stan. John duke of Norfolk, Walter lord Ferrers,
 Sir Robert Brakenbury, and sir William Brandon.

Richm. Inter their bodies as becomes their births.
 Proclaim a pardon to the soldiers fled,
 That in submission will return to us;

And then, as we have ta'en the sacrament,⁴
 We will unite the white rose and the red:—
 Smile heaven upon this fair conjunction,
 That long hath frown'd upon their enmity!—

What traitor hears me, and says not,—amen?
 England hath long been mad, and scarr'd herself;

The brother blindly shed the brother's blood,

The father rashly slaughter'd his own son,

The son, compell'd, been butcher to the fire;

All this divided York and Lancaster,

Divided, in their dire division.⁵—

O, now, let Richmond and Elizabeth,

The true succeeders of each royal house,

By

³ It is not necessary to suppose that Richmond points to the dead body of Richard, when he speaks of him. According to an ancient idiom in our language, the denominative pronoun is often used instead of the prepositive article. STEEVENS.

⁴ So, in Holinshed, p. 745: "The earle himselfe first tooke a corporall oth on his honor, promising that incontinent after he shuld be possessed of the crowne and dignitie of the realme of England, he would be conjoined in matrimonie with the ladie Elizabeth, daughter to king Edward the fourth." STEEVENS.

⁵ I think the passage will be somewhat improved by a slight alteration:

All that divided York and Lancaster,

Divided in their dire division,

O now let Richmond and Elizabeth,

The true succeeders of each royal house,

By God's fair ordinance conjoin together!

Let them unite all that York and Lancaster divided. JOHNSON.

By God's fair ordinance conjoin together!
 And let their heirs, (God, if thy will be so,)
 Enrich the time to come with smooth-fac'd peace,
 With smiling plenty, and fair prosperous days!
 Abate the edge ⁶ of traitors, gracious Lord,
 That would reduce ⁷ these bloody days again,
 And make poor England weep in streams of blood!
 Let them not live to taste this land's increase,
 That would with treason wound this fair land's peace!
 Now civil wounds are stopp'd, peace lives again;
 That she may long live here, God say—Amen! [Exeunt.⁸

⁶ To *abate*, is to lower, depress, subdue. STEEVENS.

⁷ i. e. bring back; an obsolete sense of the word. STEEVENS.

⁸ This is one of the most celebrated of our author's performances; yet I know not whether it has not happened to him as to others, to be praised most, when praise is not most deserved. That this play has scenes noble in themselves, and very well contrived to strike in the exhibition, cannot be denied. But some parts are trifling, others shocking, and some improbable. JOHNSON.

I agree entirely with Dr. Johnson in thinking that this play from its first exhibition to the present hour has been estimated greatly beyond its merit. From the many allusions to it in books of that age, and the great number of editions it passed through, I suspect it was more often represented and more admired than any of our author's tragedies. Its popularity perhaps in some measure arose from the detestation in which Richard's character was justly held, which must have operated more strongly on those whose grand-fathers might have lived near his time; and from its being patronized by the queen on the throne, who probably was not a little pleased at seeing King Henry VII. placed in the only favourable light in which he could have been exhibited on the scene. MALONE.

I most cordially join with Dr. Johnson and Mr. Malone in their opinions; and yet perhaps they have overlooked one cause of the success of this tragedy. The part of Richard is, perhaps, beyond all others variegated, and consequently favourable to a judicious performer. It comprehends, indeed, a trait of almost every species of character on the stage. The hero, the lover, the statesman, the buffoon, the hypocrite, the hardened and repenting sinner, &c. are to be found within its compass. No wonder, therefore that the discriminating powers of a Burbage, a Garrick, and a Henderson, should at different periods have given it a popularity beyond other dramas of the same author.

Yet the favour with which this tragedy is now received, must also in some measure be imputed to Mr. Cibber's reformation of it, which, generally considered, is judicious: for what modern audience would patiently listen to the narrative of Clarence's Dream, his subsequent expostulation with the murderers, the prattle of his children, the soliloquy of the Scrivener,

vener, the tedious dialogue of the citizens, the ravings of Margaret, the gross terms thrown out by the Duchess of York on Richard, the repeated progress to execution, the superfluous train of spectres, and other undramatick incumbrances, which must have prevented the more valuable parts of the play from rising into their present effect and consequence?—The expulsion of langour therefore must atone for such remaining want of probability as is inseparable from an historical drama into which the events of fourteen years are irregularly compressed. STEEVENS.

The oldest known edition of this tragedy is printed for Andrew Wise, 1597: but Harrington, in his *Apologie for Poetrie*, written 1590, and prefixed to the translation of *Ariosto*, says, that a tragedy of *Richard the Third*, had been acted at Cambridge. His words are, “For tragedies, to omit other famous tragedies, that which was played at St. John’s in Cambridge, of *Richard the Third*, would move, I think, Phalaris the tyrant, and terrifie all tyrannous minded men,” &c. He most probably means Shakspeare’s; and if so, we may argue, that there is some more antient edition of this play than what I have mentioned; at least this shows how early Shakspeare’s play appeared; or if some other *Richard the Third* is here alluded to by Harrington, that a play on this subject preceded our author’s. T. WARTON.

It appears from the following passage in the preface to Nashe’s *Have with you to Saffron Walden, or Gabriel Harvey’s Hunt is up*, 1596, that a Latin tragedy of *King Richard III.* had been acted at Trinity college, Cambridge: “—— or his fellow codshead, that in the Latine tragedie of *King Richard*, cried—*Ad urbs, ad urbs, ad urbs*, when his whole part was no more than—*Urbs, urbs, ad arma, ad arma*.” STEEVENS.

The play on this subject mentioned by Sir John Harrington in his *Apologie for Poetrie*, 1591, and sometimes mistaken for Shakspeare’s, was a Latin one, written by Dr. Legge; and acted at St. John’s in our university, some years before 1588, the date of the copy in the Museum. This appears from a better MS. in our library at Emmanuel, with the names of the original performers.

A childish imitation of Dr. Legge’s play was written by one Lacy, 1583; which had not been worth mentioning, were they not confounded by Mr. Capell. FARMER.

The Latin play of *K. Richard III.* (Mfs. Harl. n. 6926, has the author’s name,—Henry Lacey, and is dated—1586. TYRWHITT.

Heywood, in his *Actor’s Vindication*, mentions the play of *King Richard III.* “acted in St. John’s Cambridge, so essentially, that had the tyrant *Phalaris* beheld his bloody proceedings, it had mollified his heart, and made him relent at sight of his inhuman massacres.” And in the bookes of the Stationers’ Company, June 19, 1594, Thomas Creede made the following entry. “An enterlude, intituled the tragedie of *Richard the Third*, wherein is shown the deathe of Edward the Fourthe, with the smotheringe of the two princes in the Tower, with the lamentable ende of Shore’s wife, and the contention of the two houses of Lancaster and Yorke.” This could not have been the work of Shakspeare, unless he afterwards dismissed the death of Jane Shore, as an unnecessary incident, when he revised the play. Perhaps, however, it might be some translation

translation of Lacey's play, at the end of the first act of which is, "The shewe of the procession. 1. Tipstaffe. 2. *Shore's wife* in her petticoate, having a taper burning in her hande. 3. The Verger. 4. Queristers. 5. Singing-men. 6. Prebendary. 7. Bishoppe of London. 8. Citizens." There is likewise a Latin song sung on this occasion, in MS. Harl, 2412. STEEVENS.

The English *King Richard III.* which was entered on the Stationers' books in 1594, and which, it may be presumed, had been exhibited some years before, was probably written by the author of *The Contention of the two houses of Yorke and Lancaster.* MALONE.

I shall here subjoin two Dissertations, one by Dr. Warburton, and one by Mr. Upton, upon the *Vice.*

ACT III. SCENE I.

Thus like the formal vice, Iniquity, &c.] As this corrupt reading in the common books hath occasioned our saying something of the barbarities of theatrical representations amongst us before the time of Shakspeare, it may not be improper, for a better apprehension of this whole matter, to give the reader some general account of the rise and progress of the modern stage.

The first form in which the drama appeared in the west of Europe, after the destruction of learned Greece and Rome, and that a calm of dulness had finished upon letters what the rage of barbarism had begun, was that of the Mysteries. These were the fashionable and favourite diversions of all ranks of people both in France, Spain, and England. In which last place, as we learn by Stow, they were in use about the time of Richard the second and Henry the fourth. As to Italy, by what I can find, the first rudiments of their stage, with regard to the *matter*, were prophane subjects, and, with regard to the *form*, a corruption of the ancient *mimes* and *attellanes*: by which means they got sooner into the right road than their neighbours; having had regular plays amongst them wrote as early as the fifteenth century.

As to these *mysteries*, they were, as their name speaks them, a representation of some scripture-story, *to the life*: as may be seen from the following passage in an old French history, intitled, *La Chronique de Metz composée par le curé de St. Eucbaire*; which will give the reader no bad idea of the surprising absurdity of these strange representations: "L'an 1437 le 3 Juillet (*says the honest Chronicler*) fut fait le Jeu de la Passion de N. S. en la plaine de Veximiel. Et fut Dieu un sire appellé Seigneur Nicolle Dom Neuschastel, lequel estoit Curé de St. Victour de Metz, lequel fut presque mort en la Croix, s'il ne fût été secourus; & convient qu'un autre Prêtre fut mis en la Croix pour parfaire le Personnage du Crucifiment pour ce jour; & le lendemain le dit Curé de St. Victour parfit la Resurrection, et fit très hautement son personage; & dura le dit Jeu—Et autre Prêtre qui s'appelloit Mre. Jean de Nicey, qui estoit Chapelain de Metrange, fut Judas: lequel fut presque mort en pendement, car le cuer li faillit, et fut bien hâtivement dependu & porté en

Voye.

Voye. Et estoit la bouche d'Enfer tres-bien faite ; car elle ouvroit & clooit, quand les Diables y vouloient entrer & issir ; & avoit deux gros Culs d'Acier," &c. Alluding to this kind of representations archbishop Harfnet, in his *Declaration of Popish Impostures*, p. 71. says, "The little children were never so afraid of Hell-mouth in the old plays, painted with great gang teeth, staring eyes, and foul bottle nose." Carew, in his *Survey of Cornwall*, gives a fuller description of them in these words, "The *Guary Miracle*, in English a *Miracle Play*, is a kind of interlude compiled in Cornish out of some scripture history. For representing it, they raise an earthen amphitheatre in some open field, having the diameter of an inclosed playne, some 40 or 50 foot. The country people flock from all sides many miles off, to hear and see it. For they have therein devils and devices, to delight as well the eye as the ear. The players conne not their parts without book, but are prompted by one called the *ordinary*, who followeth at their back with the book in his hand," &c. &c. There was always a droll or buffoon in these *mysteries*, to make the people mirth with his sufferings or absurdities : and they could think of no better a personage to sustain this part than the *devil* himself. Even in the *mystery* of the *Passion* mentioned above, it was contrived to make him ridiculous. Which circumstance is hinted at by Shakspeare (who had frequent allusions to these things) in *The Taming of the Shrew*, where one of the players asks for a little vinegar, (as a property) to make the devil roar.* For after the sponge with the gall and vinegar had been employed in the representation, they used to clap it to the nose of the devil ; which making him roar, as if it had been holy water, afforded infinite diversion to the people. So that vinegar in the old farces, was always afterwards in use to torment their devil. We have divers old English proverbs, in which the devil is represented as acting or suffering ridiculously and absurdly, which all arose from the part he bore in these *mysteries*, as in that, for instance, of—*Great cry and little wool, as the devil said when he sheered his hogs*. For the sheep-shearing of Nabal being represented in the *mystery* of *David and Abigail*, and the devil always attending Nabal, was made to imitate it by *shearing a hog*. This kind of absurdity, as it is the properest to create laughter, was the subject of the *ridiculous* in the ancient *mimes*, as we learn from these words of saint Austin : *Ne faciamus ut mimi solent, & optemus à libero aquam, à lymphis vinum.**

These *mysteries*, we see, were given in France at first, as well as in England *sub dio*, and only in the provinces. Afterwards we find them got into Paris, and a company established in the *Hôtel de Bourgogne* to represent them. But good letters and religion beginning to make their way in the latter end of the reign of Francis the first, the stupidity and prophaneness of the *mysteries* made the courtiers and clergy join their interest for their suppression. Accordingly, in the year 1541, the procureur-general, in the name of the king, presented a request against the company to

* This is not in Shakspeare's play, but in the old play entitled *The Taming of a Shrew*. MALONE.

† Civ. D. 1, 1v

to the parliament. The three principal branches of his charge against them were, that the representation of the Old Testament stories inclined the people to Judaism; that the New Testament stories encouraged libertinism and infidelity; and that both of them lessened the charities to the poor: It seems that this prosecution succeeded; for, in 1548, the parliament of Paris confirmed the company in the possession of the *Hotel de Bourgogne*, but interdicted the representation of the *mysteries*. But in Spain, we find by Cervantes, that they continued much longer; and held their own, even after good comedy came in amongst them: as appears from the excellent critique of the canon, in the fourth book, where he shows how the old extravagant *romances* might be made the foundation of a regular *epic* (which, he says, *tambien puede escribirse en prosa como en verso*; *) as the *mystery-plays* might be improved into artful comedy. His words are *Pues que si venimos à las comedias divinas, que de milagros falsos fingen en ellas, que de cosas apocryfas, y mal entendidas, atribuyendo a un santo los milagros de otro*; † which made them so fond of miracles that they introduced them into *las comedias humanas*, as he calls them. To turn:

Upon this prohibition, the French poets turned themselves from *religious* to *moral* farces. And in this we soon followed them: the public taste not suffering any greater alteration at first, though the Italians at this time afforded many just compositions for better models. These farces they called *moralities*. Pierre Gringore, one of their old poets, printed one of these *moralities*, intitled *La Moralité de l'Homme Obstiné*. The persons of the drama are *l'Homme Obstiné*—*Punition Divine*—*Simonie*—*Hypocrisie*—and *Demerites-Communes*. The *Homme Obstiné* is the atheist, and comes in blaspheming, and determined to persist in his impieties. Then *Punition Divine* appears, sitting on a throne in the air, and menacing the atheist with punishment. After this scene, *Simonie Hypocrisie*, and *Demerites-Communes* appear and play their parts. In conclusion, *Punition Divine* returns, preaches to them, upbraids them with their crimes, and, in short, draws them all to repentance, all but the *Homme Obstiné*, who persists in his impiety, and is destroyed for an example. To this sad serious subject they added, though in a separate representation, a merry kind of farce called *Sottie*, in which there was *un Paysan* [the *Clown*] under the name of *Sot-Commun* [or *Fool*.] But we, who borrowed all these delicacies from the French, blended the *Moralité* and *Sottie* together: So that the *Paysan* or *Sot-Commun*, the *Clown* or *Fool*, got a place in our serious *moralities*: Whose business we may understand in the frequent allusions our Shakspeare makes to them: as in that fine speech in the beginning of the third act of *Measure for Measure*, where we have this obscure passage:

“ —merely thou art *Death's Fool*,
 “ For him thou labour'st by thy flight to shun,
 “ And yet runn'st tow'rd him still.”

For, in these *moralities*, the Fool of the piece, in order to show the inevitable approaches of *Death*, (another of the *Dramatis Personæ*) is made to employ

• B. iv. c. 20.

† Ibid. 21.

employ all his stratagems to avoid him; which, as the matter is ordered, bring the *Fool*, at every turn, into the very jaws of his enemy: So that a representation of these scenes would afford a great deal of good mirth and morals mixed together. The very same thing is again alluded to in these lines of *Love's Labour's Lost*:

“ So *Portent*-like I would o’er-rule his state,
 “ That he should be my *Fool*, and I his *Fate*.”

Act IV. sc. ii.

But the French, as we say, keeping these two sorts of farces distinct, they became in time, the parents of *tragedy* and *comedy*; while we, by jumbling them together, begot in an evil hour, that mungrel species, unknown to nature and antiquity, called *tragi-comedy*. WARBURTON.

TO this, when Mr. Upton’s Dissertation is subjoined, there will, perhaps, be no need of any other account of the *Vice*.

Like the old Vice.] The allusion here * is to *the Vice*, a droll character in our old plays, accoutred with a long coat, a cap with a pair of ass’s ears, and a dagger of lath. Shakspeare alludes to his buffoon appearance in *Twelfth Night*, Act IV:

“ In a trice, like to the old *Vice*;—
 “ Who with dagger of lath, in his rage and his wrath,
 “ Cries, ah, ah! to the Devil.”

In the second part of *King Henry IV.* Act III. Falstaff compares Shallow to a *Vice*’s dagger of lath. In *Hamlet*, Act III. Hamlet calls his uncle:

“ A *vice* of kings:”

i. e. a ridiculous representation of majesty. These passages the editors have very rightly expounded. I will now mention some others, which seemed to have escaped their notice, the allusions being not quite so obvious.

The iniquity was often the *Vice* in our moralities; and is introduced in Ben Jonson’s play called *The Devil’s an Ass*: and likewise mentioned in his Epigr. cxv.

“ Being no vitious person, but the *Vice*
 “ About the town,
 “ Acts *old Iniquity*, and in the fit
 “ Of miming, gets th’ opinion of a wit.”

But a passage cited from his play will make the following observations more plain. Act I. Pug asks the Devil “to lend him a *Vice* :”

“ *Satan*. What *Vice* ?
 “ What kind would thou have it of ?
 “ *Pug*. Why, any *Fraud*,
 “ Or *Covetousness*, or lady *Vanity*,
 “ Or *old Iniquity*: I’ll call him hither.”

Thus

* i. e. in p. 3 of Mr. Upton’s book, where the words—*like the old Vice*—occur.
 MALONE.

Thus the passage should be ordered :

“ *Pug.* Why any : *Fraud,*

“ Or *Covetousness*, or lady *Vanity*,

“ Or old *Iniquity*.

“ *Pug.* I'll call him hither.”

“ *Enter Iniquity the Vice.*

“ *Ini.* What is he calls upon me, and would seem to lack a

“ *Vice ?*

“ Ere his words be half spoken, I am with him in a trice.”

And in his *Staple of News*, Act II :

“ *Mirth.* How like you *the Vice* i' th' play ?

“ *Expectation.* Which is he ?

“ *Mirth.* Three or four ; old *Covetousness*, the sordid *Penny-Boy*, the *Money-Bawd*, who is a flesh-bawd too, they say.

“ *Tattle.* But here is never a *Fiend* to carry him away. Besides, he has never a wooden dagger ! I'd not give a rush for a *Vice*, that has not a wooden dagger to snap at every body he meets.

“ *Mirth.* That was the old way, gossip, when *Iniquity* came in, like hokos pokos, in a jugler's jerkin,” &c.

He alludes to the *Vice* in *The Alchymist*, Act I. sc. iii :

“ *Sub.* And, on your stall, a puppet, with a *Vice.*” *

Some places of Shakspeare will from hence appear more easy : as in the first part of *King Henry IV.* Act II. where Hal humourously characterizing Falstaff, calls him, *That reverend Vice, that grey Iniquity, that father Ruffian, that Vanity in years*, in allusion to this buffoon character. In *King Richard III.* Act III :

“ Thus like the formal *Vice, Iniquity,*

“ I moralize two meanings in one word.”

Iniquity is the formal *Vice*. Some correct the passage,

“ Thus like formal-wise *antiquity,*

“ I moralize : Two meanings in one word.”

Which correction is out of all rule of criticism. In *Hamlet*, Act I, there is an allusion, still more distant, to *the Vice* ; which will not be obvious at first, and therefore is to be introduced with a short explanation. This buffoon character was used to make fun with the Devil ; and he had several trite expressions, as, *I'll be with you in a trice : Ab, ba, boy, are you there ?* &c. And this was great entertainment to the audience, to see their old enemy so belabour'd in effigy. In *King Henry V.* Act IV. a boy characterizing Pistol, says, *Bardolph and Nym had ten times more valour, than this roaring Devil i' the old play : every one may pare his nails with a wooden dagger.* Now Hamlet, having been instructed by his father's ghost, is resolved to break the subject of the discourse to none but Horatio ; and to all others his intention is to appear as a sort of mad-man ; when therefore the oath of secrecy is given to the centinels, and the

Ghost

* — a puppet, with a *Vice*.] Mr. Upton has misinterpreted this passage. A *vice* in the present instance means a *device, clock-work*. Coryat, p. 254, speaks of a picture whose eyes were moved by a *vice*. FARMER.

Ghost unseen calls out, *swear*; Hamlet speaks to it as the *Vice* does to the Devil. *Ab, ba, boy, sayst thou so? Art thou there, Truepenny?* Hamlet had a mind that the centinels should imagine this was a shape that the devil had put on; and in Act III. he is somewhat of this opinion himself:

“The spirit that I have seen

“May be the devil.”

The manner of speech therefore to the Devil was what all the audience were well acquainted with; and it takes off in some measure from the horror of the scene. Perhaps too the poet was willing to inculcate, that good humour is the best weapon to deal with the devil. *Truepenny*, either by way of irony, or literally from the Greek, *τρύπανον*, *veterator*. Which word the Scholiast on Aristophanes' *Clouds*, ver. 447. explains, *τεύρη, ὁ περιτετριμμένος ἐν τοῖς πράγμασιν, ὃν ἡμεῖς ΤΡΥΠΑΝΟΝ καλοῦμεν*. Several have tried to find a derivation of the *Vice*: if I should not hit on the right, I should only err with others. *The Vice* is either a quality personalized, as *ΒΙΗ* and *ΚΑΡΤΟΣ* in Hesiod and Æschylus; *Sin* and *Death* in Milton; and indeed *Vice* itself is a person, B. XI. 517:

“And took *his* image whom they serv'd, a brutish *Vice*.”

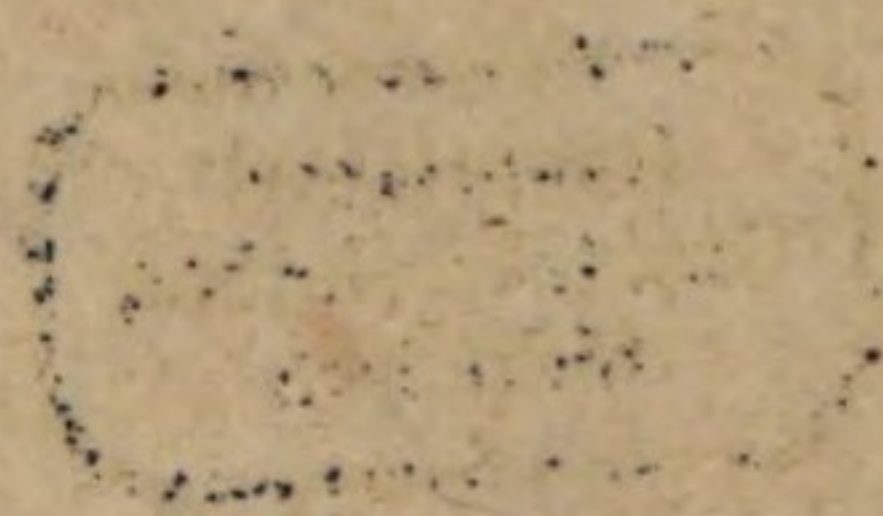
his image, i. e. a brutish *Vice's* image; the *Vice*, Gluttony; not without some allusion to the *Vice* of the plays; but rather, I think, 'tis an abbreviation of *vice-devil*, as *vice-roy*, *vice-doges*, &c. and therefore properly called *the Vice*. He makes very free with his master, like most other *vice-roys*, or prime ministers. So that he is the Devil's *Vice*, and prime minister; and 'tis this that makes him so saucy. UPTON.

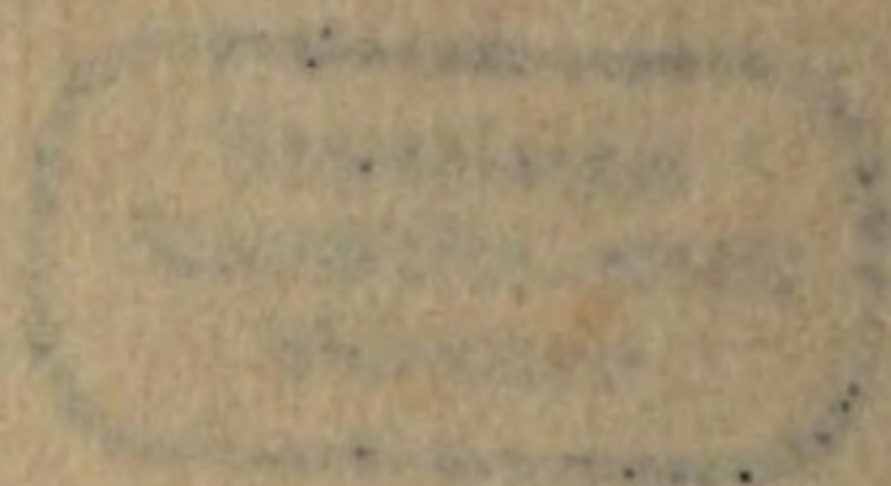
Mr. Upton's learning only supplies him with absurdities. His derivation of *vice* is too ridiculous to be answered.

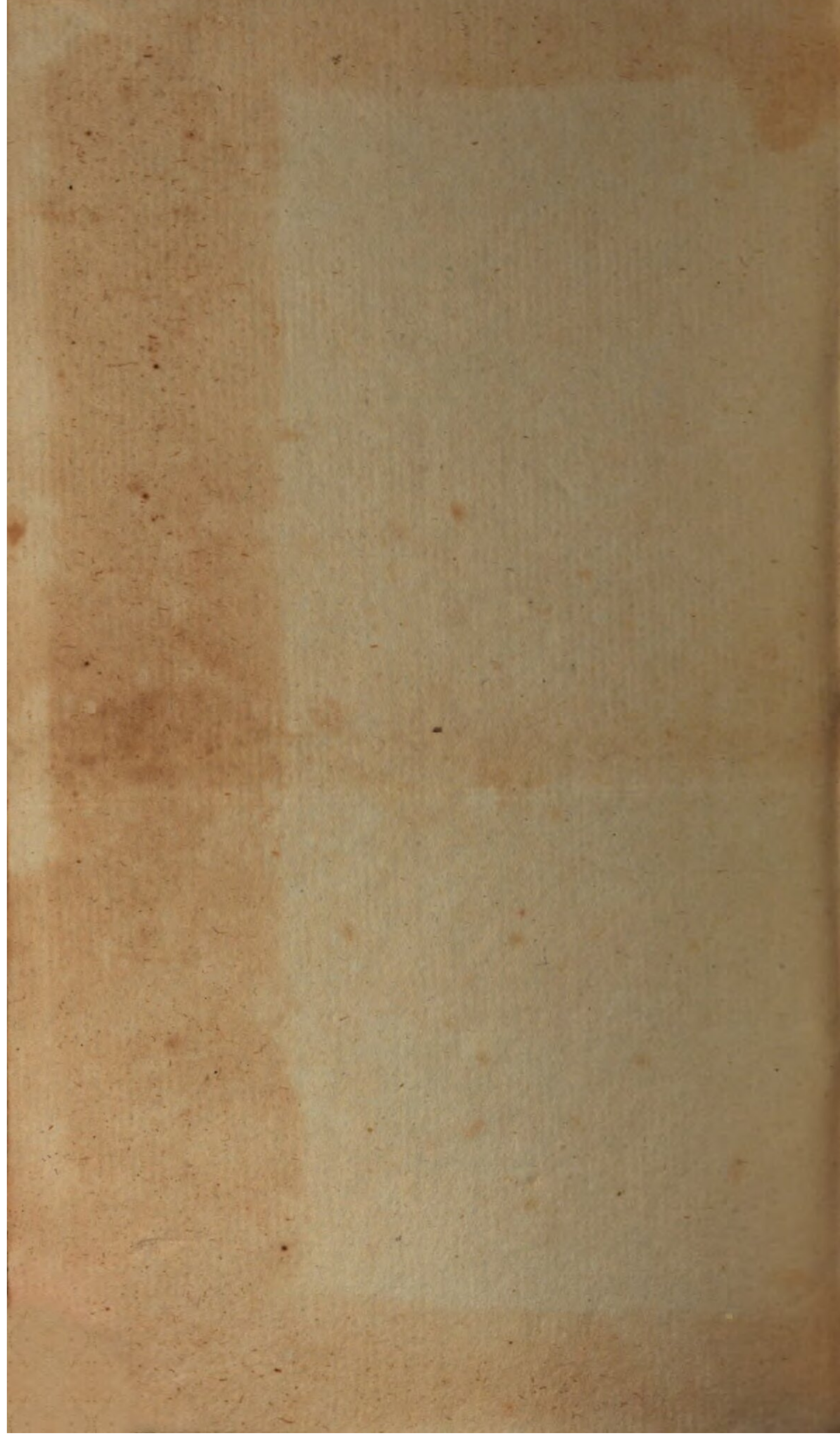
I have nothing to add to the observations of these learned criticks, but that some traces of this antiquated exhibition are still retained in the rustick puppet-plays, in which I have seen the *Devil* very lustily belaboured by *Punch*, whom I hold to be the legitimate successor of the old *Vice*. JOHNSON.

END OF THE FIFTH VOLUME.

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